GUIDE TO THE OQ6 LAU FILE

[The OQ6 Lau file is concerned with the Malayo-Polynesian-speaking inhabitants of the Lau, or Eastern Group of islands in Fiji. This group consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs extending to the south and east of the main group of islands in Fiji. They constitute a frontier between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga and the variation of physical types among the islands is quite noticeable. The majority of the islands are inhabited, with subsistence depending on raising yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc, and bananas, with fish, pigs, and fowl also being eaten. The main trade product of the islands is copra.

There are 10 sources, all of them in English, in the Lau file. There are four authors connected with this file. Arthur Hocart produced a basic monograph on the traditional culture (1: Hocart) after having spent four years on the island of Lakemba as a schoolmaster. Laura Thompson, a well-known cultural anthropologist, spent the years 1933-1934 on Lau and has produced a number of writings about the group, including sources 2: Thompson through 8: Thompson, this file. 2: Thompson is a basic monograph concerning the traditional culture of southern Lau while 3: Thompson describes the condition of the group in the 1930's. 4: Thompson through 8: Thompson are shorter articles discussing culture history, ecology, totemism, adzes and pottery. 9: Bryan, by a well-known biologist, is an unpublished manuscript containing data and maps

on each of the islands, obtained during a trip in 1924. 10: St. Johnston, by a British District Commissioner, presents an assortment of myths and legends, as well as some bits of folklore. While the file doesn't contain any large amount of material in depth, it should be sufficient for most comparative purposes. The file was processed between 1959 and 1965.]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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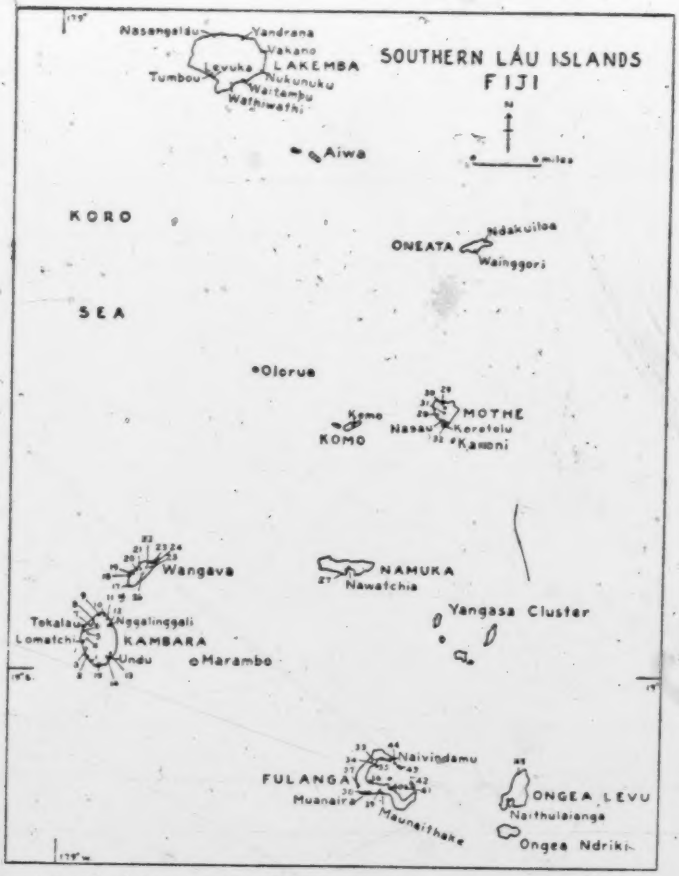

FIGURE 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevou and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Matanundu
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawarowaro
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakotu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-
boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general
the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs
of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are
stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding
breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-
bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and
angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Poly-
nesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a
mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group
the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives
of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but
there are individuals among them who closely resemble the
mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most
Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look
pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the des-
cendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on
Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like
Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the [101] south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or pro-
648 vinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village head-
622 man (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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April-June, 1949

THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
[134 241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

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It is very difficult nowadays to get the people to speak of the old times, for the simple reason that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

[1] Christianity.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to ?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day at Matuku, called the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Ton-
773 gans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakabau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time.

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl.

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about.

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things.

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove.

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.

[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.

[3] Of common origin.

[4] Battle-cry.

ONGEA ISLANDS

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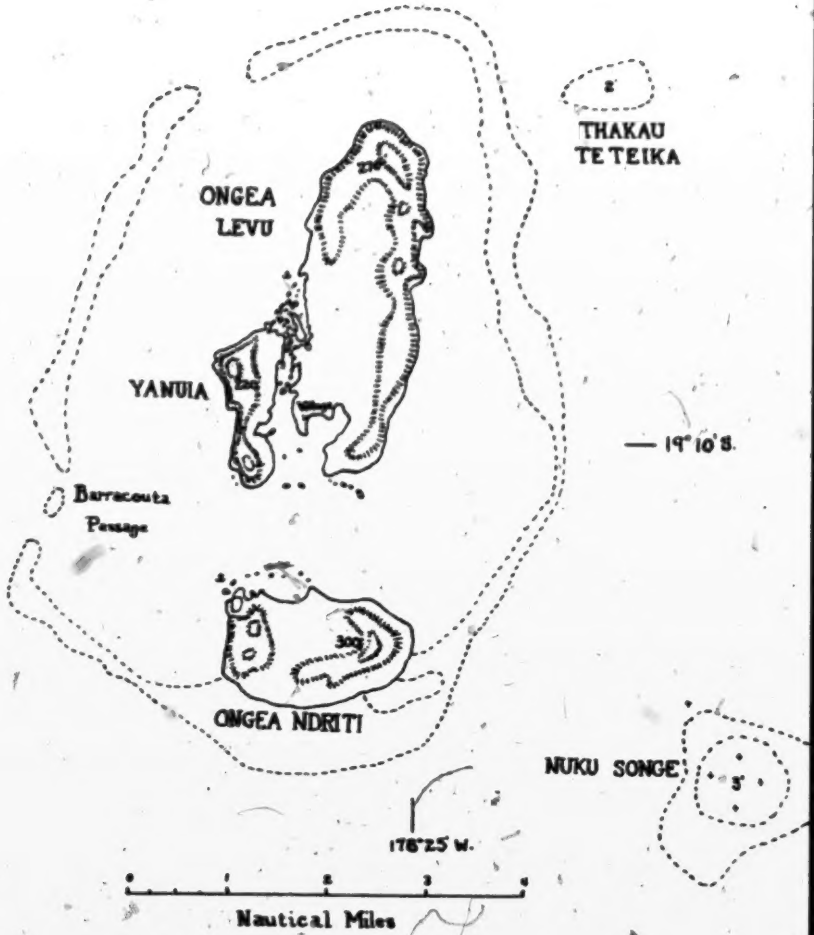

[p. 10]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

Unmapped Channel Between

Ongea Levu & Yanuia.

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[p.11]

FULANGA I.

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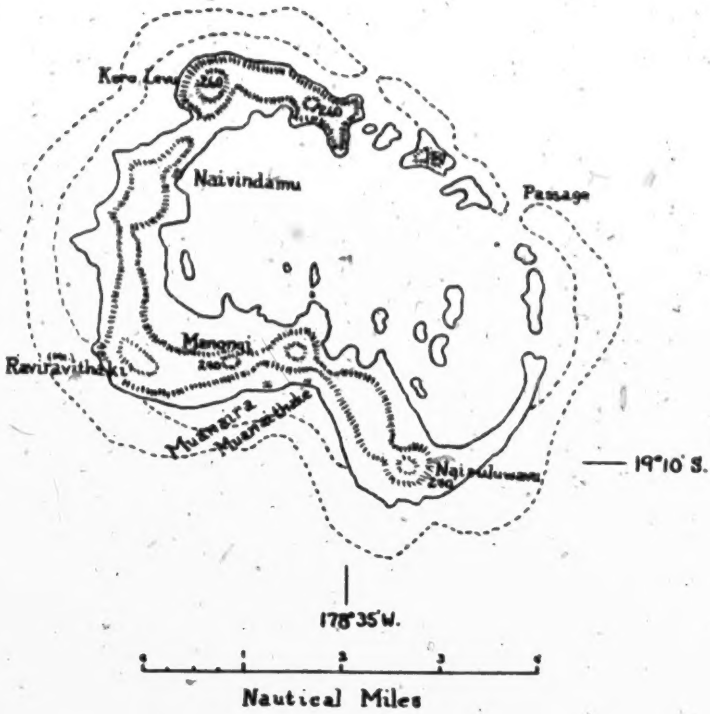

[p. 14]

NAIAMBO I.

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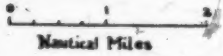

178° 26' W.

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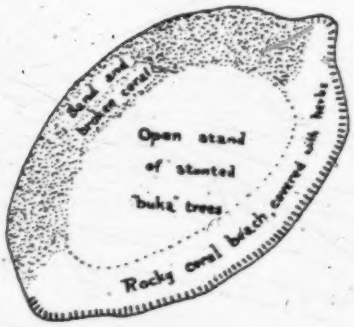
Elev. 25 to 30 ft. to tree tops.



[p.17]

YANGASA CLUSTER.

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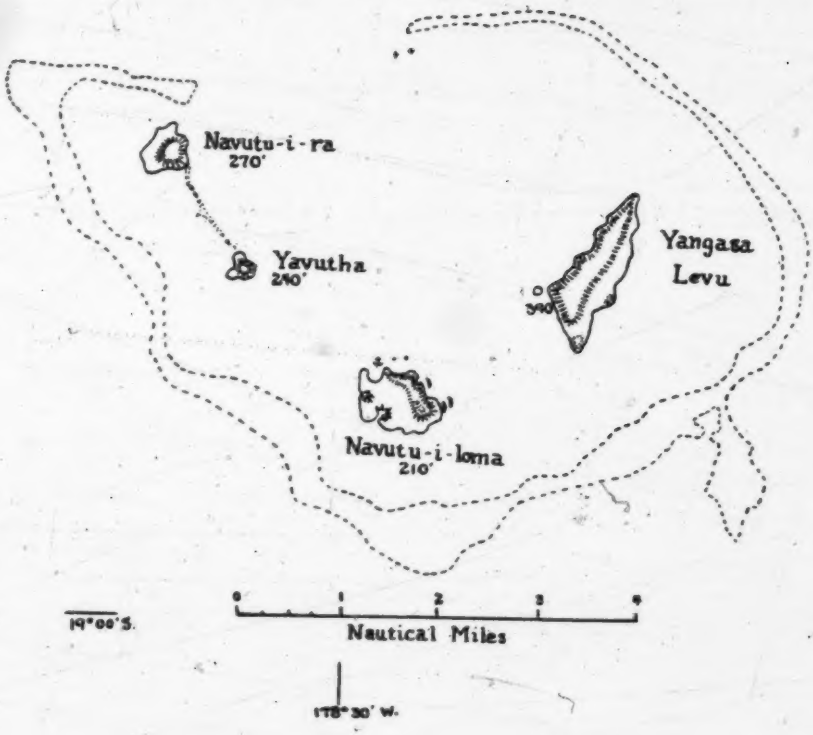

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NAMUKA-I-LAU

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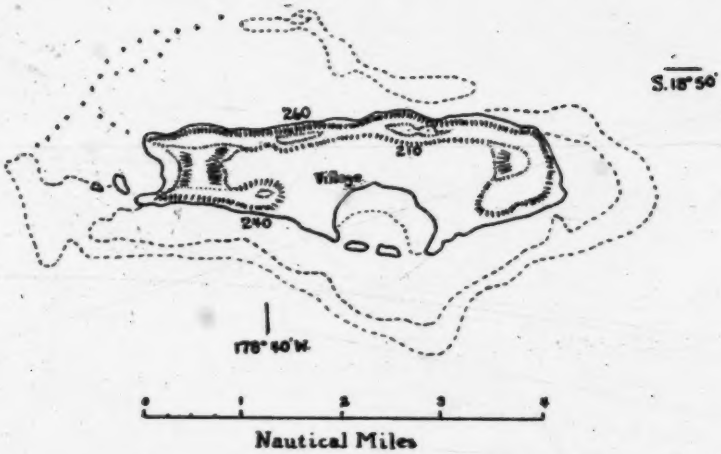

[p. 22]

MOTHE & KARONI

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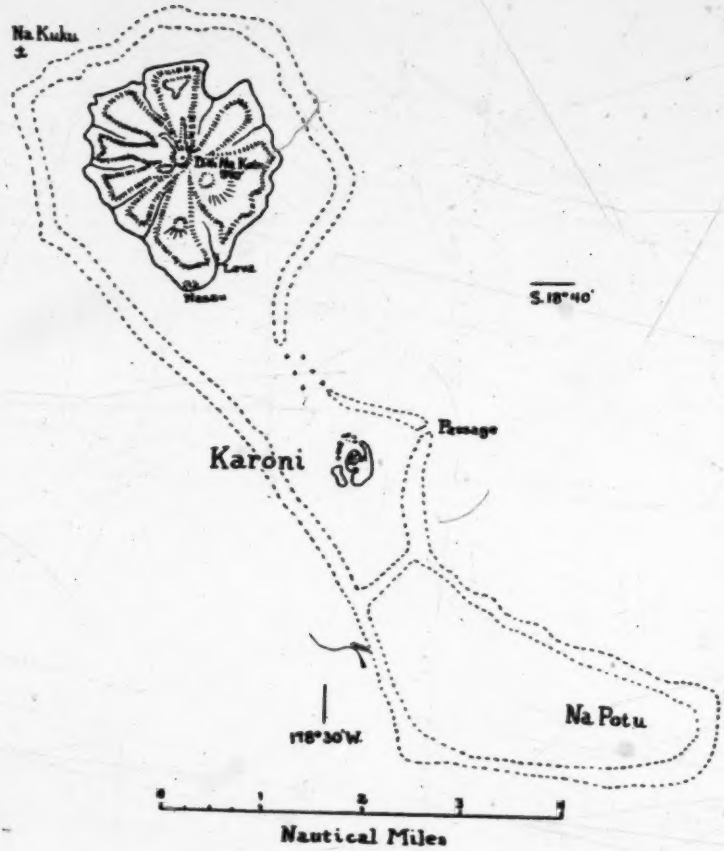

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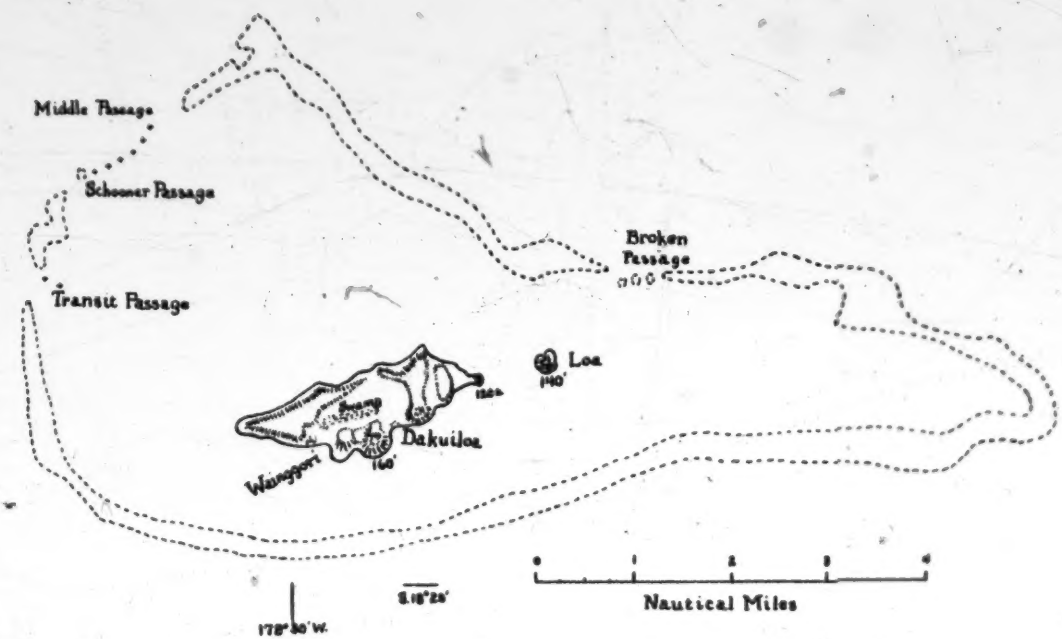
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OUTAFA I.



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[p.27]

OLORUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

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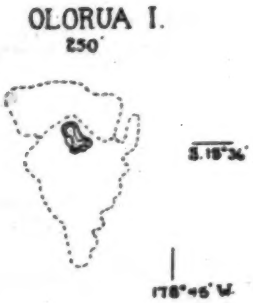

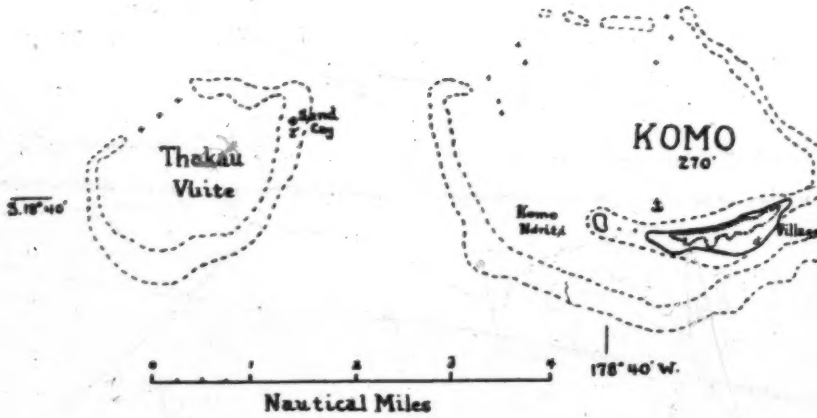

[p.30]

KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
and TUVUNASITHI.

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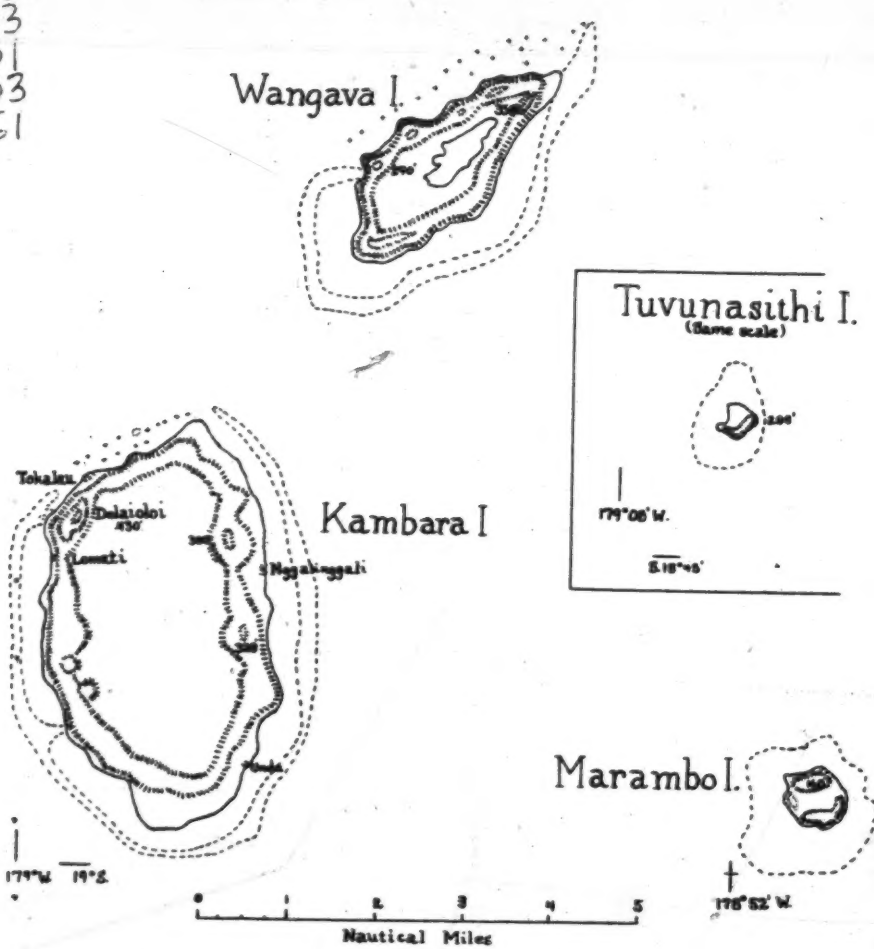

[p. 33]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

AIWA ISLANDS

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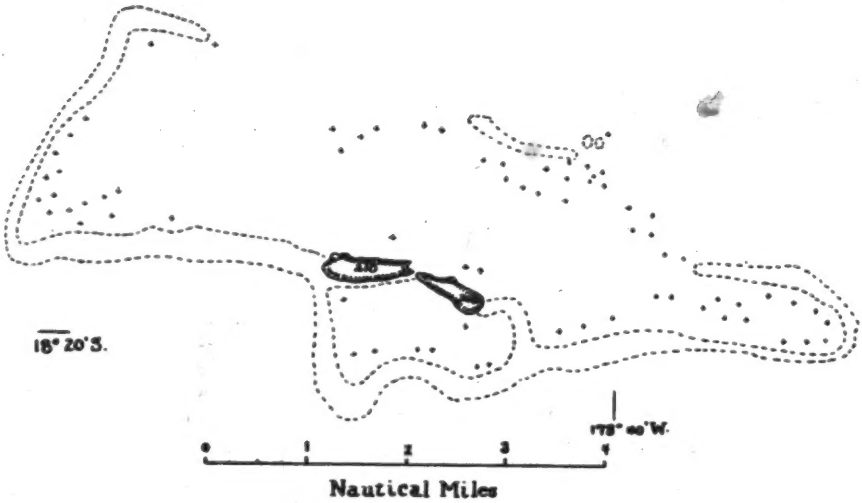
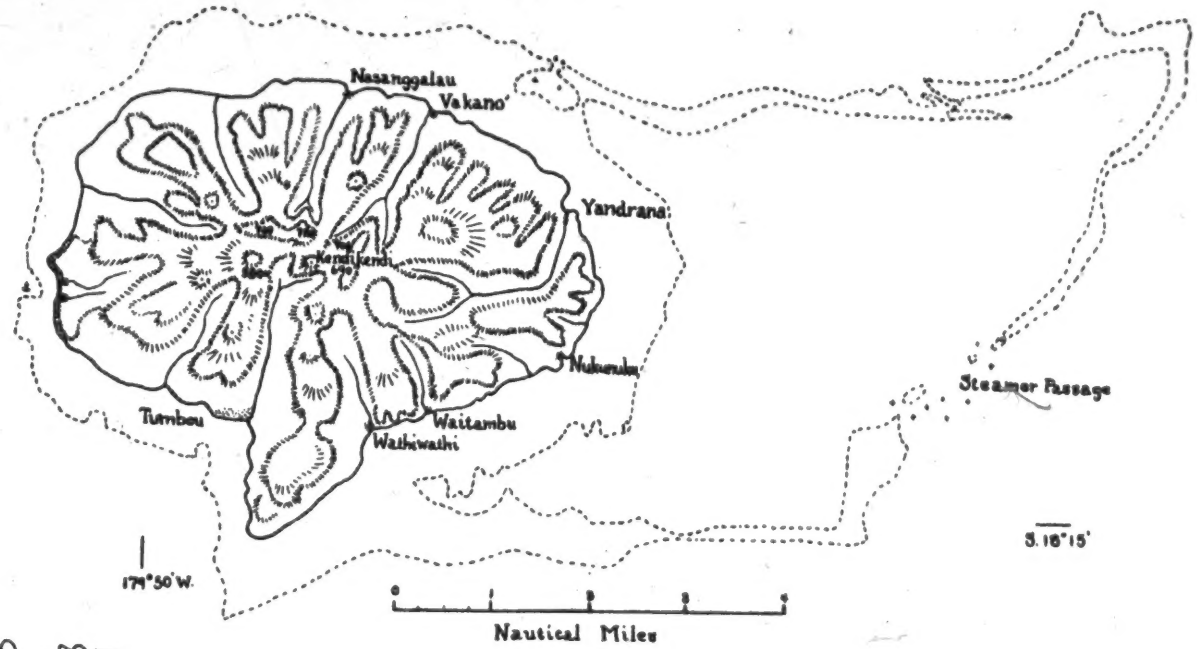


[p. 39]

LAKEMBA I.



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[p.41]

Northern Portion of
MBUKATATANOA (or Argo) REEF
and details of VANUA MASI & BACON I.

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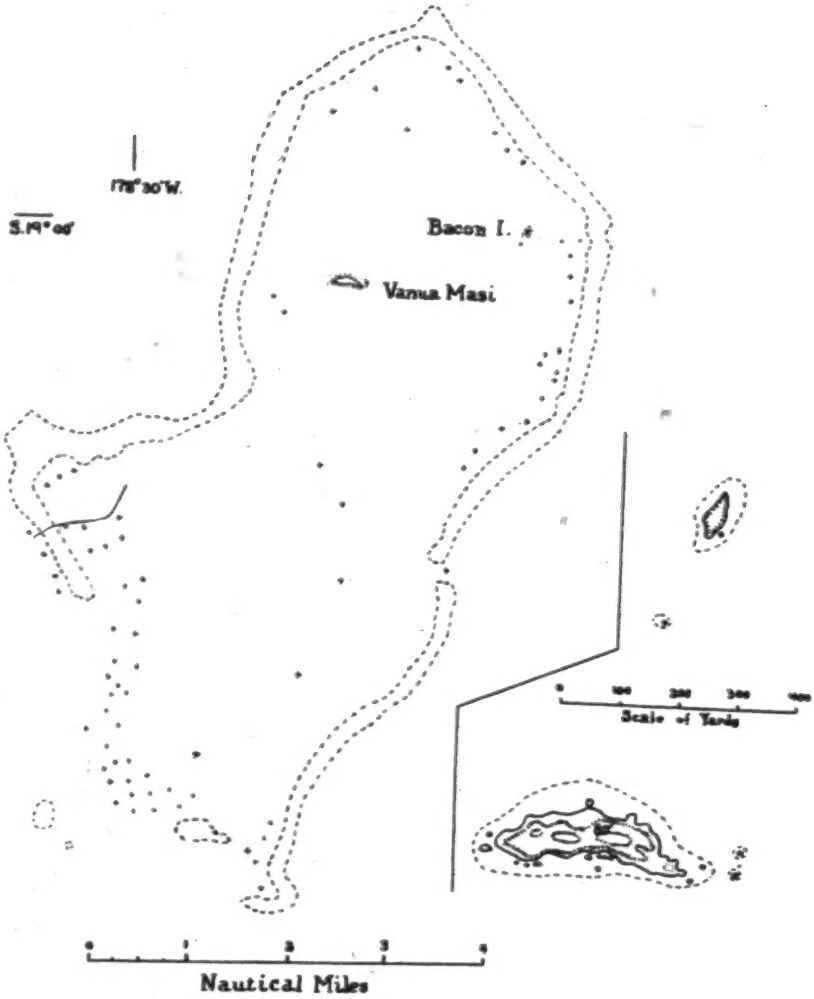

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REID HEAF
Details of
Latei Viti & Latei Tonga.

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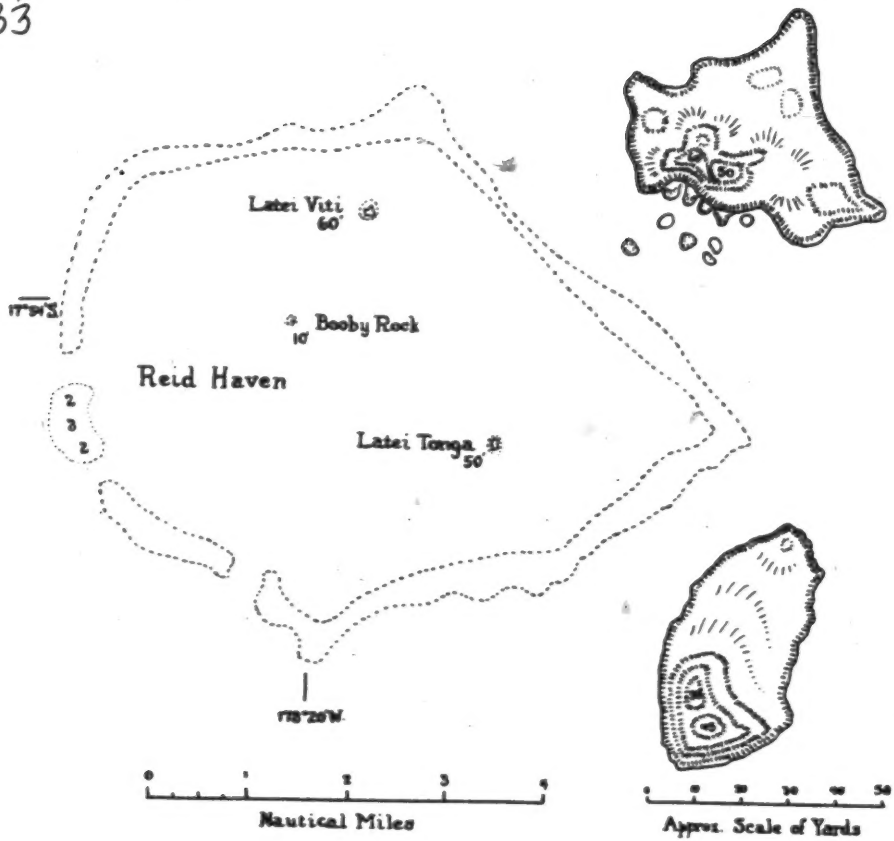

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YAROUA I. and Adjacent Reefs.

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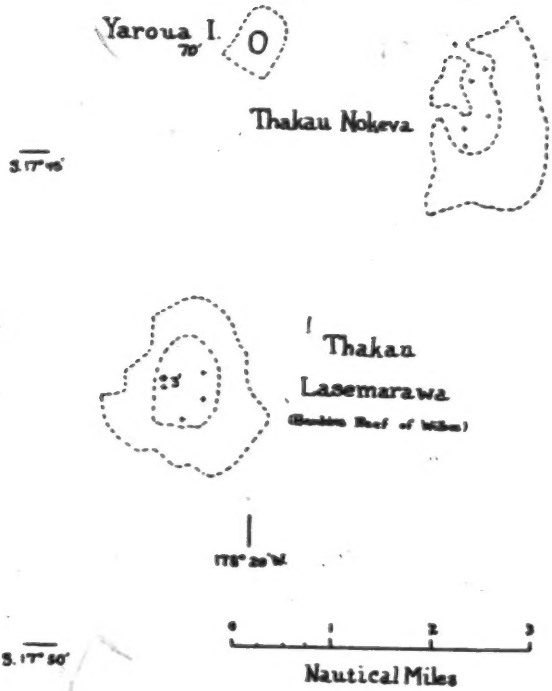

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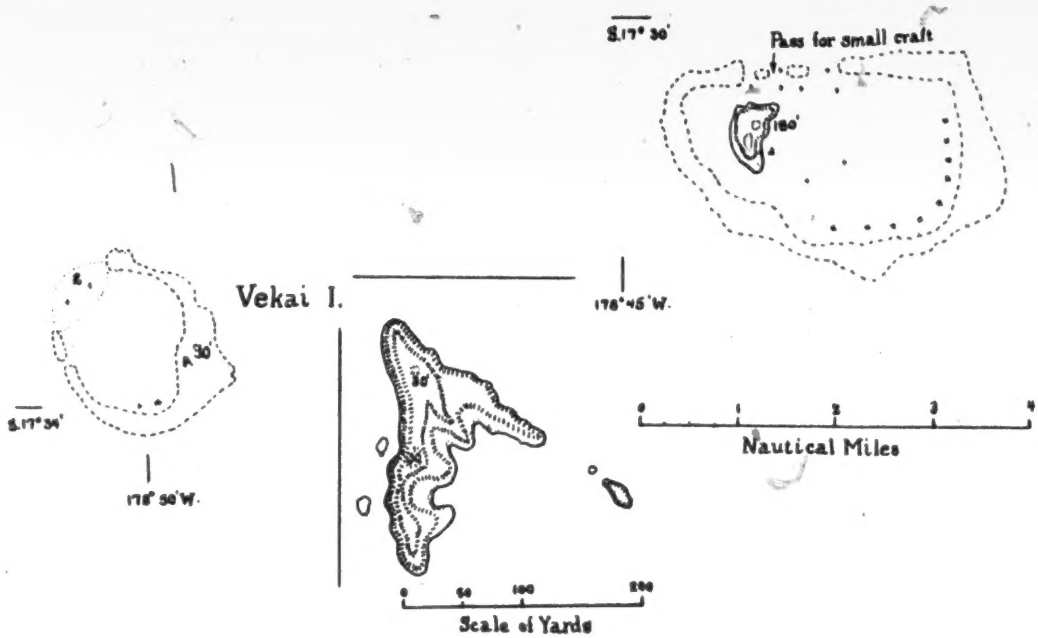
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KATAFANGA, VEKAI
Detail of Vekai.



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TUVUTHA' I.

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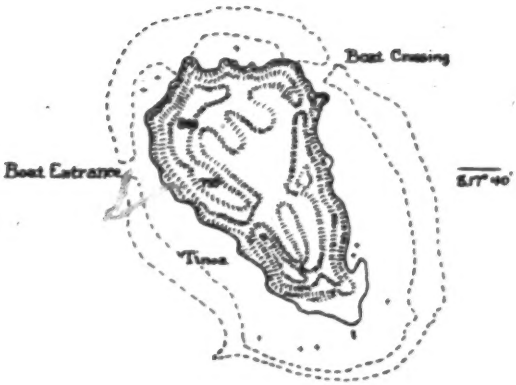

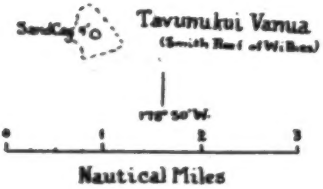

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NAIAU I.

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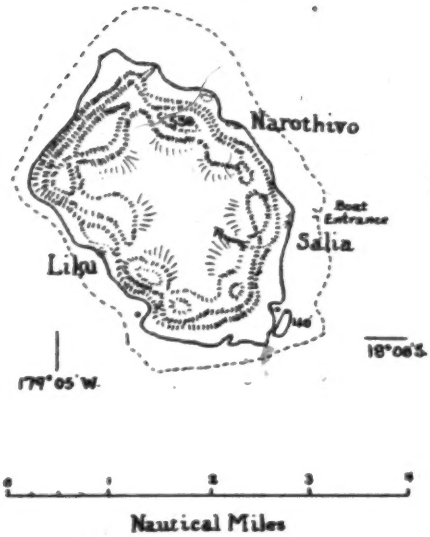

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VANUA VATU.

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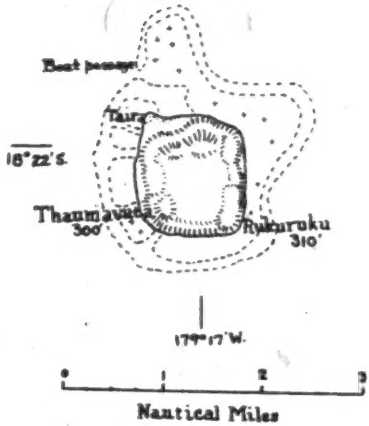

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9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

THITHIA I.

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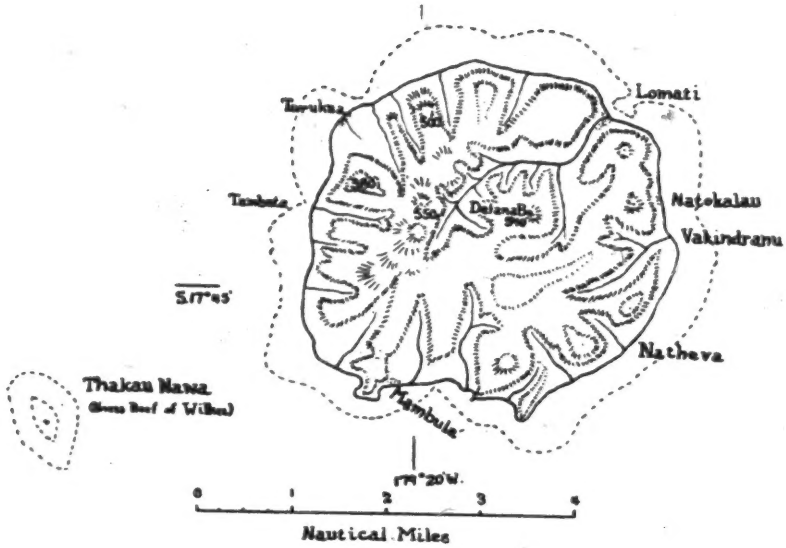

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MANGO I.

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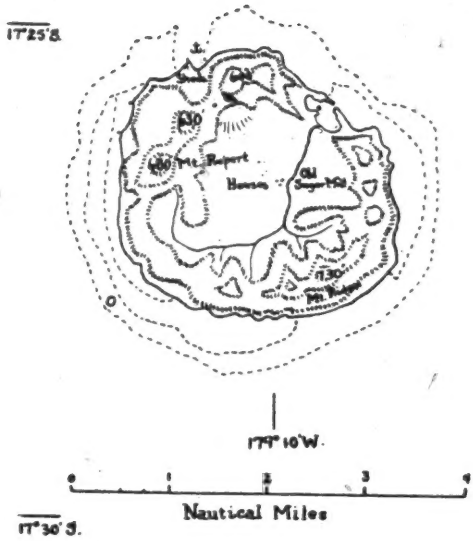

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KANATHEA I.

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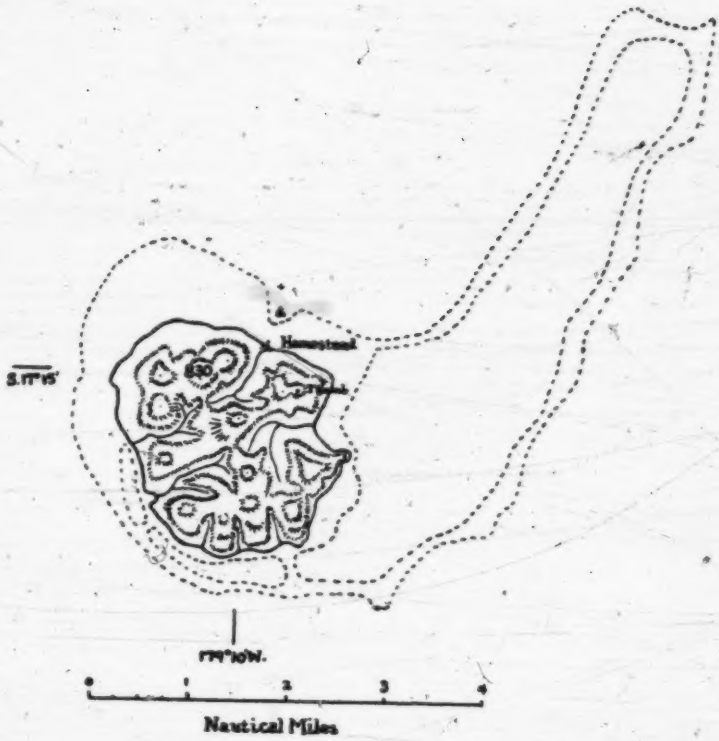

[p.65]

VANUA MBALAVU and nearby islands.

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SOVU ISLETS

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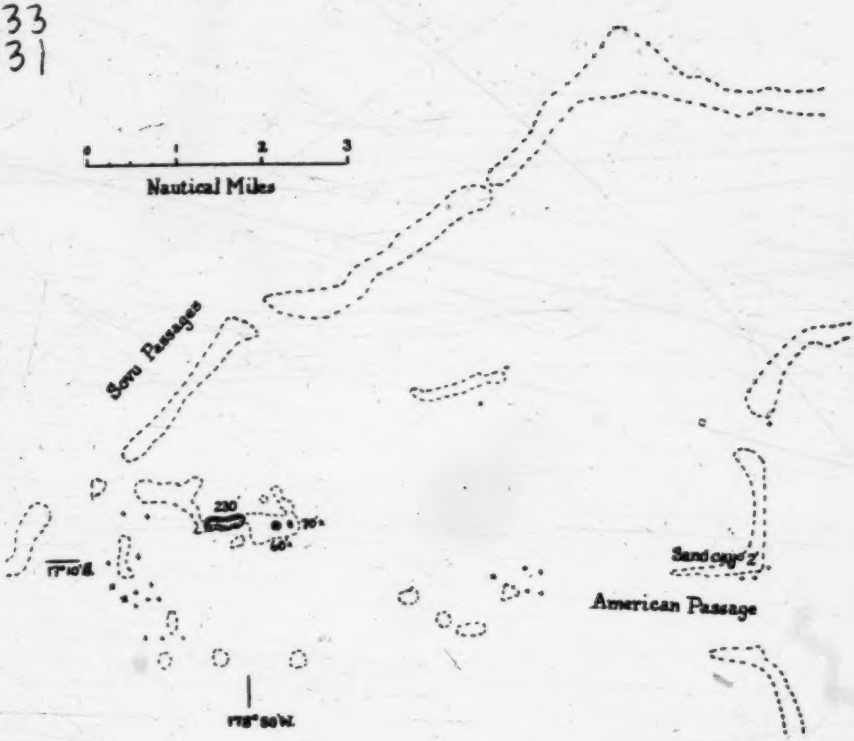

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MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

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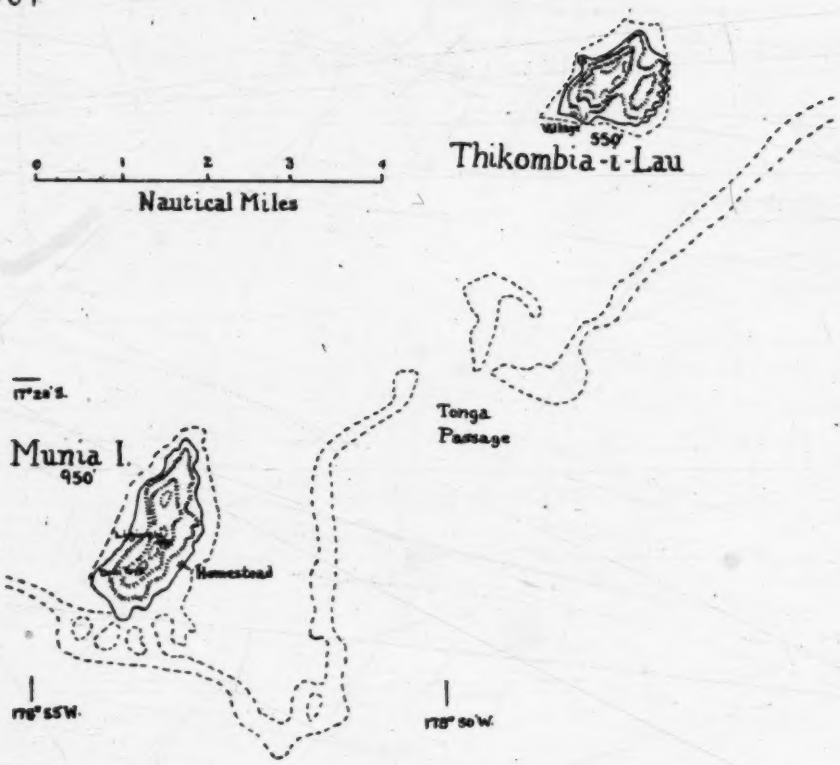

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9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KIMBOMBO ISLETS and detail of middle islet.

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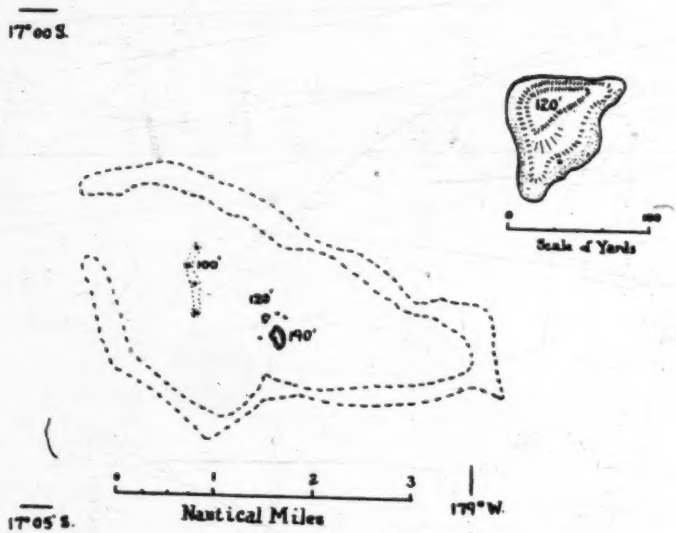

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WAILANGILALA I.

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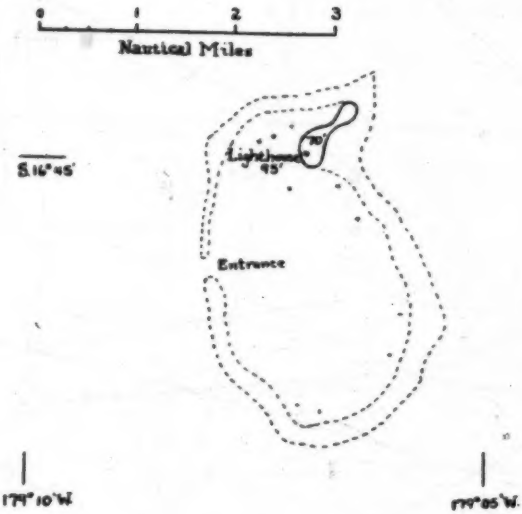

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NAITAUMBA I.

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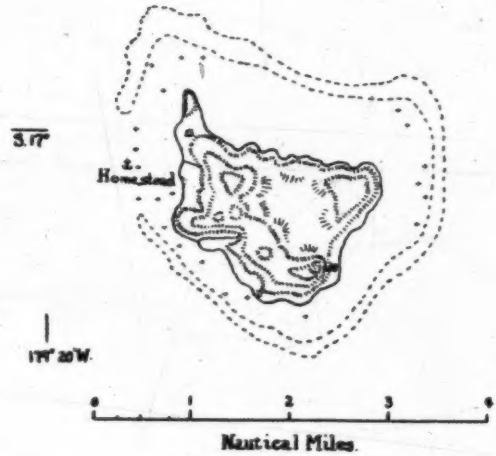

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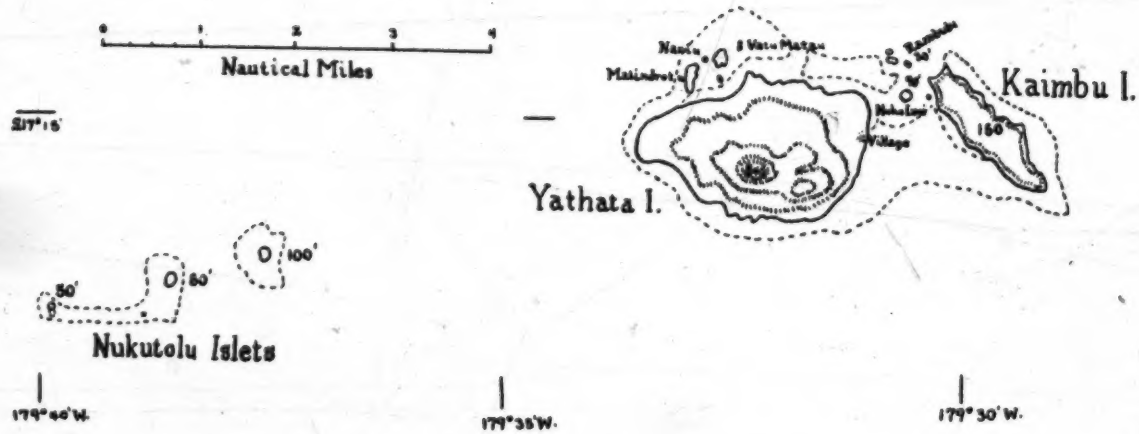
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

VATU VARA I.

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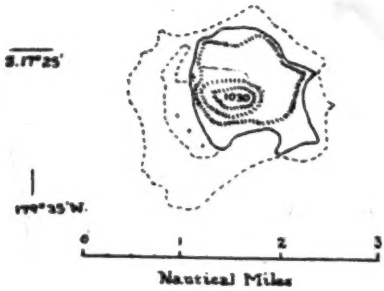

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10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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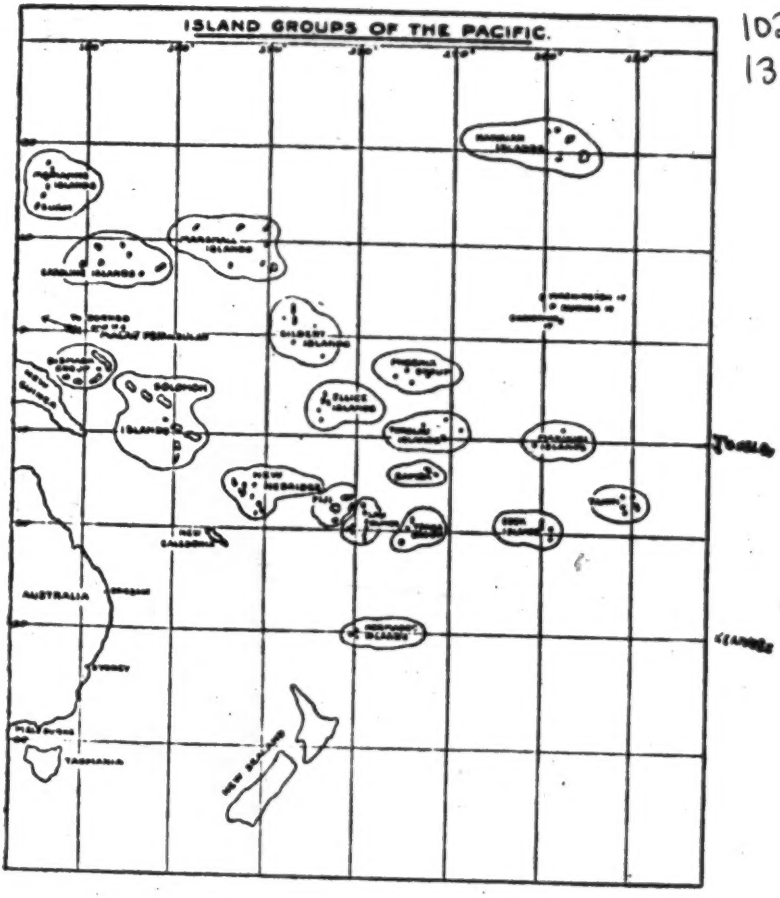

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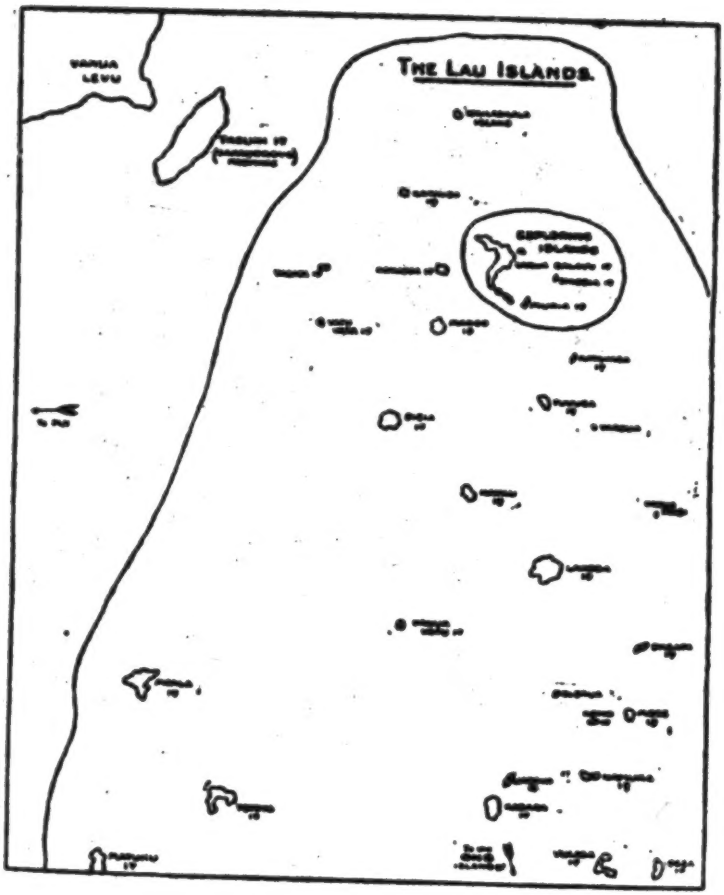
B

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

102



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103 PLACE NAMES--lists of the names of settlements and geographical features; etymologies of place names; historical and cultural connotations; etc. See also:

Settlements . . . . . 36 Territorial divisions 631
Personal names 551

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

000

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Introduction.

Plant Life.

Animal Life.

Maps.

Summary of W.G.Foye's Geological observations on Lau.

Simple geologic classification of all the Lau islands.

Average rainfall in Lau.

Summary of the population of Lau.

●103 Survey of the individual islands. (with maps)

1. Ongea
2. Fulanga
3. Naiambo
4. Yangasa Cluster
5. Namuka-i-Lau
6. Mothe & Karoni
7. Oneata
8. Komo
9. Olorua
10. Kambara
11. Narambo
12. Wangava
13. Tuvunasithi
14. Aiwa
15. Lakemba
16. Mbukatatanoa Reef
17. Reid Reef.
18. Yarcua
19. Katafanga
20. Vekai.
21. Tuvutha'
22. Naiau
23. Vanua Vatu
24. Thithia
25. Mango
26. Kanathea
27. The Exploring Islands
    - Vanua Mbalavu
    - Avea
    - Malata
    - Susui
    - Munia
    - Thikombia-i-Lau
    - Sovu
28. Kimbombo
29. Nailangilala
30. Naitaumba and Malima
31. Yathata
32. Kaimbu
33. Mukutolu
34. Vatu Vara.

Plates. (50 photographs.)

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SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LAU.
From 1921 Census.

District	Island	Village	Pop.	Fijians Res.	Fijians Strangers	Others	No.of Houses.
Fulanga	Ongea	Ongea	101	92	9	-	21
	Fulanga	Munaithake	205	199	5	1	40
	"	Muanaira	41	41	-	-	12
	"	Naivindamu	64	64	-	-	12
Kambara	Namuka-i-Lau	Namuka	216	187	29	-	53
	Komo	Komo	140	115	25	-	25
	Marambo	Marambo	8	8	-	-	1
	Kambara	Lomati	46	42	4	-	8
	"	Nggalinggali	130	123	7	-	28
	"	Tokalau	109	101	8	-	19
	"	Undu	89	83	6	-	19
Mothe	Mothe	Leva	75	74	1	-	17
	"	Nasau	187	152	35	-	51
Oneata	Oneata	Dakuiloa	85	70	13	2	21
	"	Wainggori	138	128	10	-	23
Lakemba	Lakemba	Nasanggalau	151	127	23	1	29
	"	Nukunuku	70	63	6	1	17
	"	Tumbou	283	235	38	10	76
	"	Vakano	70	50	17	3	14
	"	Wathiwathi	130	112	17	1	28
	"	Waitambu	76	69	6	1	15
	"	Yandrana	187	177	8	2	46
	?	Levuka	87	83	3	1	17
Naiau	Naiau	Liku	59	56	3	-	14
	"	Narothivo	117	104	12	1	33
	"	Salia	146	108	34	4	28
Thithia	Thithia	Lomati	113	102	9	2	28
	"	Mambula	123	118	2	3	23
	"	Natheva	41	37	4	-	12
	"	Tarukua	75	67	3	5	17
	"	Natokalau	65	57	7	1	15
Lomaloma	Tuvutha	Tuvutha	102	96	6	-	22
	Susui	Susui	67	64	3	-	21
	?	Futuna	3	3	-	-	1
	Vanua Mbalavu	Levukana	71	67	4	-	18
	"	Lomaloma	151	113	29	9	38
	"	Narothivo	60	48	12	-	15
	"	Ndakuilomaloma	52	46	2	4	12
	"	Sawana	121	105	16	-	28
	"	Uruone	66	61	5	-	15
Mualevu	"	Malaka	14	9	5	-	5
	"	Mavana	115	83	28	4	26
	"	Mboitathi	64	53	10	1	12
	"	Mualevu	196	151	45	-	37
	"	Muamua	30	20	10	-	8
	"	Ndalithoni	91	55	33	3	23
	Avea	Avea	63	53	10	-	20
	Thikombia	Thikombia	51	39	10	2	12
Ono	3 islands	5 villages	641	613	23	5	?
Matuku	Matuku	7 "	648	573	74	1	163
Moala	Moala	8 "	667	645	20	2	133
Totoya	Totoya	4 "	474	431	39	4	88
"	Vanua Vatu	Taira	162	145	15	2	26
			7402	6583	743	76	--#

1487 houses exclusive of those in Ono district.

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ONGEA ISLANDS

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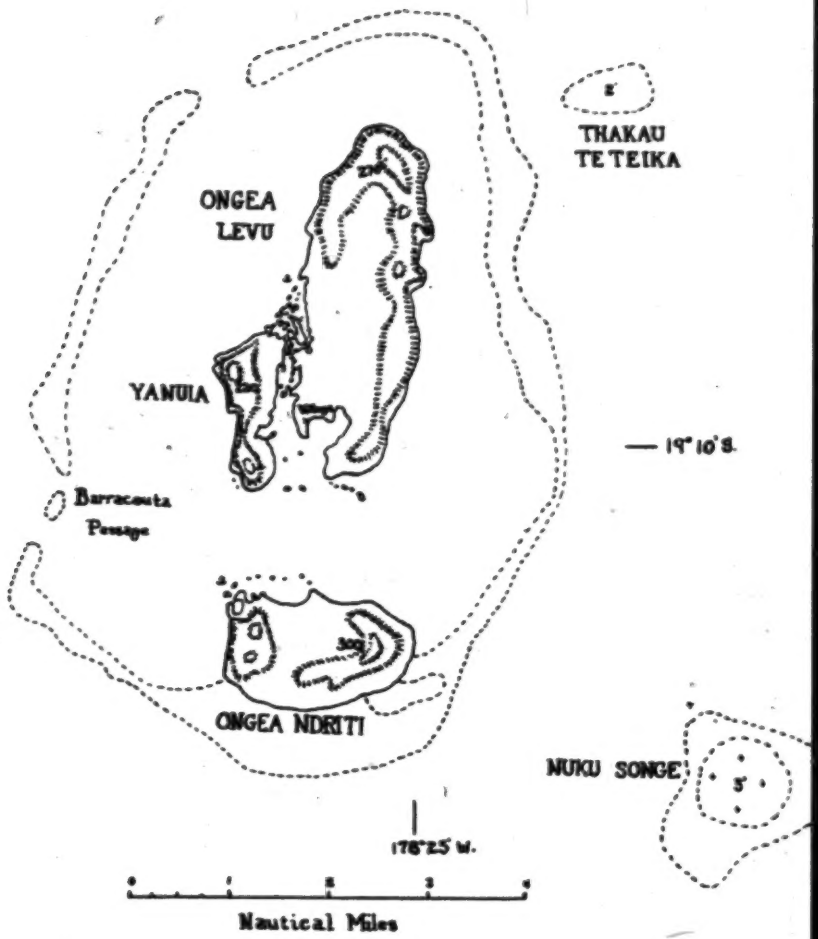

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FULANGA I.

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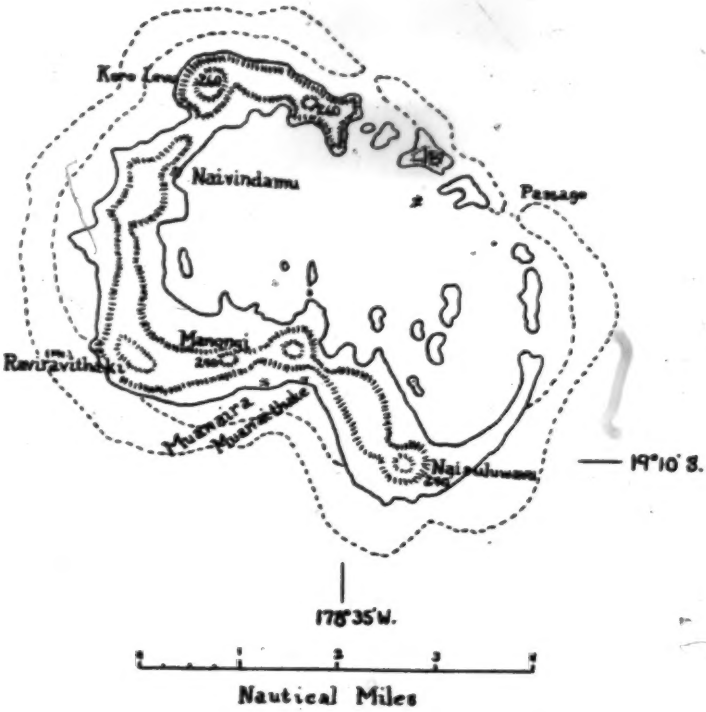

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YANGASA CLUSTER.

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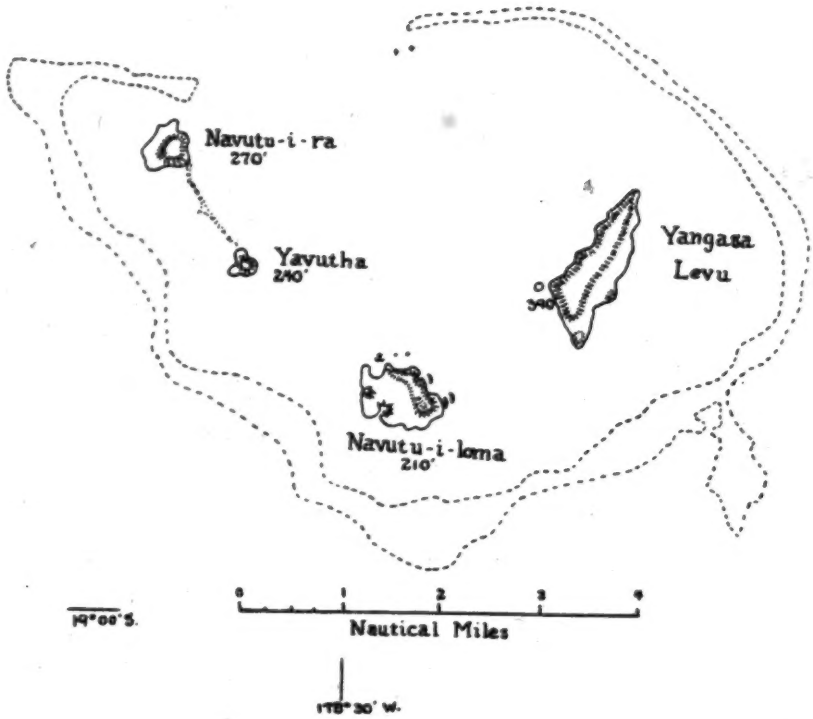

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MOTHE & KARONI

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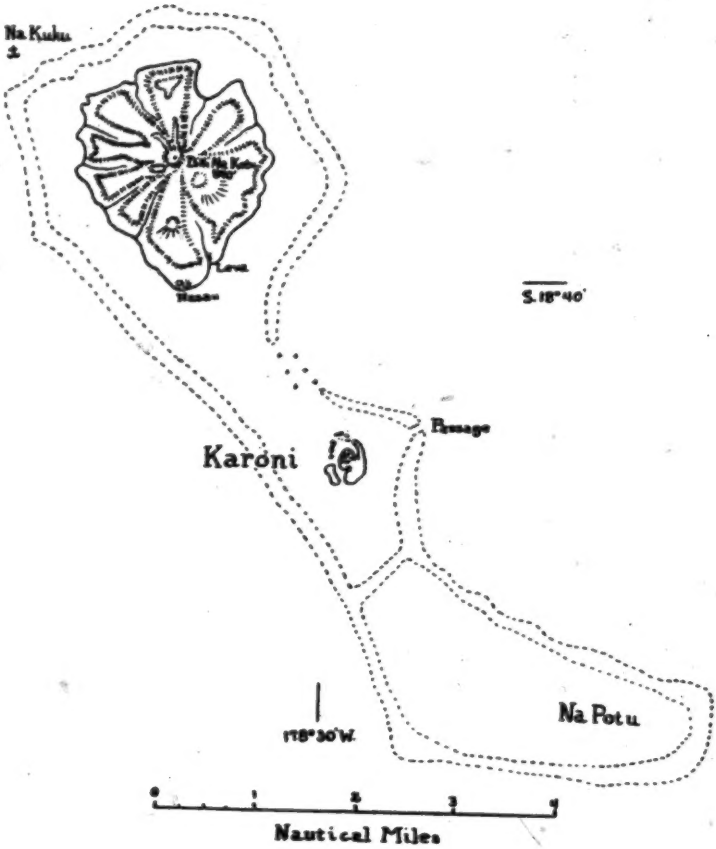

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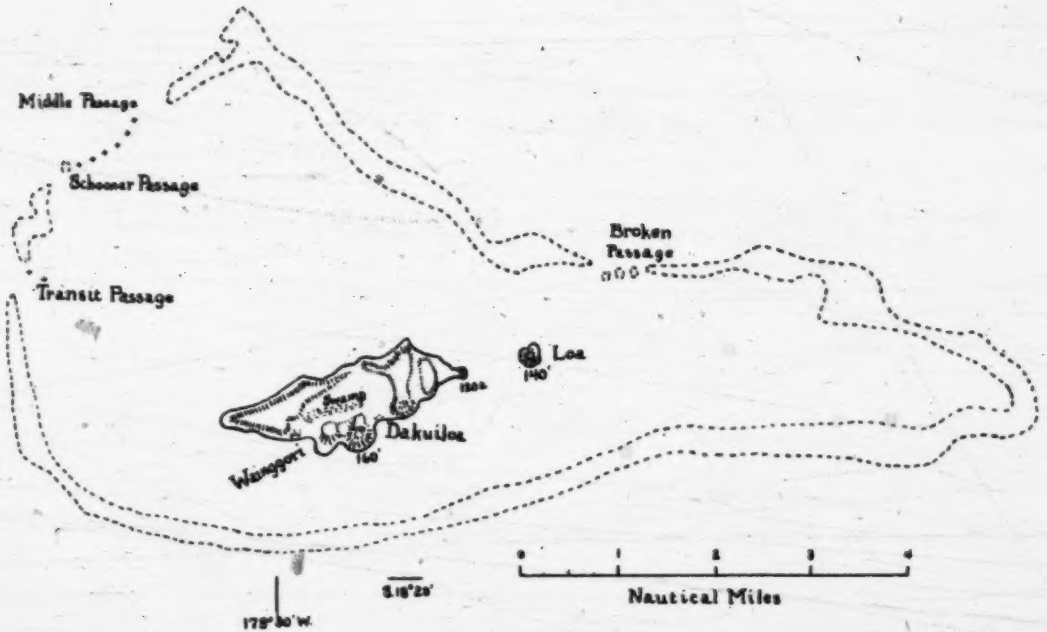
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OUTATA I.



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[p.27]

OLORUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

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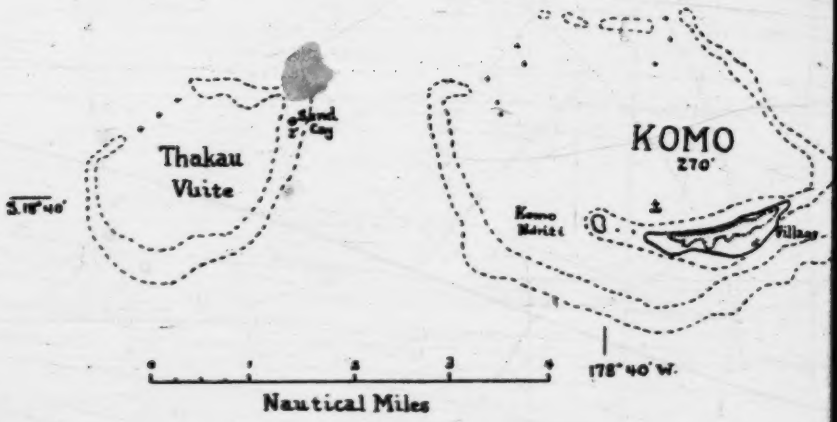

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KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
nand TUVUNASITHI.

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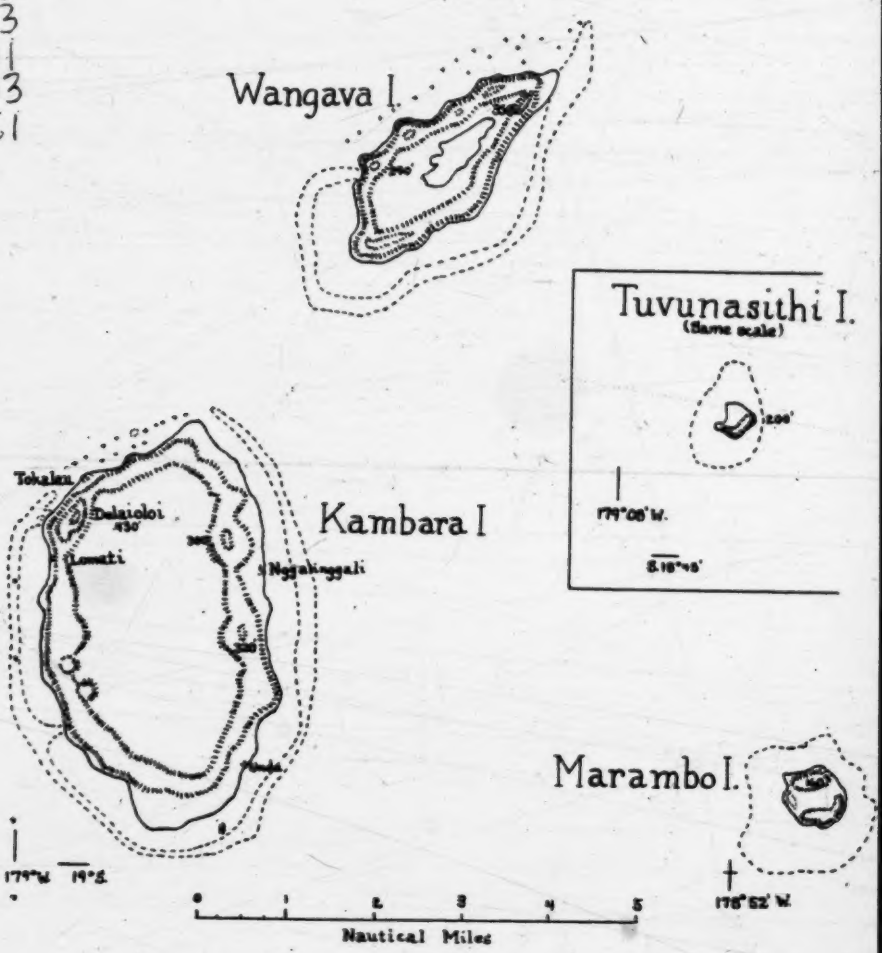

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LAKEMBA I.

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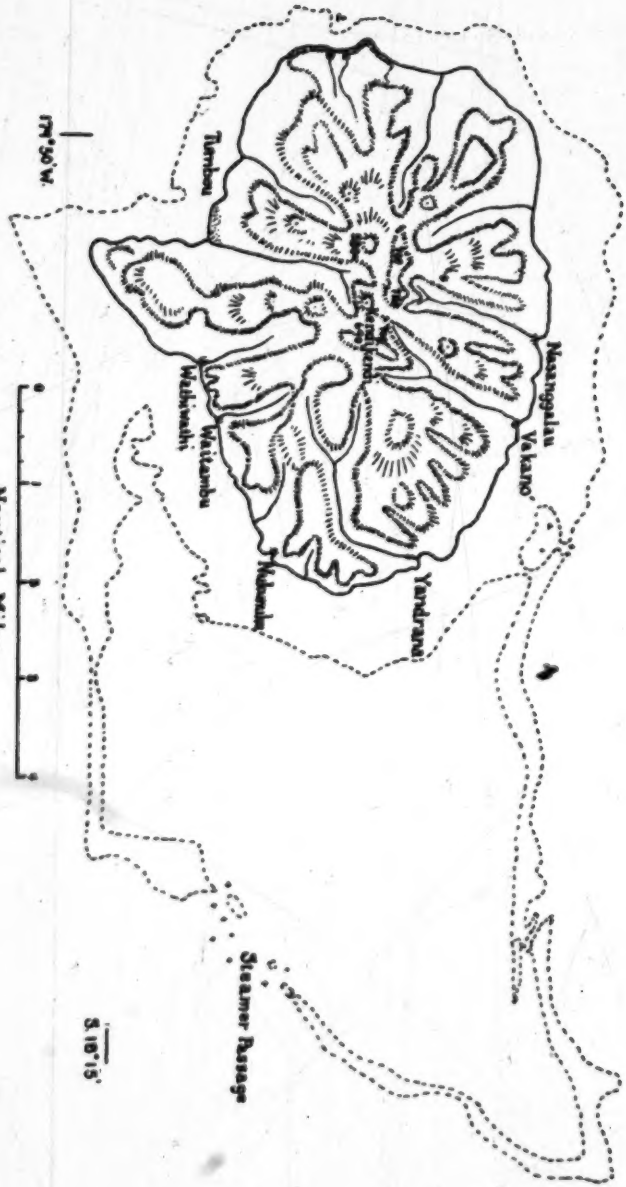

[p.41]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Northern Portion of
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and details of VANUA MASI & BACON I.

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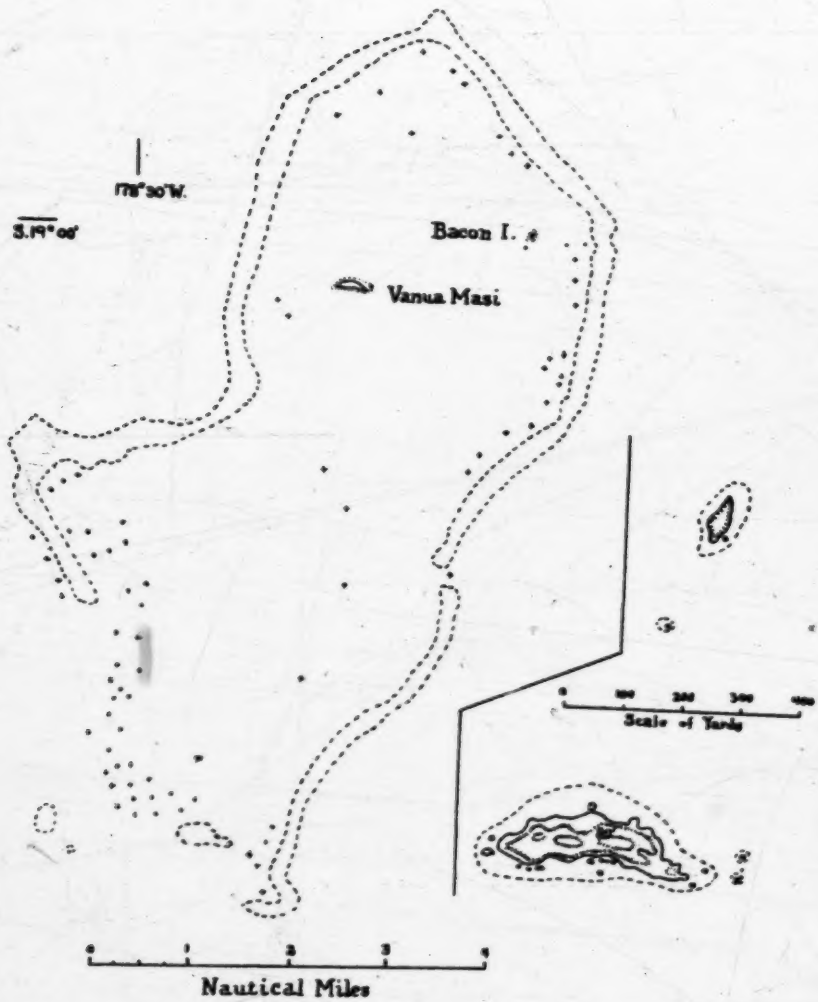

[p44]

REID REEF
Details of
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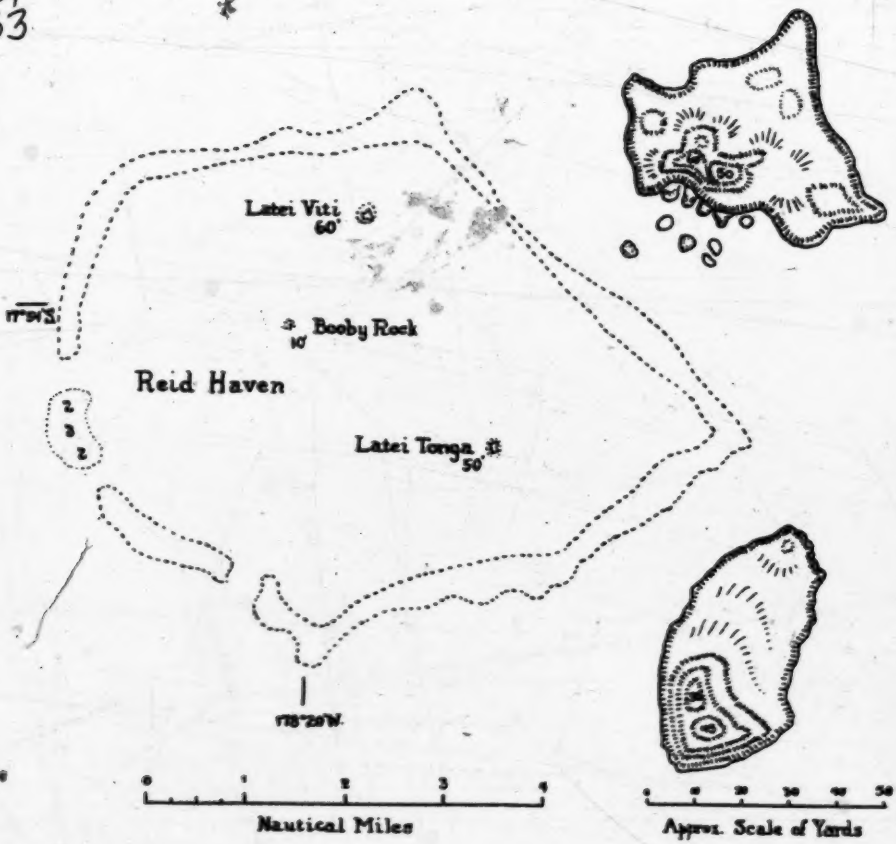

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YAROUA I. and Adjacent Reefs.

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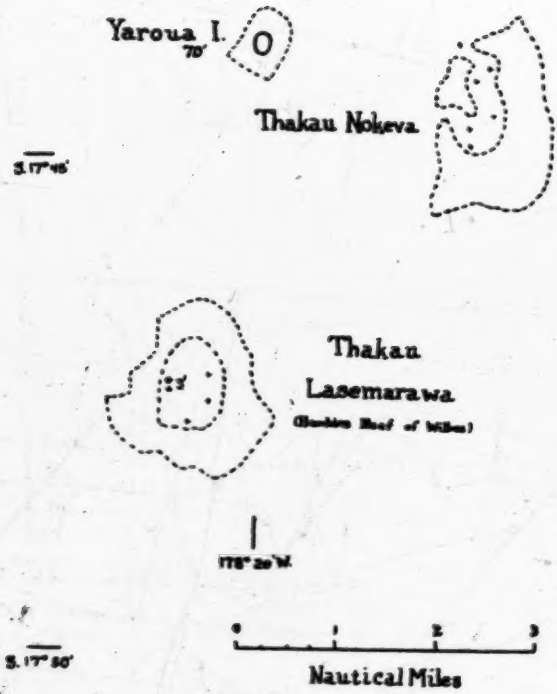

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TUVUTHA' I.

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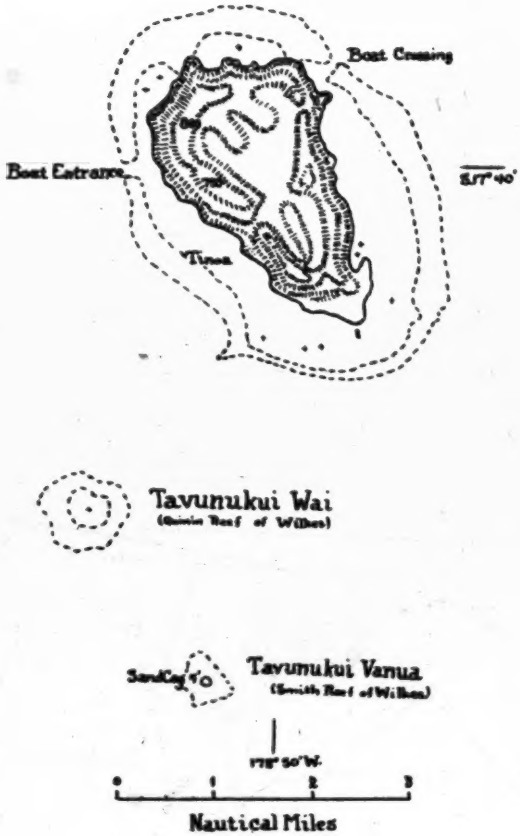

[p.53]

VANUA VATU.

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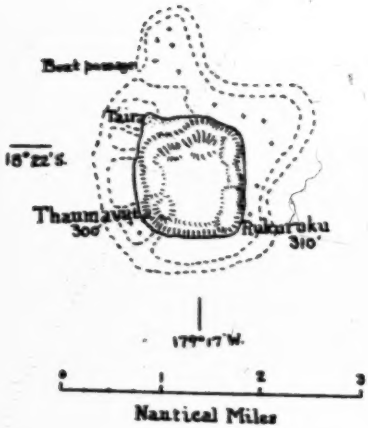

[p.57]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

THITHIA I.

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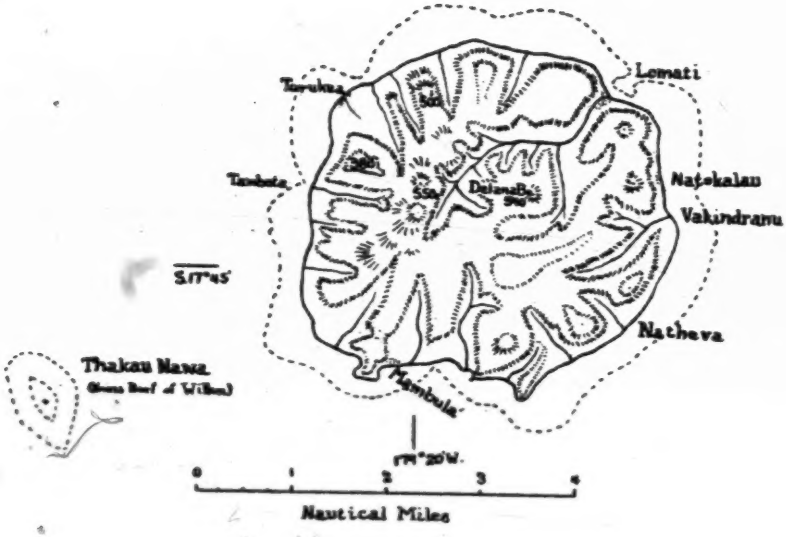

[p. 59]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

MANGO I.

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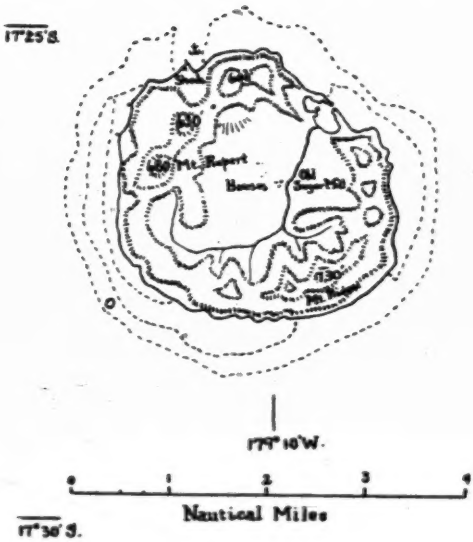

[p. 62]

13 THE EXPLORING ISLES include a somewhat scattered group of islands: Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Avea, Sovu, Malata, Susui, Munia, Thibombia-i-Lau, and small islets, all lying within a single barrier reef, 77 miles in circumference. The greatest length (E.& W.) of the enclosed lagoon is 23 miles and its width (N.& S.) is 21 miles. There are five passages thru the reef: two on the west, Andivatha and Ngillangilla, opposite those two islets; a series, the Sovu Passages, on the north, near the Sovu Islets; the American Passage on the east; and the Tongan Passage on the S.E., between Munia and Thikombia-i-Lau.

The reef is one of the few barrier reefs in Fiji having a sloping outer edge to windward. On this a vessel might anchor. There is deep water within, with comparatively few reefs and coral heads. Depths of up to 100 fathoms have been sounded on the east, but much of the central portion is from 30 to 50 fathoms.

Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Malata, and Susui form a long narrow curve, shaped like a figure "2". The N.W. end is of limestone, the central portion volcanic, and the S.E. is mixed volcanic and limestone material. Ngillangilla and the other small islets close in will be included with Vanua Mbalavu.

● 103 The group received its name from the United States Exploring Expedition, under Wilkes, in 1840.

[p. 67]

VANUA MBALAVU and nearby islands.

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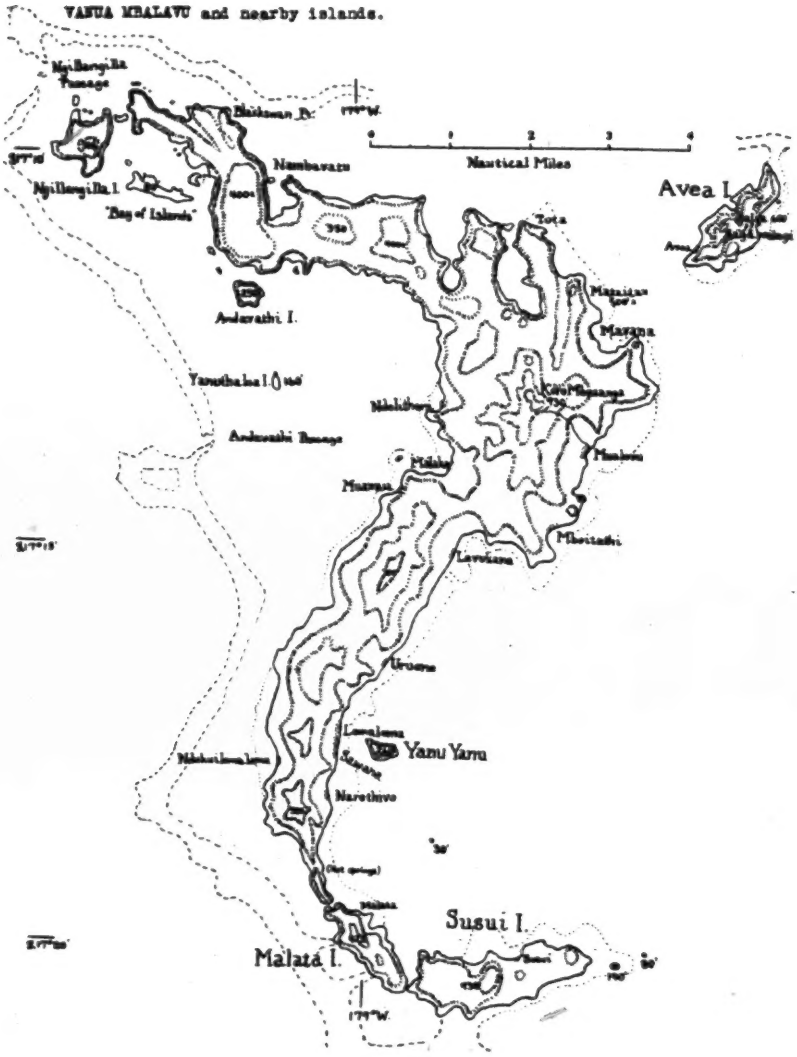

[p.72]

MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

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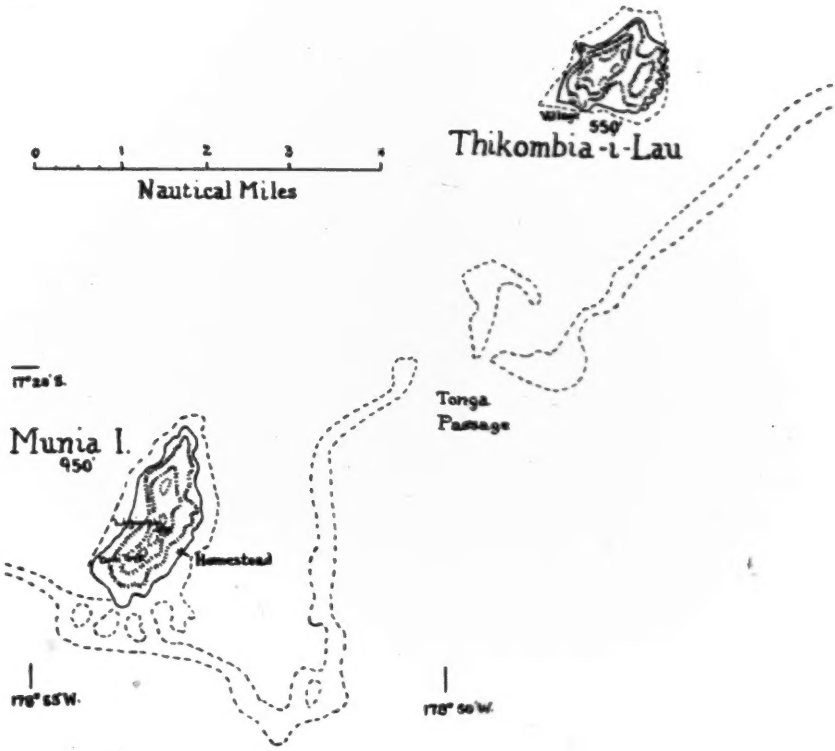
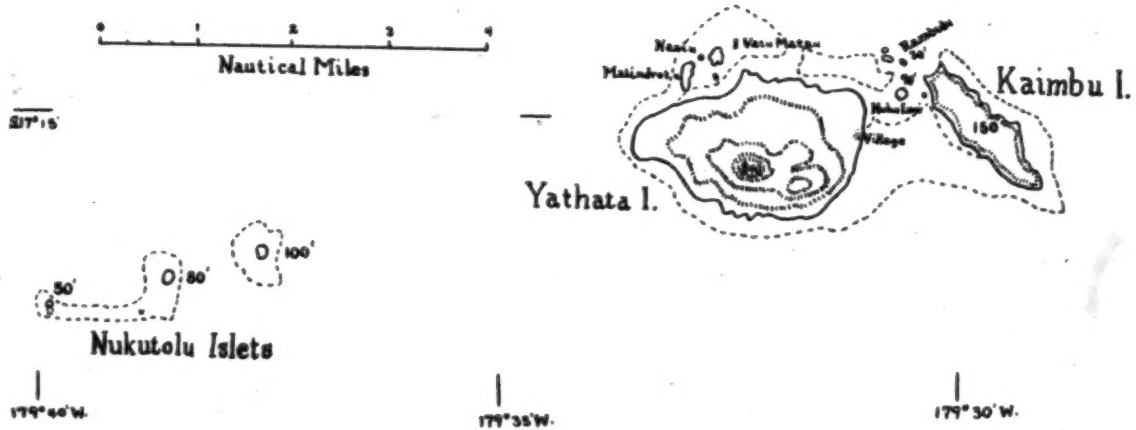


[p. 74]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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361

[p.84]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E. & W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

361 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the ruins of a fortified village are located.

[172] [712]

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial homestead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

423 361 245

Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

13 502

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.

464 161 312 241

[p.88]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

123 the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to
412 Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness,
115 though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on
[103] to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

*539 "In the days before the first foreign ship came
773 to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a
776 small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *lauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ita, an island to the north of Fiji.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

104

Place names are spelled as they appear on the official map "Compiled and drawn at the Lands Department, Suva, Fiji, revised August, 1923." The spelling is substantially that of the charts issued by the British Admiralty and the United States Hydrographic Office. Unfortunately, the official spelling of such words as Naiau (properly Nayau), Fulanga (properly Vulanga), and Uangava or Wangava (properly Vuanggava) obscure the meaning.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

GLOSSARY

DIALECT WORDS

Lauan

Mbathi. Again.
Mbaravi (mbārāvi). Shore.
Mbo-ka. To find.
Mbona. Evil smelling.
Mborisi. Angry.
Mbosi. Evil smelling (after coitus).
Mbuthi. Wet.

Thewa. To sit.
Thivo. Down.
Thowiri. To spin, twirl.

Ndai-na. To lie, be mistaken, deceive.
Ndakala. To open the mouth.
Nduthi. To point with the finger.
Nduke. To project.
Ndrakai. Weary; hard work.
Ndra (ndrā). Leaf.
Ndriva-ta. To steal.
Ndroso. Hoarse.

Faufau. To wear a turban.
Feno-ka. To tickle.
Fiu. Tired of.

Nggalu. Pudding.
Nggau. My (to eat).
Nggou. My (property).

I. This.
Iei. This, here.
Ifinga. To gobble up.
Inggore, Inggoya. That.

Kathu. Plant, tree, wood, stick.
Kambeta. Cracked.
Kai-laka. To abuse, use bad language.
Kai (kaí). There it is.
Kanda. To run.
Kayavi. Evening.
Kapelu. Bent.
Kavere. Broken (of brittle objects).
Kavoro. Broken (of solid objects).
Kemunu (kemunū). You.
Keta. We (inclusive).
Ki. To, hither.
Kokosi (kōkosi). To play.
Koikoya. That is it.
Kutha. How much.
Kuno-tha. To shake with both hands.
Kuta. To bite off.

Langi. Sky, rain.
Lekutu. Bush, country (as opposed to town).
Leie (lēlē). A coaxing particle as in leie, e nda nggau (do you give me one). /04
Leka-ta. To be shorter than.
Lenggeiengge. To kick about.
Lepo. Oven not covered with earth.
Linde-nga. To fillip.
Lingo. Only used in ta lingo-tha, forget.

Mamake (māmākē). Din of voices.
Manda. In front.
Mandatakina. To lead.
Mairu. E maiū. I do not know (Levuka?).
Maopo. Intelligent, clever.
Motu-ka. To hit.
Mosi-ta. To hurt, pain.

Nini-vakina. To dislike a man, have him on one's nerves.
No (nō). To lie; used as auxiliary to qualify.
Numbu. Deep.
Nuve. Caterpillar.

Oiaue (oiauē). Exclamation of surprise.
Ofuofu. Onanist.
Omu. Thy.
Omunu (omunū). Your.
Ona. His.
Ondra. Their.

Pani-a. To anoint.
Pelu-ka. To bend; pass (See kapelu, thopelu).
Pia. Penis.
Pisi. To spurt up.
Piathi. Bad, "rotten."
Pono-ka. To catch.
Polo. Elephantiasis of the testicles.
Popo. Rotten.

Rewa, Rewa i thake. High.
Rindeu. To start, be surprised.
Ririva. Afraid, nervous.

Sala. By himself.
Salau. Myself alone.
Saumbongi, Sāmbongimbongi, ni. Tomorrow.
Sapota. To catch a falling object.

Ta. Not.
Tasiporitakina. To crop the hair close.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

104 Tatama. Quick.
Tawa. Not.
Tatawai. To talk in sleep.
Teki. Not yet, never.
Tei-makina. To stick in.
Telefua. Naked.
Tonggo-va. To pounce upon.
Tona. Yaws.
Toto. Painful.
Tuki-a. To hit, box.
Tumba-takina. To run away from.
Tuwai. Long, delayed, ancient.

Unu. To drink.
Undre-va. Alight, to light.
Usu-ta. To push self forward, to appropriate with a high hand.
Uta. Used to, pleasant.

Vakasolo kakana (vakasolo kākana). To whisper.
Vakatakea (vakatāea). To explain, show.
Vala-ta. To do.
Vakutha, ni (vākutha). When?
Vea. Overripe.
Vuta. To refuse.
Vusa. Faded, ruined.
Vutungu (vutungū). Fractious.

Wathara-a. To pursue.
Wakuri-a (wākuri-a). To drive away.
Waliwali. Scented oil.
Weimami. Our (exclusive).
Weta. Our (inclusive).

Y. A glide introducing "a," as Lauans cannot pronounce "a" without a preceding sound.
Yamba. Mat.
Yasa-va. To seek.
Yapa. To fly about.
Yavi, ni. Yesterday.
Yavi. To pull a rope.
Yawalevu. Main passage.
Yauka. I do not know. Moala.

Mbusi. Evil smelling.
Mburini. To husk a coconut.

Nggala (nggalā). A bird called teri in Mbauan.

Koa. Here.
Kotha. To hit.

Mathi. Again.

Somi-tha. To drink.

Veikavuai. To abuse, insult one another.

Yali, e. There is none.
Vanua Mbalavu
Ndrama-ka. To throw at (also Ono).

Kea. He (in ko kea).
Koma. To burn.
Kutu-ma. To pursue.

Lombau. Grove.

Ovo. To cry.

Taki. Not yet.
Tapalea. To parry.

Veimbore. To insult, abuse one another.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

121 as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (21, 22, 23, 24).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

197 The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British [198] colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð	ngg = ŋg	mb = ᵐb
ng = ŋ	nd = ⁿd	tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

●104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, expept that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

[p. 10 is blank]

PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [197]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

104 language, so do the Fijians find it difficult to
194 pronounce certain sounds, such as B and D, without the conjunction of other sounds with them. Thus, wherever a B is written down in a Fijian word an imaginary M must be understood to precede it, and similarly an imaginary N precedes both the written D and also the G (the G in Fijian being very nasal and almost inaudible). Therefore DEGEI, the Serpent God, is pronounced as if spelt in English as NDENGEI (nasal G), and BEQA, an island, is pronounced as if spelt MBENGA (hard G).

Vowels have the French sound, and so the diphthong AU in LAU is pronounced ah-oo, which quickly run together eventually comes almost to rhyme with cow.

Accentuation is, as in Hebrew, nearly always on the penultimate syllable.

T. R. St. J.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tural streams first from the west and later from the east, which moulded the culture of eastern Fiji. Finally Kambara's lack of fertile land and lack of outside contact limited this culture to simple, analytical form. 105

The historic division of Lauan society is clear on Kambara and practically nowhere else in the group. Here is found the answer to Hocart's "dual organization" problem. He states (15, p. 232), "The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached." What appeared on Lakemba as a dual organization is really the opposition of the chief group to the land group on the basis of rank. This two-fold historic *yavusa* division, however, is found only on islands like Lakemba, Mothe, and Kambara where there is a chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*). On islands like Fulanga and Ongea, where the population is composed of the lower class (*yavusa vanua*), it is absent. Moreover, there are at least five historic *yavusa* groups, not just two, in Lau. The only groups which tend to divide into two parts are clans, in that a clan which has grown large frequently splits into two. Clans are frequently composed of two or three subclans and a subclan is usually composed of several households.

According to the available evidence the land people (*kai vanua*) or lower class in Lau are descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the eastern archipelago. They had a simple social organization. The basic social unit was a unilateral kinship and local group called *tokatoka*. Political power was in the hands of the old men and there was little interest in social prestige or pedigrees. The early inhabitants subsisted mainly on jungle produce, fishing and perhaps a little gardening on the volcanic islands and they had a simple technology. They believed in local spirits worshipped with offerings at sacred places called *na sava* (for instance, caves). They had first fruits' ceremonies and probably boys' initiation ceremonies and their rites centered around their religious life. They believed in their local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal and in a local abode of the soul after death. They had no migration tales.

The culture of the aborigines of Lau as described above is Melanesian in type. It is similar to the culture of the low Fijians of western Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Moreover, descendants of the early inhabitants found in greatest numbers on the island of Fulanga tend to be shorter, darker skinned, coarser featured, frizzier haired than the descendants of the immigrants who now form the nobility in Lau. The aborigines were apparently Melanesian in physical type and not Polynesian as assumed by Hocart (15, p. 230). The facts suggest that a Melanesian culture and race similar to that of the low Fijians and the early land people of Lau were once widespread in the Fiji group.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

105 About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies and tradition, a group of immigrants from Viti Levu under the leadership of the war hero, Ndaunisai, introduced a highly organized culture into southern Lau. According to the natives they brought "light" (*rarama*) to the "darkness" (*mbuto-mbuto*) of the aborigines. Upon the basic social unit of the early inhabitants they imposed a complicated system of rank by which every clan stood in definite relationship to every other clan. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence clan genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary clan titles depending on a historical division of clans. Clans which descended from the immigrants (who married women of the early inhabitants and acquired land thereby) formed the chiefs' phratry or nobility (*yavusa turanga*). Clans which descended from the early inhabitants formed the land phratry or lower class (*yavusa vanua*). The highest rank was held by the high chief, who was directly descended in the first-born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai.

The ranking system was reflected in a hierarchy of clan ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). At the top stood Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai. The clan ancestor gods were propitiated by hereditary priests (*mbete*) in small god houses (*mbure kalou*). However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestor ghosts as clan deities, the descendants of the aborigines retained their local gods with their local units. The purpose of worship was to obtain mana expressed in the form of social prestige, which became the highest social value. Emphasis was placed on the divinity of the chief, as representative of the most powerful ancestor god on earth, and ceremonial life tended to become secularized and to concentrate around him.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening continued to be the basis for subsistence, production was organized and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists to their courts and extracting heavy tribute from their subjects. The most important specialists were the hereditary carpenters. This group, called the *matai sau* (chiefs' carpenters), claimed descent from the *matai sau* immigrants, who, according to tradition, reached Lau from Viti Levu before the war hero, Ndaunisai. They formed the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai sau*), a small group which ranked relatively high. Later, under Tongan influence, they were superseded by Matai Lemaki, a Samoan, who became the high chief's carpenter, and by his descendants who formed a small group called the *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai lemaki*).

Rivalry between social groups led to strife. Fortifications were built on every island, but gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger, richer islands like Lakemba and Kambara. There arose small chief-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

doms, within which the weaker islands stood in tributary relationship to the stronger. Finally Lakemba became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau. 105

The culture brought to Lau by the immigrants from Viti Levu is Polynesian in type and similar to that of the high Fijians of eastern Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Furthermore, the immigrants, as evidenced by their descendants, the nobles of Lau, were Polynesian in racial type. From the evidence at hand, therefore, we may definitely assume that the immigrants from Viti Levu were early high Fijians and that the migration into Lau was part of the movement, recorded in the genealogies and traditions of Viti Levu, by which the high Fijians spread their culture and racial strain over eastern Viti Levu, the islands of the Koro Sea, and a large part of Vanua Levu.

The culture complex brought by the early high Fijians into Lau is of general Polynesian type and cannot be classed as western Polynesian as defined by Burrows (3). The facts lead to the inference that the ancestors of the high Fijians were an offshoot of an early Polynesian migration which passed through western Polynesia into central and eastern Polynesia before the development of the distinctly western Polynesian type of culture found in Samoa, Tonga, and adjacent islands.

Polynesian influence from the west began in Lau with Tongan contact in the late prehistoric period and reached its height in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tongan influence is found especially in Lauan social life and technology but its effect was weakened by the penetration of western civilization into the group. The Tongans introduced the western Polynesian concept of divine chieftainship and rank expressed in social ceremonial and in new forms of court etiquette, of kava drinking, and of dancing. Their outstanding contributions to material culture were the western Polynesian oval house type with parallel purlins and technique of pasting tapa into long sheets and decorating them by means of rubbing on designs raised on tablets. Tongan influence is responsible for most of the western Polynesian traits in Lauan culture and also to a great extent for the fact that the Lauans are more Polynesian in racial type than the high Fijians of Fiji proper.

In short, Lauan culture situated at the meeting point of the Melanesian and the Polynesian culture areas is truly marginal. It contains a unique fusion of Melanesian, early Polynesian, and western Polynesian complexes. Partly through historical accident, partly through natural environment, it has been possible to obtain a time prospective on the merging process in Lau. This prospective not only illuminates the Lauan culture itself, but throws light on the culture of the whole Fijian group and contributes toward the understanding of the culture history of Oceania.

1. Hocart, Arthur Maurice. Lau Islands, Fiji. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62. Honolulu: 1929.

Pp. 240, 3 maps, 4 plates, glossary bibliography.

Yale: S11.0182.62

[Hocart spent four years in the Fiji Islands as the headmaster of a native school in Lakemba, the chief island of the Lau group. This book is a synthesis of native accounts regarding customs and tradition as well as a record of the author's own observations. As a result, there are a number of obscure passages and a seeming need for further systematization of the materials presented. On the whole, the description of the native material culture such as food, clothing, shelter, agriculture, fishing and boat building is adequate. There are also data related to the kinship system, political organization, social structure, games and ceremonies, life cycle, medical care, witchcraft, religious beliefs, and legends. Information on the adjacent Moala, Totoya, and Matuku Islands has been marked for the OQ9 Viti-i-Loma file. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1920
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Educator-5
Processed in 1959

2: Thompson, Laura. Southern Lau, Fiji: an Ethnography. Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 162. Honolulu: 1940.

Pp. iv, 228; 5 end plates; 21 text figures; 2 maps; 2 tables.

Yale: S11 0182 162

[This source by the outstanding authority on the ethnography of Southern Lau, places emphasis upon information dealing with social structure, and to a lesser extent, religion. Portions of the work deal with the life cycle, games, housing and other aspects of material culture, geography, and archaeology. A section of the work by a field assistant, Bernhard Tueting, records the subsistence pattern of the group. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

3: Thompson, Laura. Fijian Frontier. Studies of the Pacific, No. 4. San Francisco: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940.

Pp. xxvi, 153; 7 plates; 2 maps

Yale: Nkd99 F4 940t

[This study complements the author's ethnography of Southern Lau (2: Thompson, this file) in that it gives the modern setting of the group and describes the effects of missionary activities, British administration, and other acculturative influences. It is a popular account compared to her previous work, and includes suggestions for bettering the condition of the people. The aim of the study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding to the practical problems of colonial administration. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

111

OQ6 Lau

4: Thompson, Laura. The Culture History of the Lau Islands, Fiji. American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 181-197. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1938.

HRAF copy

[Laura Thompson here gathers the written, traditional, and archaeological evidence bearing on the history of the Lau Islanders to present an historical reconstruction of the group. The data are classified into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1959

5: Thompson, Laura. The Relations of Men, Animals, and Plants in an Island Community (Fiji). American Anthropologist, N.S., Vol. 51, pp. 253-267. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1949.

HRAF copy

[This source is an attempt to demonstrate the ecological relationships between man and nature in Southern Lau. Included in the discussion are materials on the physical nature of the islands and their suitability for agriculture, the systems of production and distribution of the natives, diet and nutrition, and some of the effects of British rule on the native ecological balance. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

6: Thompson, Laura. The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau: A Reply to A. Capell and R.H. Lester. Oceania, Vol. 17, pp. 211-224. Sydney: Australian National Research Council, 1946-1947.

Yale: Nk10 Oc2 17

[This source is a reply by the author to a criticism by Capell and Lester on the accuracy of her findings as published in 2: Thompson, this file, especially as they related to totemism and social groupings. Thompson re-examines her data and theirs, and comes to the conclusion that Capell and Lester tried to force the Lau social groupings into preconceived concepts, while she described the functioning groups, thus explaining the difference in findings. As regards totemism, she believes the data to be in her monograph, although not usually described under that name, since she held to a very strict definition of totemism. Although Thompson, Capell and Lester followed radically different methods in reconstructing Southern Lau cultural history, they came to much the same conclusions. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1959

111 OQ6 Lau

7: Thompson, Laura. Adzes from the Lau Islands, Fiji. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 47, pp. 97-108. Wellington: 1937.

Yale: Nk10 p76e v. 46-47

[In the 18th and 19th centuries, the islands of Southern Lau were the center of the canoe industry for all of Fiji, and Tonga as well. This work, combined with other highly-developed wood-working activities, necessitated the development of a number of cutting implements, made of both stone and shell. In this article, a number of these implements are described and pictured, and the techniques of their manufacture are discussed in detail. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1959

8: Thompson, Laura. The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 47, pp. 109-113. Wellington: 1937.

Yale: Nk10 P76e v. 46-47

[In this brief article, Laura Thompson discusses the now extinct pottery industry of the Lau Islands. The pottery was made on only a few of the islands, but was traded to the others. Included is a plate showing sherds and one complete pot recovered by archaeological investigation. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933-1934
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1959

9: Bryan, Edwin H., Jr. Preliminary Report on the Lau Group, Fiji. Unpublished manuscript on file in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Library [1924].

Pp. ii, 111 (typed), 50 photographs, 30 maps.

Bishop Museum: DU.600.B91.

/The author collected the material presented in this source as a member of the Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924. Most of the source deals with the location, topography, geology, flora and fauna of each of the forty islands of the Lau group. A topographical sketch map, corrected in the field, is furnished of each island. Information on the inhabitants is incidental but includes: the 1921 census of the population, names and location of settlements, cultivation and other occupations and location of archaeological sites.--Analyst.]

Field date: 1924
Analyst: Joan Steffens

Evaluation: Natural Scientist - 5
Processed in 1963

10: St. Johnston, T.R. The Lau Islands (Fiji) And Their Fairy Tales and Folk-lore. London: The Times Book Co. Ltd, 1918.

Pp. 145; 4 photographs; 1 map.

Yale: Nki31 F4 918s.

/This source presents an assorted number of myths and legends of the Lau Islanders. They were collected and recorded by the author in the course of his ten year tenure as a District Commisioner of the area. In the introductory chapter, Mr. St. Johnston speculates on the origin of the natives, their early migrations and seeks to assess their racial and cultural identity. A lengthy section is devoted to an eye-witness description of a traditional ceremony performed for visiting dignitaries. The last section of the book is taken up with an old chief's narration of the traditional history of one of the Lau islands, namely Lakeba./

Field date: no date
Analyst: A. Vinogradov

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1965

OQ6 Lau

Thompson, Laura. Kulturgeschichte der Lauinselen. Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, pp. 140-153. 1937.

[This source has not been processed for the files since it is mainly a duplication of Thompson's article in the American Anthropologist for 1938. For this latter source, see 4: Thompson, this file.]

OQ6 Lau

Williams, Thomas, and James Calvert. Fiji and the Fijians, edited by George Stringer Rowe. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859.

Pp. vii, 551

Yale: Nkd99 F4 858wb

[While this is a very good general early source on the Fijians, the authors do not specify which portions of the Fiji Islands they refer to. Williams was in Lau from the years 1840-1843, but spent the next ten years in other parts of Fiji. Williams and Calvert were in the first group of missionaries in the Fijian Islands. --Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Kambara

122 The field research was made possible by a fellowship from Yale University and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The data were assembled and the manuscript prepared with the help of a grant from the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.[1] To these institutions I am greatly in-
000 debted. I also wish to express my appreciation to the people of Fiji—colonial officials, European residents and natives who gave me every possible aid in this work. I thank especially His Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji, Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs, the Hon. Victor W. T. McGusty, M.D., Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, and Mr. George T. Barker of the Fiji Museum for their kindness and support. I also thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, for identification of native plant names, Dr. Harry S. Ladd and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, former Research Associates of the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands, and Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, for criticism of the manuscript. I am most indebted to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

The Institute of Pacific Relations in supporting the study and undertaking the publication of this report has been moved largely by its interest in the broad question of administration and social and economic development in the dependencies of

113 [1] Facts of interest to the specialist, such as details of social organization, arts and crafts, mythology, and ceremonies, are being published elsewhere. See L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," Bishop Museum, *Bulletin 162* (in press); "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937, translated in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198; "Adzes from the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938; "The Pottery of the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Behavior Theory W3

B
121 Our data suggest further that, once firmly established and embodied in the symbol system, the attitudes and the habits of a human community, a balanced, functional, eco-cultural structure tends to endure if the human community is not wiped out or severed from its natural setting. The data also suggest that such an eco-cultural community structure is the living core of relationships which the human group, either consciously or unconsciously, tries in multiple ways to perpetuate. An understanding of this core may be expected to throw light on the problem of so-called "cultural resistance," or a people's acceptance or rejection of certain extraneous patterns of belief, thought and behavior. For example, in Lau the community has tended to reject foreign patterns of feeling, thought and behavior which interfere with, or break down, its basic eco-cultural structure, regardless of the regulations or the penalties involved. It would seem that to the extent the Lauans have been unsuccessful in their resistance to harmful interference with their group life processes, the intentional or forced introduction of nonfunctional patterns or the prohibition of functional ones has tended to throw off balance the community's whole eco-cultural structure and has operated directly against its well-being. The implications that these findings have for the problem of prediction in social science are manifold.

L
121
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B
121 Finally, the findings point up the practical significance of the eco-cultural approach and suggest that an understanding of a community's long-time, dynamic pattern of relationships is basic to the formulation of adequate norms or standards for the advancement of community welfare and for the development of community-oriented government administration.[22] Accordingly, the significant problem regarding community welfare and the conservation of resources does not emerge simply as the question of how human health and institutions may be improved, or of how topsoil may be saved, or watersheds, and forest land protected, or organic species preserved from extinction, important though each of these aspects may be. The significant problem of community welfare emerges as a matter of using and adapting local beliefs, attitudes, habits and institutions, supplemented where necessary by appropriate new ones, to the end that human groups, through natural eco-cultural processes, may foster the development and maintenance of a balanced, healthy *total* community—plants and animals, as well as human groups.

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L

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[22] *See* Thompson, 1949.

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[pp 268 - end, not processed]

113

SUMMARY OF W. G. FOYE'S GEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON LAU.

(Proc.American Acad.Arts & Sciences, 54:1, pp.43-44, 1918.)

133

1. The Lau islands are underlain by volcanics. formed during the second period of andesite eruptivity, then maturely eroded, and finally submerged.
2. During long submergence, coralliferous limestones were laid down unconformably on these volcanic rocks.
3. A later uplift elevated the coralliferous limestones above sea-level.
4. During a later basaltic period of volcanic eruptivity, olivine andesites or basalts intruded the elevated limestones.
5. With succeeding erosion a large amount of the elevated limestones disappeared, largely owing to atmospheric solution.
6. Most of the islands show a recent submergence.

According as the various islands have passed through all, or only a part, of these stages, the Lau islands may be classified as follows:-

I. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted and intruded or covered by volcanic rocks of the second period.
  A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesite hills of the first period were covered by limestone.
    1. Islands with limestone partly or wholly eroded from the summits of the andesite. VANUA MBALAVU, SUSUI.
    2. Islands with volcanic rocks of the first period still covered with limestone. KAMBARA.
  B. Islands whose tops were never covered by limestone. KANDAVU.
II. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted but not affected by the second period of volcanic eruptivity.
  A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesitic hills were covered with limestone.
    1. Islands with limestones eroded partly or wholly from the summits of the andesites. Malatta, Avea, Thikombia-i-lau, Tuvutha'.
    2. Islands with volcanic rocks still covered with limestone. VEKAI, MULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.
  B. Islands whose tops were never covered by limestone. LAKEMBA, ONO-I-LAU.
III. Volcanic islands of the second volcanic period built on platforms composed of coralliferous limestone overlying depressed hills of the first volcanic period. MUNIA, KANATHEA, ONO, MBENGHA.

SIMPLE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LAU ISLANDS VISITED BY FOYE.

1. Islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks:

VANUA MBALAVU	MALATTA	THIKOMBIA-I-LAU
SUSUI	AVEA	TUVUTHA'
LAKEMBA	ONO-I-LAU	KANDAVU [1]
	KAMBARA	

2. Islands composed of limestones alone: VEKAI, MULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.

3. Islands composed of volcanic rocks only: MUNIA, KANATHEA. (Ono-i-Kandavu and Mbengha [not in Lau])

[1] [This island is not in Lau--analyst]

[p. 6]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford.

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me.

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do.

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back.

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complete subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By LAURA THOMPSON
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122
from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellow- 121
ship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177
insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114
presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161]
island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

[Text continues on p. 5,-
Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands. 114

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows: 177 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the time when these studies can be of value to the administrator, the educator, and the medical practitioner. Using the results of field research, I have made the following study in the hope that it may be of practical value in helping to cope with some of the problems brought about by the expansion of western civilization. |2|

Although the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people, that is people without a written tradition, to western culture throughout the world. Although the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another, they should throw light on the general problem of how culture changes and can be changed. Moreover, the comparison of a number of detailed studies of specific groups of people should lead to a clearer understanding of the processes set in motion by the expansion of western civilization and of the problems of scientific administration.

The material on which this study is based was gathered during nine months of ethnological field work in the Fiji islands in 1933-34, and the data presented in this study apply to this date unless otherwise specified. While in Fiji I learned to know the natives of the eastern islands, their language and their culture by actually living among them in their villages and participating in their daily life. From my headquarters in Tokalau village on Kambara I studied the people of the island and made trips by native canoe, since no other transportation was available, to the neighboring islands of Wangava, Namuka-i-Lau, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. These trips, which varied from 3 to 40 miles each on the open sea, were made in native outrigger canoes with crab claw sails of mat. Whether we skimmed in a stiff gale over the deep sea swells, lay becalmed under the scorching sun, or strained our eyes through the darkening night to hold our course to the faint low silhouette of an island, these canoe voyages were one of the highlights of my sojourn in Lau. |14 |23

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of exchange. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

[1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pp 1-181 not processed]

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE PROBLEM OF "TOTEMISM" IN SOUTHERN LAU

A Reply to A. Capell and R. H. Lester

By Laura Thompson

114 AFTER having spent several years on the historical analysis of the intricate social system of southern Lau, presented in *Southern Lau, Fiji, An Ethnography*,[1] I was interested to find several of my basic findings under attack by A. Capell and R. H. Lester in the pages of this journal.[2] Curiously enough an examination of each point mentioned by my critics revealed that my findings, far from being at variance with their own general conclusions, actually substantiated them.

Capell and Lester admit the similarity in general conclusions between my work and their own.[3] Indeed, they state that but for one or two points for which "no evidence has been collected elsewhere," I "might well have been summarizing their paper."[4] And my critics add that their own study "was actually drafted in full before the authors saw *Southern Lau*."[5] Apparently they also did not read my two earlier articles presenting the same conclusions, that is, "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe),"[6] and "The Culture History of the Lau Islands, Fiji,"[7] although the latter is listed in the bibliography of *Southern Lau*.

Capell and Lester's documentation of my conclusions regarding the culture history of Fiji has in itself theoretical significance which they do not mention in their paper but which should be noted for their bearing on the development of ethnological method. The fact that two independent investigations of an intricate problem in historical reconstruction—(1) an earlier one using the method of historical reconstruction through internal evidence intensively on a small marginal area in the extreme south-eastern part of the Fiji group, and (2) a later one based primarily on the findings of the Native Land Commission[8] and on linguistic data and working from west Fiji across the whole group but omitting the extreme south-east—have arrived at almost identical conclusions (so much so that those of the earlier work are

[1] Bishop Museum Bulletin 162, 1940.

[2] "Local Divisions and Movements in Fiji," *Oceania*, Vols. XI, XII, 1941. Due to war conditions these volumes did not reach Washington until 1946.

[3] *Op cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[6] *Archiv. für Anthropologie*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 140-53, 1937.

[7] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL, No. 2, pp. 181-97, 1938.

[8] It is important to note that the writer's field work in Lau was done before the southern islands were surveyed by the Native Land Commission.

[p. 211] [pp 1-210 not processed]

114 quoted as conclusions for the later)[9] has important theoretical implications. It documents the inference that the method of historical reconstruction through the use of internal evidence, critically applied to a small, judiciously selected area (that is, five islands of southern Lau), may yield valid generalizations for a much larger area (that is, the Fiji Islands as a whole). Examples of independent verification of hypotheses growing out of such intensive, localized studies take on added significance when the possibilities of extending this same method for purposes of extrapolation and prediction are considered.

It would indeed be strange if verifiable general conclusions on such a complicated problem as the culture history of Fiji could be reached on the basis of careless field work or faulty analysis. Yet that is the criticism which Capell and Lester make of *Southern Lau*, both by direct statement and by innuendo. After taking me to task on my findings regarding totemism, they state: "In a number of other points noted . . . Laura Thompson's work is at variance with the findings of the N.L.C. [Native Land Commission] on such *easily ascertainable matters* [italics mine] as groupings of *yavusa*, *matanggali*, etc., but as this paper is not a critique of her book the notes need not be given in full here. The only point is that *inaccuracy* [italics mine] in such matters suggests that more difficult inquiries may have *gone astray* [italics mine] also."[10]

To a professional anthropologist this is serious criticism couched in strong language. And since it appears in a reputable professional journal, it necessitates a reply. But due to the complicated nature of the problem under consideration, to answer such inclusive and in large part undocumented criticism, it will be necessary to discuss each major point mentioned by my critics in relation to my general conclusions. However, the discussion has its advantages since, besides clarifying the record, it helps to define more precisely some of the problems awaiting investigation in the Fijian area and reveals (1) certain kinds of inaccuracies which students working in the Fiji area should guard against in using the reports of the Native Land Commission; (2) certain pitfalls into which they may fall as a result of preoccupation with words and formulas rather than meanings, relationships, and background phenomena in general; and (3) the fact that looseness of thinking and even of expression may underlie the quibbling over words and formulas in which scientists occasionally indulge.

Evaluation of Field Data Presented in Southern Lau

Before considering detailed points, however, it should be noted that, after almost a century of mission influence and sixty years of British rule, the indigenous social system and especially the old region of southern Lau presented the most challenging and difficult problem encountered by the ethnologist in the field. This is stated

[9] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 45-46.

[10] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, footnote 34, p. 29.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

clearly in the introduction to *Southern Lau*.[11] Most of the old religion has been lost. 114 The fragmentary account presented in *Southern Lau*[12] was obtained thirteen years ago, mainly from aged informants. It is unlikely that any one of these informants is still living and with them will have perished the main reservoirs of knowledge concerning the most esoteric aspects of the culture. But aside from matters of religion, to state casually that matters such as social groupings are " easily ascertainable " reveals a superficial knowledge of the area, an inference regarding my critics which is amply borne out by a critical appraisal of certain other statements they make regarding southern Lau, as will presently be demonstrated.

Actually, to get a clear picture of the functioning social system of the area it was 114 necessary to make a detailed historical analysis of the social organization in each of 126 the eleven villages on the five inhabited islands surveyed. By a detailed analysis I mean, for example, that genealogies for the 1,500 inhabitants of the five islands were recorded in the field, each as far back as the memory of the natives extended, namely from four to twelve generations, a formidable task in itself. Sketch maps were made of each village and whenever possible kinship groups revealed by the genealogies were related exactly to their localities of residence in each village. This analysis revealed the main social groups, including the thirty-seven clans existent at the time of the field work together with the historical development and rank of each. Patterns regarding marriage, residence, descent and succession were worked out by counting each individual case from four to twelve generations back, and variations on the patterns thus established were calculated on a numerically exact percentage basis. Thus my description of the social system of southern Lau is based, not on a formula worked out by means of research in adjacent areas, nor on generalizations from selected cases, nor on the statements of a few informants, but on *exact numerical calculations* which included every one of the 1,500 residents of the five islands and their genealogies recorded as far back as the memory of the living extended.[13]

The method which I employed in analysing the social system of southern Lau will be recognized as an extension of the genealogical method developed by W. H. R. Rivers[14] in recording the social structure of Melanesia. It is difficult to imagine how a more numerically exact empirical method could be found to analyse an Oceanian social system nor how such an analysis, if systematically carried out, could go " far astray " on the major social groups (both kinship and geographical) and their interrelationships. I therefore submit that there is a high degree of probability that the functioning social system including the major social groups in historical perspective described in *Southern Lau* is correct.

[11] P. 5.

[12] Pp. 105-19.

[13] With the exception of the abstract of the chief's phratry (*Southern Lau*, Table 2) and the village plan of Tokalau (*Southern Lau*, Fig. 3 and Table 1), the genealogies and village plans recorded in the field were not included in *Southern Lau*, due to lack of space, but they are available in manuscript form.

[14] *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

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114 Capell and Lester state that they have omitted most of the data from this area in their study of Fiji as a whole " largely because the older beliefs and practices have been so overlaid by modern ideas . . . that certainty is difficult to reach."[15] It is interesting to note, however, that the only material from southern Lau they do attempt to treat at length, namely that on totemism, is unquestionably the least reliable because practically all of the old religion has been lost.

It is important to emphasize also that, whereas we can be fairly sure of the social system in the area, there is some disagreement regarding the *native terminology* used to designate the various functioning social groups. And since Capell and Lester's investigations are based to a considerable extent on linguistic analysis, rather than on painstaking systematic study of functioning structures and their historical interrelationships, it is easy to see how their preoccupation with words (for example, *yavusa*, *matanggali* and *itokatoka*) and with *a priori* formal definitions have apparently blinded them to the all-important functioning groups to which the words are actually applied by the natives themselves in the context of the local culture.

This point is well illustrated by Capell and Lester's treatment of the problem of totemism in southern Lau.[16] Their loose, uncritical use of the term " totemism " which they do not define, apparently closes their eyes to the occurrence of " totemic " phenomena not specifically labelled as such, as will be shown. In *Southern Lau* I purposely limited the use of the term " totemism " to true totemism (including a belief in descent from the totem) as defined and accepted by most anthropologists. I avoided the use of the term in describing " totemic " phenomena which did not include such belief. Actually, I found traces of what appears to be two " totemic " systems in southern Lau : (1) true totems among the land people,[17] and (2) a trilogy of linked " totems " among the " Nakauvandra people."[18] These will be discussed in due course. But because I did not label the latter " totemism " it was overlooked by my critics who went so far as to state that in *Southern Lau* " . . . there is no mention of the trilogy of totems that would be expected in an area whose civilization is based on that of the Nakauvandra people."[19]

Incidentally, the latter statement contains still another factual misrepresentation. A careful analysis of all the available data shows that the civilization of southern Lau is based not on " that of the Nakauvandra people " but rather on a blend of three cultures, namely that of the land people, the " Nakauvandra people " and the

[15] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 33.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

[17] Described in *Southern Lau* on pp. 105-106.

[18] Described in *Southern Lau* on pp. 109-111. In this paper I use the term " Nakauvandra people " to refer to the members of clans which trace descent from Ndaunisai, in order to conform with Capell and Lester's terminology.

[19] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 28. Actually in an earlier article I do use the word to describe the trilogy of linked " totems " associated in southern Lau with clans. See " Culture History of the Southern Lau Islands," *op. cit.*, p. 186.

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Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

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614 name of Tokalau village.[37] For Fulanga are listed as *yavusa* (1) Muanaira, the name of one of the three existent Fulanga villages; (2) Naivindamu, the name of another of the villages; and (3) Ongea, the name by which Naithulaianga village on Ongea island is known. Omitted from the Fulanga list, according to Capell and Lester, is Fulanga *yavusa*, which accounts for the third village of the island, namely Muanaithake. The only *yavusa* on Mothe listed is Ndelaimakotu, the name of the archæological fortress site formerly occupied by the Mothe people.[38] Namuka island does not appear on the list.

From the above it appears that the functioning social groups to which the Native Land Commission's *yavusa* for southern Lau correspond are *village* groups, the most obvious of all the social groups in the area. This inference fits every case listed, even Mothe if, as I infer, the two historically distinct but at present contiguous villages of Mothe, namely Nasau and Korotolu, have been listed as one unit by the Native Land Commission.

[114] Let us now examine Capell's definition of a *yavusa* in the *New Fijian Dictionary*. A *yavusa*, according to this source, is "the largest kinship and social division of Fijian society, consisting of the descendants of one originator (*vu*), and recognizing one *kalou-vu* (originating spirit or god, normally the father of the *vu*), and one set of totems and war-cry."

Testing by this definition each *yavusa* listed for southern Lau by the Native Land Commission, we find that:

Nakoro (that is, Nggalinggali village), made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Tanggu and Naivotavota), one land clan (Nanggara) and one *matai lemaki* clan (Matai Lemaki), consists of the descendants of three originators rather than one. To wit, the two "Nakauvandra" clans trace their pedigrees back to Ndaunisai, the land clan claims a local origin near Undu, and the *matai lemaki* clan traces its pedigree back to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter. We conclude that Nakoro does not fulfil the first condition of a *yavusa* laid down by the *New Fijian Dictionary* definition, namely that of consisting of the descendants of a common originator.

The same argument holds for Nukuleka (that is, Tokalau village), which is made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola) and one land clan (Katoka). It also holds for Ndelaimakotu if, as I surmise, the Native Land Commission's Ndelaimakotu grouping includes the two contiguous Mothe villages. Taken together these are made up of one "Nakauvandra" clan (Mbutonikoro) and five land clans (Nasau, Kamali, Vangariki, Banganduku and Nggali).

Turning to the villages made up of clans which are not affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," we find that the Vuaningingia (that is, Undu village) group is composed entirely of land clans with the exception of the Matai Sau. The land people of Undu believe themselves descended from the aborigines of Lau but

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

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114 groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira
614 and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants,
615 and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent
621 from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

114 The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

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regarding the culture history of the area. One explanation is that the word had different connotations among the land people and among the "Nakauvandra" people and that the confusion created by this situation has persisted down to the present. The other and more plausible explanation is that the term was introduced into southern Lau by the "Nakauvandra people" along with certain changes in the social structure. But in the blending of the two complexes, that of the land people and that of the immigrants, its original meaning was confused or lost. The latter explanation fits into Capell and Lester's hypothesis regarding the origin of the term.[40]

The Matanggali Group in Southern Lau

Since my critics also questioned my use of the term *matanggali*, a word is inserted here in regard to it. I used the term *matanggali* to designate a clan, namely a "unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal."[41] It is used thus by the natives and by Hocart,[42] and I submit that of all the social groups in southern Lau with the exception of the village, the *matanggali* is the most clear cut and the least open to question.

Theoretically a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site (*itokatoka*) and a few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. After the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets moved to the coast and united into villages, often retaining their local unity in the village. Hence many clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. As the clan group expanded, it divided into sub-clans, the senior branch being called *itokatoka*, the junior ones *mbatchi ni iovo*, or else all the sub-clans were simply called *mbatchi ni lovo*.

Thus the *matanggali* division in southern Lau conforms to a marked degree to Capell's definition of the word in the *New Fijian Dictionary*: "Matanggali: 'the primary social division in Fiji, larger than the *itokatoka* and smaller than the *yavusa*. It appears to have sprung from the subdivisions of naturally increasing families, the sons of an original ancestor being the heads of the resulting matanggali.'"

Summary

The argument advanced in this paper may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a high degree of probability that the main outlines of the functioning social system (including the major social groups in historical perspective) described in *Southern Lau* are correct. There is some disagreement, however, regarding the native terminology used to designate the various functioning social groups.

2. An examination of the data on "totemic" phenomena described in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the area, an earlier one affiliated with the land people and a later one introduced by the "Nakauvandra people."

[40] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 314 ff.

[41] *Southern Lau*, p. 35.

[42] "Lau Islands, Fiji," *Bishop Museum Bulletin* 62, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

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114 3. There is no clear-cut division in the social system of southern Lau which corresponds to the *yavusa* group as defined by Capell in the *New Fijian Dictionary*, but the phratry seems to come nearest to it. Apparently the Native Land Commission has superimposed its own formula on the area without regard for the actual functioning social structures.

4. The clan division in the area is relatively clear-cut and conforms to a marked degree to Capell's dictionary definition of the term *matanggali*.

[174] 5. A detailed examination of the points enumerated above leads to the conclusion that considered separately and as a whole they substantiate the hypothesis first suggested by the writer in 1936 and again in 1938 and 1941 that, viewed historically, there are three basic cultural strata in Lau: an early one which is primarily Melanesian in type, a second one which is "general Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," and a third one which is "western Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the Tongan immigrants. The major premises of this hypothesis have now been corroborated independently by the work of Capell and Lester.

6. The findings to date suggest that on the extreme south-eastern margin of Fiji, namely in southern Lau, especially on the island of Fulanga, may still be found a functioning culture (perhaps the only one left in Fiji) which in many respects resembles that of the early Melanesians of Viti Levu. The opportunity which it offers the researcher to gain first-hand insight into this complicated problem should not be underestimated.

LAURA THOMPSON.

[pp 225 - end, not processed]

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ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D., Honolulu.

439 During the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
396 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
824 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows
322 well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
439 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own
174 carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day,
177 and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in
large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified
172 village—*(koro)* sites.

323 The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with
little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse
531 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired.
172 The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly rough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [312] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. [361] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a few small trees on the summit. A line of reef runs out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

● 114 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.74]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and cocoanut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a
361 flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his
241 assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive cocoanut grove. Some
[312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by
●114 Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

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 [576] [201] 171

with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they 121
may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have [114]
lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no 126
credit for these tales, which are exactly as told 114
to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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merely a literal translation of their stories, and tends to show how closely akin they are to the Eastern minds in their ideas.

I once possessed a further series of notes that I took from chats with two old chiefs now dead; but, alas! a hurricane with a tidal wave swept that set of papers away, and the data are now lost for ever. Some of my predecessors, notably Sir George Le Hunte, G.C.M.G., Mr. Basil Thomson, C.B., and Mr. C. R. Swayne, C.M.G., were, I know, very interested in Lauan legends; but I fancy many of their notes met similar untimely ends; and I know that Mr. Swayne suffered a great loss of the labour of years when the official residence—in those early days simply a thatched bungalow—was burnt to the ground with all his belongings. Mr. Thomson's great study of the customs of the natives, in his well-known and classical work, "The Fijians," embraces every question possible concerning them, but in this little book I have confined myself entirely to legendary folk-lore, and to the people of the Lau Islands, whom I know best. So, then, with the hope that some of these old legends may be rescued from oblivion before it is too late, I have launched them into print, and leave their merits for the reader to decide.

T. R. St. J.

Lomaloma,
The Lau Islands.

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Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west.

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting,

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others.

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

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Kambara

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

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SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

We were running along the coast in smooth 123
water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the [648]
little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the 123
engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy- 115
headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds [673]
of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group—so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no "wireless" on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 115 123

[361]
[622]

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115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

SOON was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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[115]

"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

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hold of one of the old pieces of native mythology unadorned with the modern interpretations that are so frequently put to them, and events proved that I was not mistaken.

"You must know, sir," he began, "that I am truly a man of Lakeba Island, but my grandmother was of this place, and from her, when a boy, I heard the tale of the god, Ratu Maibula, and the ghost, Ratu Koli. And this is what she told me:

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"In the very early days there were two towns up on the hill-crest there, overlooking the sea towards the setting sun, and their names were Na Vuwai and Watika. Always were there great matters of dispute between these towns, till one day the men of Na Vuwai arose, and making their way by stealth among the trees they came upon the people of Watika, and slew them; so that none remained but some few of the Naibili tribe, who chanced to be out fishing on the reefs below. These were saved by a *Latui*,[1] who circled round and round the burning houses, and then swooped down to the men of Naibili, crying out in great grief, and calling their attention to the smoke rising on the hill-top. This, sir, was because the Latui was the Kalou Vu[2] of the Naibili tribe.

"And in the course of time they moved down

[1] Hawk. [2] Ancestral god.

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[p.106 is blank]

SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

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I WAS examining a curious stone axe-head in the 123
house of Adi Lotila, a very old widow of chiefly 431
rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up 412
at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good imple- 123
ment to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with 412
a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir; 115

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the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness, though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

"In the days before the first foreign ship came to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ra, an island to the north of Fiji.

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.
[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognized as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

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So ended the tale of old Roko Malani; and after a little further talk he departed, erect and with firm tread, a splendid instance of the courtly old native of the Lau Islands—a true chief, who could proudly recount the doings of his ancestors directly back for ten generations; and who, even in these modern times, retained the complete respect of his people.

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Lakemba

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LAU ISLANDS, FIJI

BY

A. M. HOCART

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BULLETIN 62

[Title Page]

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Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford. 114

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me. 126

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do. 000

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back. 538 173

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complete subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of 173

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173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:
131

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

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soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuku are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

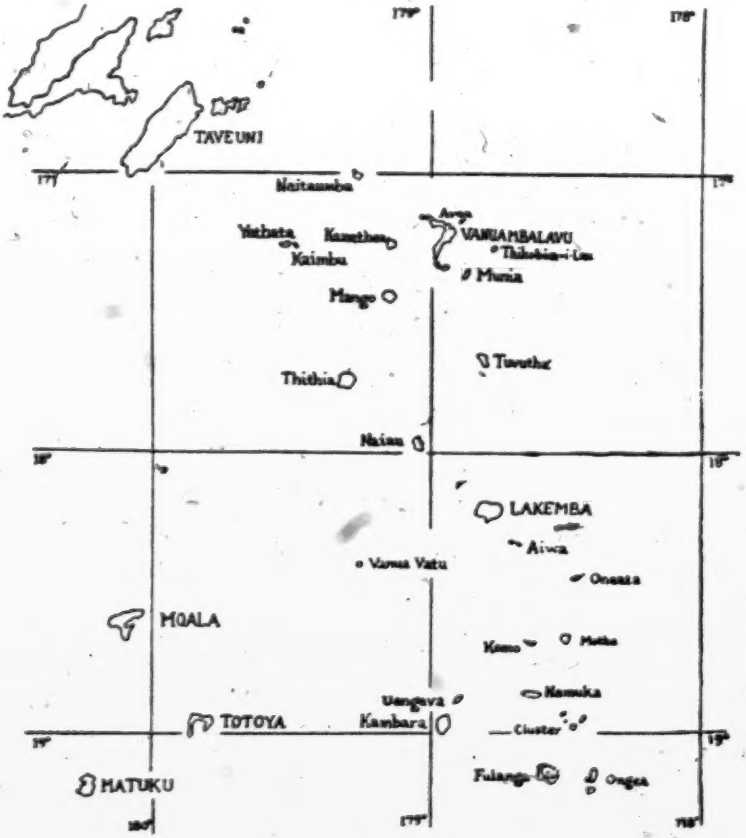

FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

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Place names are spelled as they appear on the official map "Compiled and drawn at the Lands Department, Suva, Fiji, revised August, 1923." The spelling is substantially that of the charts issued by the British Admiralty and the United States Hydrographic Office. Unfortunately, the official spelling of such words as Naiau (properly Nayau), Fulanga (properly Vulanga), and Uangava or Wangava (properly Vuanggava) obscure the meaning.

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Lakemba

LAKEMBA

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND VILLAGES

Lakemba is the chief island of the Lau Archipelago south of Naiau. (See fig. 2.) Its high chief bears the titles of Roko Sau and Tui Naiau (Lord of Naiau). The island is typical of those in the dry zone of Fiji. Except for one or two summits, the hills are without forests. Their red slopes are bare or covered with bracken, with here and there a *Casuarina* or screw pine (*Pandanus*). The good soil is in pockets near the coast, where tall trees grow, if allowed, but as most of the good land is period- 131 137

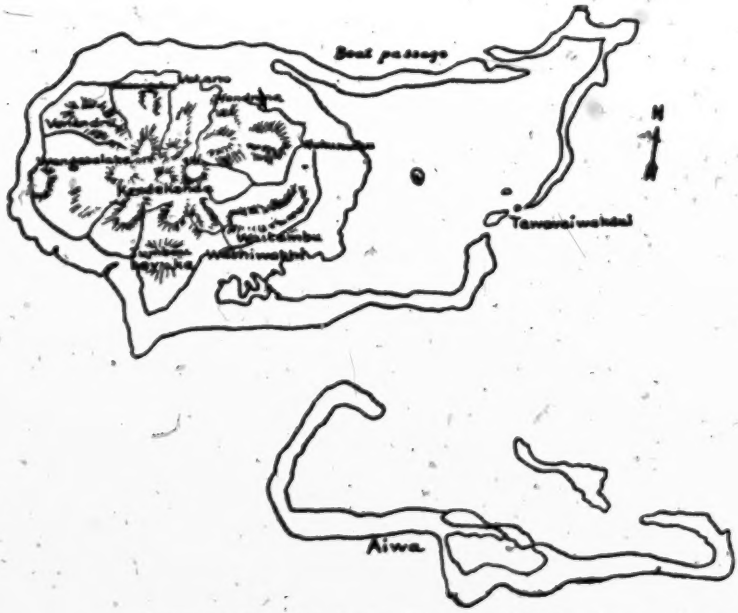

FIGURE 2.—Map of Lakemba (based on Admiralty chart).

ically fired before planting, the ground is mostly covered with reeds, long and strong, and useful for making walls and fences. There is level land only round the coast, a belt that varies in width and extends into the hills as flats suitable for irrigation. The largest of these is the fertile valley of the Nakula stream, which penetrates to the foot of Ulu i Kendekende, the highest hill 133

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361 441 133 Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

361 [161] The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

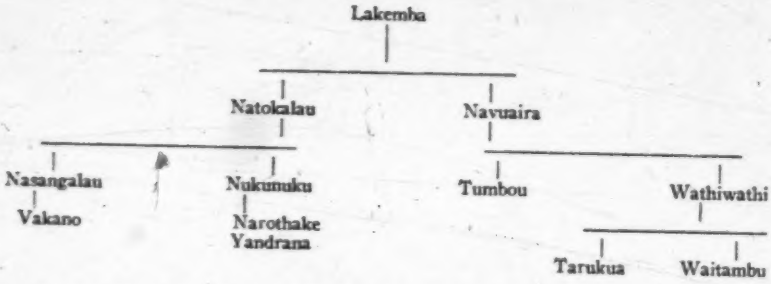
The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country." Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

361 184 Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

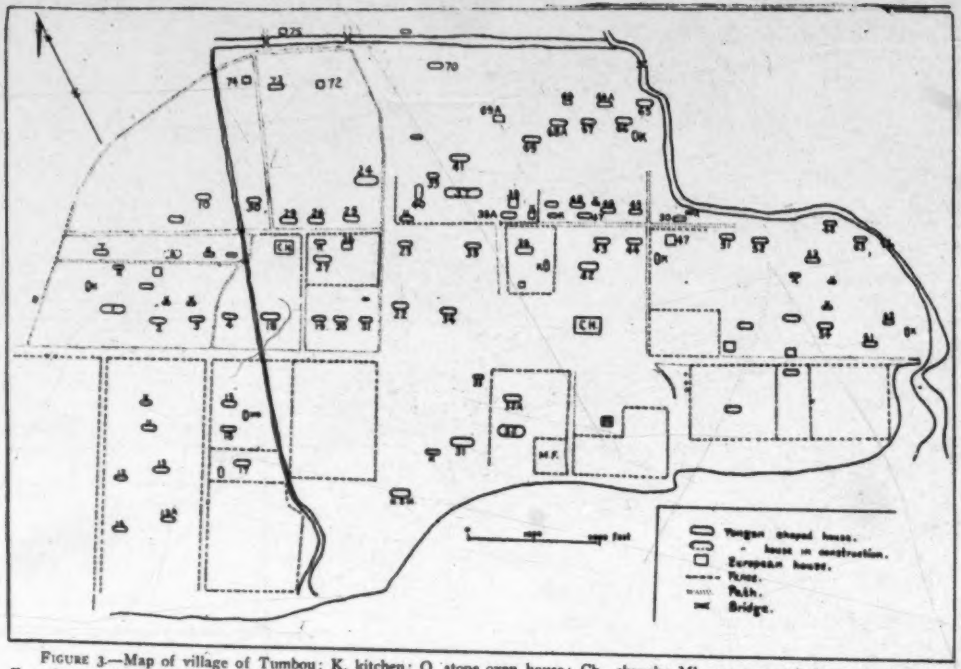


FIGURE 3.—Map of village of Tumbou: K, kitchen; O, stone oven house; Ch., church; Mb., young men's house (*mbure*); M. F., unknown; N. S. M., native magistrate; N. M. P., native medical practitioner; P. O., provincial office. The names of the houses are: 1, Thakaundroveiwai; 2, Mbenau; 3, Nggararaninggio; 4, Koronivia; 5, unknown; 6, Seanggangga; 7, Nakoromaluia; 8, unknown; 9, Nggakilanggi; 10, unknown; 11, unknown; 12, Welangi; 13, Mbouono; 14, Motulala; 15, Manono; 16, Undukathu; 17, Samoa; 18, Vanua Masi; 19, Naveruarua; 20, Thithia; 21, Taira; 22, Seanggangga; 23, Lakembanawa; 24, Vunisavisavi; 25, Tuvukei; 26, Naitasiri; 27, Natambusoro; 28, Nakuki; 29, Matanivolau; 30, Tuvatuvarua; 31, Matailakemba; 32, Kaukilangi; 33, unknown; 34, Matai Naiau; 35, Muailangi; 36, Matanalailai; 37, Vatuwangga; 38, Wangganui; 38A, Sekoula; 39, Vunilangakali; 40, Vunimanggo; 41, Yangasa; 42, Niu Kini; 43, Mbateteva; 44, Ndranivono; 45, unknown; 46, Muanakauli; 47, Veiravui; 48, Muairewa; 49, Verata; 50, unknown; 51, Mbiaungunu; 52, Solomone; 53, Mathuata; 54, Nukuselala; 55, Nathurumothe; 56, Wainingasau; 57, Sawakasa; 58, Naveretambu; 59, Newai; 60, Tiaina; 61, Naisongotheva; 62, Vunimakosoi; 63, Nggalimosi; 64, Mbateteva; 65, Nggaranithava; 66, Loa; 67, unknown; 68, unknown; 69, Mbatiniwai; 70, Taiti; 71, Ndenivonu; 72, Niu Silandi; 73, Naingginggi; 74, Tukituki.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
(a) Matailakemba
(b) Vatuwangga
(c) Naivi
(d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
(e) Katumbalevu
(f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

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The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu. Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful. 614 565

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukumku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group. 614

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households. [609]

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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614 clans; or, the whole of Tai. Thus the classification of clans in Tai, exclusive of the Tongans, is as follows:

- Tai
  - Katumbalevu
    - Navuanirewa
      - Matailakemba
      - Vatuwangga
      - Naivi
      - Koroithumu
    - Katumbalevu
  - Vale Lailai
    - Tandravula
    - Natokatoka
    - Narewandamu

At present there are three clans in the Tumbou half of the village: Theyekena or Thekena, Tanggalevu or Tumbou, and Tuware.

Of the many subdivisions of the clan Thekena only one is left. And of the Tumbou clans, only Tanggalevu remains. There is some doubt about the subdivisions of Thekena, due to the small numbers surviving. A great many emigrated during a famine and are now to be found in Mualevu and Natewa.

Tanggalevu, which comes second, is the largest clan in the Tumbou half of the village. Its "sides of the oven" are Lomaitheno, first; Thokenikoro, second. Lomaitheno is also the name of a piece of land in Tumbou. The expression *Tumbou lewena* is often heard; meaning, "Tumbou, the core" or it may be short for *Tumbou, lewe ni vanua* (Tumbou, the people of the land). It appears to refer to the clan, not to the half village.

The position of Tuware is not clear. The herald says that Tumbou was divided into Thekena, Nandomole, and Tuware on one side and Tanggalevu on the other. A nobleman says Tuware was subject to Thekena. Against that we have the facts that the present order of precedence is Thekena, Tanggalevu, Tuware; that the Tuware quarter is at the opposite end to Thekena; that Tuware is now merged into Tanggalevu. It, however, may have originally belonged to Thekena.

The only survivor of the Tuware clan died during my residence in Fiji. His "side of the oven" was Vatuoso. According to the Lands Enquiry this side comes second, the first one being Naiviloaloa.

Tumbou, then, is subdivided as follows:

- Tumbou
  - Thekena
  - Tumbou
    - Thekena
    - Nandomole
    - Tuware
    - Tanggalevu

or else

- Tumbou
  - Tanggalevu
  - Tuware

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near. 614 177 578

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.) 614 565

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

614

Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 532 591 342

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in 609 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

64 Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

62 [291] Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

[166] [197] Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

614 Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

462 The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

323 438 The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made [314] it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 622

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1.	Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [622]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoro Nangalia Matariwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 [161 The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

614 In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

614 565 Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

614 The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

602 The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

614 565 Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai
Matakei	Nasea Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Namolutu Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

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The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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[602]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631.

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

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The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono.
721 Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
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> 602 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is wor-
> 776 shipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of
[197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or
614 Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu
565 are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i*
565 *tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*). 614 565

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*. 614 622

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later. 636

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 621 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 142 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

173 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. 614

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

620 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622 621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vuta*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

[614] The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

648 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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that time on there are no more ladies of Vuna in the pedigrees. It is uncertain whether it was Vuna or Thakaundrove that "took Lakemba to Mbau"; or whether Lakemba entered into relations with Mbau directly.

Thakaundrove ladies were brought to Lakemba as wives for Lakemban nobles. It is said that Lakemban ladies were taken to Thakaundrove, but no concrete instance could be given, except that of the wife of the late Tui Thakau. When a canoe came from Thakaundrove some fifty years ago the women of Lakemba used to attire themselves exceedingly well, for in those days the nobles of Thakaundrove were very tall and "the objects of our coquetry"; now they are small men. Their capital, Somosomo, "is withered; perhaps because of parricide" (at least one chief of Thakaundrove buried his father alive). The people of Lakemba, not the Lord of Naiau, gave the *tama* to Tui Thakau when he came; but they did not do it sincerely unless his mother was a Lauan. One informant thinks Lakemba was afraid of Thakaundrove because it was a strong land, and that is why Lakemba made feasts for them.

Lakemba was, with Thakaundrove, "the hand that takes stuff to Mbau (*linga si yau ki Mbau*)." Lakemba used regularly to take gifts to Mbau and received nothing in return. This was explained by saying that Mbau and Lakemba are kin, that Mbau is "sacred blood," that is senior branch, in relation to Lakemba, as the Mbauans are descendants of Niumataiwalu. The story is cited that Thakombau refused to drink kava until the cup had been taken to the Tui Naiau who was in Yandrana. When the Sau or High Chief died, Lakemba would ask Mbau to approve of his successor. The people give the *tama* salutation to the Vunivalu or principal chief of Mbau and his true sons; even the Tui Naiau does so for the Vunivalu. For the Vunivalu only, they hold the ceremony called "calling on one another" at his arrival. If the Vunivalu came to Lakemba, the Tui Naiau would send to Lau for a large double canoe. Formerly ladies were taken to Mbau to be the wives of the Vunivalu or some other nobleman. It is said that when a Mbauan noble came to Lakemba, the women were hidden for fear he should take them by force. No great lady of Mbau married a Lakemban until Ulutlakemba II married Andi Temunu, and then there was some opposition. Ratu Finau, his son, is "great sister's son" to Mbau; if he goes to Mbau, he can fly a pennant from his masthead. At the present day the Lauans are looked down upon in Mbau .

The Lord of Naiau presents whale's teeth (*tauri tambua*) only to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Rewa. It is considered improper to do so for Kandavu. Lakemba only dances for the Chief of Mbau and the chief of Thakaundrove; and there was much grumbling when they were ordered to dance for the Kandavu people and to take off their dancing dresses to them. When the

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648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

> One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

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The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navunira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 464 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati. 602

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives. 574 608

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry. 602

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57). 565

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere). 609

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There are usually in Lakemba a number of men from Viti Levu, chiefly the north coast, who have come as laborers or in the company of a Lauan whom they have met in Viti Levu. They make themselves useful to their hosts. Those who come from Nakorotumbu are considered to have some kinship with Lakemba since they took away Lakemban women a long time ago after the siege of Kendekende.

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KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given: 611 171 602

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same. 601

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

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601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)." Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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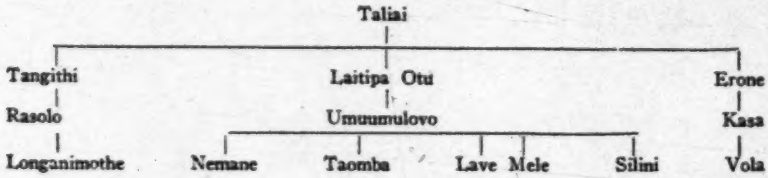
603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There
[604] is no feast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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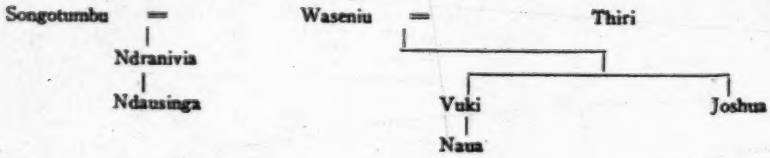
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. 593
The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his 565
father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and 604
obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him 603
sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the 593
other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga*," I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[264] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua*, old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to [565] his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana*, that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vaturwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

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554 A nephew is spoken of as *vasu*, which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu*. A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu*, or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

604 425 There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa souni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sousou* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko*, "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's

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right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425.

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*. 554

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as ""a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. 591
Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

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591 child brought up in another clan retains his original clan. One man belonged to Vatuwangga though his father was brought up in Naivi. Another of Naivi was brought up in Matailakemba, but all his sons are in Naivi; he in turn brought up his adopted father's children, Uluilakemba, Malani, Tuiketei, but they are all set down in Matailakemba. It is true that Tuimereke, the son of the ancestor of Vatuwangga, lives with Naivi and speaks of himself as belonging to Naivi, but he is really the head of Vatuwangga. A man of Koroithumu was brought up by the third Lord of Naiau and his descendants on that account belong to Vatuwangga, but they also belong to Koroithumu. Many children are fostered by their mother's people. A commoner could adopt the children of a nobleman. Tuimereke and Malani were both thus adopted.

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RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

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565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga*, chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga*, gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga*, an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs
576 crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what
[516] he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of
[302] the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

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565 548 clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturuga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

565 554 The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Rokó Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in 264 Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

576 565 Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

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The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landuvunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship. 576 565

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people. 576 195

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

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To go	lea ka	
To sit	wiri	
To say	vakatambuna	to make sacred
To die	siri	to go wrong
To die	mbale	to fall
To die	mothe	to sleep[8]
To sleep	vakathethengu	to rest
	vakarerengge, tavo	to take care of
To awake	lave lave	to lift up
To bathe	tumbutumbu	
To be angry	toka wale	to sit doing nothing
Please give me	vakandrakai mai	take trouble to give
Yes	ia saka, ie	

The commonest respectful terms are the use of the second person plural, and the particle *saka*. The second person plural is in common use between people who are not intimate. The word *saka* is probably the root of *saka-saka* (awkward) and is therefore a self-depreciating particle. It has been identified by Europeans as a vocative equivalent to "Sir," and is now prefixed to letters. But as the analogy of other dialects proves, it occupies in the sentence the position not of the vocative, but of an adverb. In Mualevu, where the Thakaundrove speech dialect is spoken, *vakatha* (badly) is used. The word *lea* is also used by elderly polite persons very much like *saka*, only more extensively. It can be used between the possessive and the noun as: *a omundou lea thakathaka;* also it is used as a verb instead of "go."

No hard and fast rule can be laid down for the use of polite language. There is not a man who will not use the particle *saka* in speaking to the High Chief, or who will omit to call his leg a stand, "because he is the lord of our land; his title is Tui Naiau." The people of Tumbou and Levuka will call a great nobleman's leg a leg; but the countryfolk and the people of Lau will call his leg a stand. Some small men even in Tumbou will speak of the Lord of Tumbou's leg as a stand. All these words, however, are now more or less abandoned except for the Lord of Naiau.

The ordinary greeting is "awake." For a great person there is special salutation called *tama* which is sung out on first meeting him or passing his house in the morning. The men say *"o oa"* in a deep voice, dropping about a tone on the *a*. The women sing out *"ninggo"* rising about a tone on the *nggo* and drawing it out. The great man does not answer the *tama*. When once the sun has reached the zenith this salutation is forbidden, and "It is night, Sir," is used. The great man answers, "It is night." The *tama* is

[8] A writer in the Native Gazette (12), probably a man from Mbau, says that a nobleman who dies naturally is said to sleep; if he is murdered it is said that he fell.

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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

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565 Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina*, or "true *turanga*." I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama*.

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

643 565 In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

643 The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau, in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau. 643

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant. 565

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position. 644 516

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho*, "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala*. [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya*, "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho*. Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua*, "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi*, from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

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The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

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The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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have nothing to do with feasts out of doors, but only when these are brought in to the Lord of Naiau. The share that falls to the Lord of Naiau they divide. They do not speak out of doors; Narewandamu speak out of doors. They are described as "the Land of Navuanirewa" as opposed to the "Land" pure and simple, that is Tumbou.

The heads of Katumbalevu proper and of Narewandamu are the Lord of Naiau's "old men." They should be in his presence every day.

Thekena is spoken of as "the Land" in contradistinction to the nobles. The title, Vakavanua, the adjective of *vanua* (land), is usually shortened to Vaka. One tradition relates that he was the chief of old; but the High Chief declined and became Vaka.

The chief of Tanggalevu is called Tui Tumbou. The title was given to a member of the oldest generation, but of the lesser "edge of the oven." The head of the senior branch was addressed and officiated as Lord of Tumbou in the absence of the real one. The original functions of the Lord of Tumbou are not known, but at present he fulfills most of the functions of a herald, excepting the distribution of feasts. It was he who apportioned the kava and directed the reception of high officials. He is the "mouth of Tui Naiau." The High Chief does not speak; the Lord of Tumbou speaks. It was said that the third Lord of Naiau appointed the Lord of Tumbou to this office in place of the heralds who had a bad name for murdering chiefs. The Lord of Tumbou also bears the title of Ramasi, Sir Cloth.

An informant says:

> Vakavanua, the Land Chief, is higher than the Lord of Tumbou. If there is a fight and the heralds go to stop it and do not succeed the Lord of Tumbou will go. If he fails, the Land Chief will go; when he appears, all things cease. The Lord of Tumbou and the Land Chief are weighty delayers of anger. The nobles may not hit each other in presence of the Land Chief, the Lord of Tumbou, or a herald. If the High Chief wants to sleep and his household or the herald comes and tells the Chief and utters the name of Land Chief of Lord of Tumbou, when he hears it, it is hard for him to lie down again on his bed: he knows it is something serious.

I know of no title in Tuware. This clan were the *mataivalu kalou,* that is, "spirit battalion." They went first in war and though all Lakemba retreated, they still advanced.

One Tongan bears the title of Moala, which is said to mean navigator.

The Tongan term *matapule* is constantly used to denote these minor chiefs. Strictly speaking, *matapule* is the equivalent of the Fijian *mata ni vanua* or herald, but it is said to be "a polite word for old men." I have heard the Fijian *matanivanua* used in the extended sense, for instance, for the chief of Levuka. They are also called "chiefs of the land," or "old men of the land." Any of them could intercede with the High Chief on behalf of an offender. Formerly they were treated with respect. The children

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

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In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Masi kei Natokalau* not *mai*, of; *mai* is never used in this expression.

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The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *matuki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ono*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

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631 Naivi people are envoys to Ono and Vatoa because Uluilakemba I ancestor of that clan, married a lady of Ono and her son conquered Ono. They also became envoys to Ongea because one of them saved the third Lord of Naiau from shipwreck and so was given Ongea, Tarukua, and Lomati in Kambara as the "price of life" (*ka ni mbula*) to rule according to his pleasure.

Koroithumu is envoy to Nukunuku and Oneata; Katumbalevu proper, to Thithia; Tandravula, to Waitambu; Narewendamu, to Wathiwathi; Thekena, to Vakano. Tanggalevu is envoy to Kambara.

From of old down to the days of the third Lord of Naiau Vakano made feasts for Thekena while the other villages made feasts for the chief's house. If they made a feast for the High Chief it was first taken to Thekena and there was a share for that clan. Thekena also counts Waitambu as a subject, although it is not envoy to that place. Waitambu prepares the food out of doors, while Vakano are household servants (*kaivale*) and attend indoors. Thekena speak of these two places as their "two countrysides." They are also envoys to Komo.

There is no envoy to Naiau. This island stands in a peculiar position. The Lord of Naiau holds it. On landing the people of Naiau go straight to Big House into the kitchen.

In each island there is an envoy to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands these envoys were the chiefs. There were no *tui* then.

645 There are also envoys to countries not subject. The envoy to Mbau has been mentioned. The envoys to Thakaundrove and to Totoya were not hereditary, but some nobleman was appointed. He was accompanied by a herald who spoke to him.

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CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

Introduction

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji. 272 276

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government, and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months 272 177 276

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272 177 276 the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

574 272 276 At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kava*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes [276] with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty [356] meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald [565] clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava [177] has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565 276

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Hoateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines. 276 765 272 565

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wui ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last. 272 565 276

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away. [171]

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava. 272 276

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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272 276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 533 276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

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Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[8]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[9]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight,
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[8] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na no na vanua.*
[9] *Vakatonggara e na kali; vakatonggara = vakatatava.*

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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbo ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[7] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes. 272
It is like the dropping of the rain. 533
It is like the dropping of the rain. 539
The kava I went to pull up 276
An old man touches.[8]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[9]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Namata*, lose; *tarevni* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 6a).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

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272 533 276 gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

272 276 The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This 643 custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

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[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua e—Sa*:?—*thombo*: to clap.

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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

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The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonituki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *vu vanua,* that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga,* "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo,* which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa,* that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

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INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia: 622 272 276

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73). 648 272 276

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

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648 sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When
272 he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's
276 installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the
266 men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

431 Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for mak- a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

431 If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-
576 legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his
516 side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

431 "Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article]
576 for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge."[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou voss ka sosora thaka tu yani ka vuuvu."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E*." The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase." 431 576

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*). 431 576 537 195

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good." 431 576

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

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term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro,* or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, *"O oa."* He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

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Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ō ōā,*" they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki,* to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa.*" Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono.* The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha.*

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i lava ni tawake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

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board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending "*ɛ*." The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i tuma*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love, let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be pro-

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither],"[18] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti*, is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[18] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, "*O, oa!*" set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, "*A, mangiti,*" dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, "*Amunduo,*" clapped again and said, "*Amunduo,*" then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *tsavu lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

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At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [177] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

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574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga.*"

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

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whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*solevu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[13] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevusevu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

[13] This must be a mistake. At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

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Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vakathambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai a vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, *"e."* They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted *"kamunanga,"* while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

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back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo,* after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[36] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo,* etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono.* Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[36] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

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drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, *"O, oa."* The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo,* and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu r[illegible]d the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the chur[illegible]." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out *"kamunanga."* The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

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535 177 not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka*, which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

535 292 177 The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

535 The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

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The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor 535
to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian 177
dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand 535
at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered.

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest 535
their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good 533
voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands.

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave 535
their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head

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535 resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

[293] The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*mau*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

535 533 177 The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

535 The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an [931] expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European. 535

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance. 535 431

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations. 535

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again. [177]

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi. [177] [293]

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous. [177]

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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CLUB DANCE

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The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

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(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

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533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

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In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, *"Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!"* (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, *"Tingga, tingga, tingga."* 524

The others cry *"Mate, mate, mate"* (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

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524 Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

526 177 Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock [541] fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

524 *Lafo,* Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

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word for coin, money. A player at one end pitches his disc so that it slides as near as possible to the other end, which is slightly tilted; his opponent tries to get nearer or knock the first one off. When one side has thrown all its discs, the other side begins.

All the other games I have noted are played by children. Elderly people remark on the fact that white people, both young and old, play and are not ashamed of it.

CATCH AS CATCH CAN

The simple form of catch as catch can is called *vulimea* or *veimea*. The caught (*vulimena*) may not catch again the one who caught him, they are *veitumbuni* that is grandmother and grandchild according to Lauan dialect; grandfather and grandchild in the terminology of Viti Levu. The players provoke the one who is in by calling out *"Vulimenggu,"* "He is an idle fellow," "Good day," "So your canoe has come to anchor?" When the game is over they call out *"Timbi o"* [meaning unknown].

A more elaborate form is called *veimbuka*, in Mbauan *veimbithi*. Two teams draw a line in the sand and make a small mound in the middle called the eye. A boy, called the *mbithi*, runs out from one side and tries to run into the other; but the opposing team runs out to catch him; the one who succeeds in touching him becomes *mbithi* and makes for the enemy's line; and so it goes on until one succeeds in setting foot on the line belonging to the other side; then his side counts one point, or *kai*, literally shell; this point is marked by sticking the finger into one end of the mound; the other side score from the other end. A boy may jump over the mound at the start.

Pulling up sticks is played as follows. Ten sticks are planted at each end; half way between is a line made in the sand. The teams line up one on each side of the line; they keep stepping or jumping over the line, but retreat as soon as the enemy try to catch them, until one sees his opportunity and makes a dash for the opponents' sticks. If he is caught on the way he is "dead" and out of play; if he succeeds in touching a stick before he is caught, he pulls it out and walks back with any prisoner the enemy may have made, and plants the stick at his own end. If all the sticks at one end are pulled out that side is beaten.

PLENTY OF SOULS

The game "plenty of souls" (*e levu ni yalo*) is played as follows. A serpentine line is made in the sand, one end being the "foundation village" (*koro ni yavu*); the other is the "dwelling village" (*koro ni tiko*). One

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524 boy is chosen as spirit; he stands at the "foundation village"; the others stand along the line half a circle removed from the spirit. Their leader asks the spirit, "The spirit from where?"—

He answers, "The spirit from Kendekende" or whoever it may be.

The man says: "What have you come to do?"

"I come to eat men."

"Can you eat my men?"

"I will eat at this end, eat at that end."

"Let us run in Naivindamu."

Then all the men run along the winding line, the spirit after them. When the spirit gets to the end of the first half circle he completes it, thus returning to his original position; then he can go ahead in pursuit along the line; thus the others have a start of three semicircles. If the spirit catches one before he reaches the dwelling village, that one becomes the spirit.

The "foundation village" is evidently an old village where the sacred ancestral foundation stands and which is therefore haunted by the spirit or god. Naivindamu is in Fulanga.

GAMES OF SKILL AND STRENGTH

Kitia is played by boys and girls. Two players, one from each of the two sides, squat down facing one another with arms hanging down, and sing:

Kitia, kitia, rara leka (short green)
Kitia Matailakemba.

When they have sung this rhyme once they begin to swing the arms and to hop, putting alternately one foot then the other forward, repeating the rhyme all the time. When one can do no more his place is taken by another, until all the players on one side are put through; that side is beaten. There are other rhymes:

Ndra ni ndovu ka sa lele.	A sugar cane leaf is hanging.
La ki mbutuka seitavare.	Seitavare (?) goes to tread on it.
Wasupai vuravura	The sergeant is arrived;
Ona i nase tawatha,	It flashes
Mate kethevia	The silver ring.
E veiyasana.	The governor is arrived;
Sa uru a satini;	He takes off his hat.
Sa tatimbi	
A mama silini.	
Sa uru a kovana;	
Sa thavuta a ona i sala.	

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GUESSING GAMES

The word *vakasiri* means causing to fail. One player says, "Cause to fail (*bis*), the rainbow there." 524

The other asks, "What about the thing there?"

The first one says, "Flower of *mbithimbithi*, flower of *walai;* what is it you see? what is it I see?"

The second player will say, for instance, "What I see is a box of note books." But in the event the first player was thinking of a fly whisk, the second has failed; had he said "fly whisk" they would have been in agreement.

Vakatu or setting up is a rhyming game. The first player names a man, the other must give a woman's name that rhymes with the first, and so on till one fails. Thus, "Set up to Misilindi."—

"Miri."—

"Miri; Amini."

"Sikiti."—

"Senimili."

This is wrong because Senimili is a woman's name, it should be a man's, so the second player calls out, "Tukisolou." The same name may not be used twice.

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LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose [156] great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman.

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

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arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [766] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

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425 604 565 others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

563 425 Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

423 565 643 Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

423 565 Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[28] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Taliai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

422 All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[28] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

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one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena*, food. 422

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau*, to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua*, probably from *tambu*, sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents. 301

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate. 431 435

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerei*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

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431 It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented.
425 Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

575 The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i. e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*oiho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better
461 off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a
554 man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

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all they would willingly give him in order to retain him. Joshua and his brothers were the hardest workers among the nobles; Joshua had the largest house next to Big House, and built for his brother Isoa the finest home for size and decoration combined; by hard work and forcefulness he had attained an importance quite out of proportion to his real rank. Nowhere have I found hard work to be so esteemed as in Fiji. 461 554

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INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging. Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [526] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula*, *kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

> Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasea*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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the other hand, shallow soil with soapstone underneath as in Ndevo, Naiau, is no good in a dry year. Various soils suit various yams; thus in Rasea some places are good for short yams, others for long; yams from Rasea have a nice taste. 242 244

Land is cleared from April till June, beginning with the following of the reeds; these months are called clearing months (*vula i werewere*). As yam fallows bear little besides reeds, all that is usually required is roughly to cut and beat down the reeds and fire them, taking care to clear thoroughly a broad avenue all round to prevent the fire from spreading; however, it frequently does spread, but usually spends itself on barren tracts. When the remaining stumps have been cleared away the digging begins. 244

Digging is done with a digging stick (*i ndoko*), a pole 5 to 7 feet long, levelled at one end. Thomson (14, p. 339) says it "does little credit to the inventive powers of the Fijians." I have experience of yam planting and can say that the digging stick is far better adapted to yam planting than a spade; in fact Lakembans object to spades because the soil is full of roots, and forks bend and do not have the leverage of a yam pole. That is why the Fijian, who is neither a fool nor stupidly conservative, keeps to his digging stick, unless he can get what he calls a German (*tiamani*), a narrow oval blade in a straight line with the dowel, which he fixes on the end of a digging stick.

Sometimes the whole soil is turned over, a process called *thuki vovo*; it is supposed sometimes to do the yams good. In Ono an experiment was made of turning up only part of a field, it was found that the yams were energetic in the soil that was not turned. The reason is that if the soil is turned the spaces between the mounds are hot in the sun, and cold in the rain.

As a rule planters are content with making mounds in the undug field. This work which is called *ndoko* is done by the young men because it is harder; they thrust the stick into the ground and lever up the earth; then they thrust it in the next spot and so on in a circle some two and a half feet or more in diameter. The older men break up the clods and gather the earth into a mound with their hands or with spades, an operation called *rava*. The mounds, *i pukepuke* are usually made on one day and the planting done on another day.

The chief months for yam planting are July and August; some kinds can be planted later, and planting goes on, decreasing in intensity, as late as November. Old men used to advise planting at full moon; then the yams would grow big. Seed yams are called *mbulambula*, from *mbula*, to grow; when planted, they are called *i tei* (set). Any part of the yam may be planted, but usually the heads (*ta ulu*) are kept for the purpose. If the whole yams are used, they are cut into two or more parts. If a long

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yam of ordinary size is used, it may be cut across and the lower portion will be cut in two lengthwise. Placed in the mound with the flat inner surface turned up, a portion will produce three to five yams; if planted with the edge up it will produce one yam only, but it will be a larger one; in an intermediate position it may produce two. Two small pieces may be planted in one mound. Sometimes a very large mound is made, the chief yam (*kena tu*) is planted in the middle, and others round the sides. When a yam has been planted a reed is stuck in the mound to show it is occupied. The stalk, or "husk" (*nggana*), is sometimes given a reed to climb on, but generally it is allowed to creep on the ground. The yam that develops, the *uvi vou*, is called *ti* in the early stages.

The method thus described is the usual one and is called *lau ngga*, speedy digging. In Lakemba these mounds run into the thousands; in Mbau three hundred is considered a big field; therefore Lakembans who go to the West have a reputation for work; that is simply because they are accumstomed to plant large fields. Many people however have in their fields yams planted according to a method called *keli usu*, or in Tongan *kelikeli malie*, good digging.

A very deep and narrow pit is dug by means of a digging stick. The earth brought up on the end of the stick is laid in one heap if it comes from the top, in another if it comes from below. When the pit is finished they first shovel in and break up the surface soil all round the pit till the pit is almost full; then the earth from the top part of the pit is piled up over it, then the earth from the lower part; the soil is then raked up all round and a mound formed about two feet high. The seed yam is placed inside the mound above the ground level. In Ono, however, they do not make big mounds because they say the sun heats the loose earth and the yam is dried up. If it is laid almost level with the ground the roots go straight into live earth (*nggele mbula*); in a big mound there is no place the roots can lay hold of. In such pits it is necessary to plant a whole yam or a very large part of one.

Planters differ somewhat in their methods: if the yam is thick a pit 18 inches deep is sufficient; some prefer 3 feet.

Ndausinga, an expert planter and my chief informant, says:

It is no good planting such long pieces unless they are slit over a length of about eighteen inches from the base in order that the yam may dry up (*malai*), as it is a moist food plant, and that the juice may come forth, making the yam energetic; but if the set is too big and the water does not come forth cold penetrates the yam and reaches the head; so does heat; if there is much rain the yam grows badly and the leaves rot (*karatha*); if the seed yam is not dried up but remains fresh it is said to be *ngotangota* and the new yam gets diseased; this they know because when they dig up wild yams leaving a set, if the first yam was large the second will not be so because the set is moist; it is bad for the moisture of the set to reach the new yam. The new yam grows downwards and follows the pit as the soil in it is loose. It lies with us to regulate the shape of the yam; if we want it to have a good shape the soil in the pit is well broken up; if a clod as long as the joint of a finger is left the yam will press against it and that part will have a depression because the water of the yam goes first and the new yam follows. In Tonga, the land of origin of this

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method, they dig up another hole with soft soil and put this soil into the pit; that is why they proceed fast with these pits, whereas Fijians break up clods and so go slowly. Not all yams can be used in this method, only *kaumaile* and the four *kasokaso* mentioned. *Kasokaso* should not be planted later than August. *Kaumaile* will grow to a good size if planted as late as October, for its tuber is fast.

Yams planted in this way are intended for shows and competitions, for they reach a length of six feet or more; I have heard of a yam in Tonga nine feet long. But the return is not in proportion to the labor, the size of the seed yam or the space occupied; for it is necessary to leave a clear interval of some sixteen feet between this mound and the next because the strength of the leaves begins on the mound but gets weak at that distance. If the yams are planted too close together, the place is overshadowed because a good set puts forth a lot of leaves. If a yam has too many leaves which cover the mound it will not grow big because it is cold; it is no use cutting off the leaves. That is why a land exposed to the sun is preferred for such pits because it prevents an excessive growth of leaves. If more shoots than one appear there will be more than one yam and they will be smaller; all shoots are therefore broken off except one. Energetic planters allow no part of the stalk to rest on the ground, but support it on reeds that no disease may affect it.

Experts often have little tricks of their own. Some put a flat stone at the bottom of the pit to stop the yam; the yam reaches the stone and its strength goes up again so that the head sometimes appears above the ground. This is done when the length is sufficient for a competition and it is desired to make it thick as well; for the strength goes up to fill in the yam. Maikeli used to place the seed yam over a shallow pit; when the stalk was long and the roots about a hand long he dug it up carefully, so as not to tear the roots, put a stick underneath it to hold it off the ground and dug a pit down very deep and buried the set over it. This is a Tongan method called *fakaeua;* yams so treated never fail to be long, but very few Fijians can do it because it requires skill and they have pity on the yams. Some uncover the yam when it has taken root and cut off all but a small piece of the set because it is of no use once the yam has taken root; the reason is the same as that for slitting the yam. Maikeli used to water his yams before sunrise and after sunset everyday; after watering he would cover the mound with leaves lest the water become too hot and the yams rot (*karatha*); if the mound is covered the heat is suitably moderate.

If the *wanu* or the *kaumaile* flower they know no other yam will beat it. The planter is in constant expectation of its flowering. If it is reported that the yam in such and such a place is flowering, every one knows it will be the longest and the others give themselves up for beaten at the competition.

Vola told me that Ratu Mara treated his yams to make them big by laying certain broad leaves on them; that year the yams were of a good size, but Melaia, Mara's sister, declares that all such charms are intended to kill, to make them rot in the earth and leave the soil incapable of bearing again; there are no charms to make the yams big; their growth comes

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244 [254] as a surprise. To guard against witchcraft red *rewa* (*rewandamu*) and horse taro are planted on the borders of the field. In Lomaloma *lata* is planted against "raw eyes"; if a person with "raw eyes" sees yams they will not grow well.

A yam field should not be visited after rain, the reason being if legs or hands touch the leaves when wet, they will become *karatha* because water remains in yam leaves. Leaves, when *karatha,* look burnt, fade, and drop.

The crop depends on the weather. If there is too much rain the ground is cold so that the yams do not penetrate far. If there is sunshine till Christmas the interior of the pit is warm and the yams do well. If there is a prolonged drought, yams that are planted early do not come to much because the sun eats up their strength; the yams planted later retain their strength.

When Orion is in the west the yams are mature. Early yams come in in January if there is plenty of rain; but they are few. As the last year's stock is exhausted the young men are sometimes sent to the fields in January to get immature yams for feasts. They dig them up when the bottom is still white, cut it off, leaving about one hand's length and cover up the heads again; these heads produce long yams that very same season. This process is called *vakarete.* The bulk of the crop comes in about March and April, months known as digging months (*vula ikelikeli*). First yams for immediate needs are dug. When the yams have definitely ceased growing they are stored in little huts next to the plantation and called *lolo.*

242 244 Sometimes yams are planted two years running in the same field. This is called *lothi.* In that case they must be planted in June or July. They do not yield much. Usually yams are succeeded by sweet potatoes, bananas, or some other crop. Sometimes bananas are planted in a field of yams immediately after the yams have been put in; being small, the trees do not injure the yams. After sweet potatoes or other crops the land is allowed to lie fallow (*voavoa*).

244 Wild yams are called *tikau* and are eaten, except the poisonous kind.

Sweet yams (*Dioscurea aculeata*) are called *kawai.* They are not planted in Lakemba and are not esteemed. They are abundant in the bush and people sometimes come from the Southern Islands and beg leave to dig them up. They are generally fibrous and not to be compared to those cultivated.

Taro Planting

Taro is not planted on so large a scale as are yams, but is more esteemed. Only wet taro fields are cultivated in Lau, and these by irrigation along the streams. Such land is called *solove.* Swiftly running streams are most

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desirable, for sluggish water becomes hot and wilts the plants. The irrigation consists in dipping water from the stream with coconut shells attached to a stick, or flooding the fields by turning the course of the stream. 244

Formerly there were two kinds of taro fields: those cultivated by the *mbiti* method and those by the *lauvoro*. The *mbiti* method is now discontinued because it involves too much time and labor. It was described to me as follows:

In a *mbiti* the grass is cut, fired, and the rubbish removed so that the soil appears; the body of the soil (*yango ni nggele*) is dug thoroughly; then conical holes are made with a special digging stick, which has a head like that of a javelin reed or an European gun shell; some of the heads were as thick as the post of a house. The pits thus made were as deep as four feet. The patches were encased in earth walls surrounded by ditches. Taro raised by this method grew as high as six feet, with tubers eighteen inches long.

By the *lauvoro* method the grass is cut and the taro planted in the midst of the rubbish; the holes being made with a pole (*i pasa*) (Pl. II, *A*) which broadens at its lower end, narrowing to a point; the blade is flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, making small conical holes.

Both cuttings and suckers are planted. In planting cuttings, the top of the root is removed with the stem, the leaves removed also. There is no special season for planting taro, although certain times seem to be more productive than others. For instance, taro maturing in November and December, when it is most needed because of yam stortage during these months, has an unpleasant flavor and develops an abundance of suckers. Occasional weeding is necessary until maturity, when it becomes harmful. In the days of the late Tui Naiau, huge taro fields still extended from the back of Tumbou to the foot of Kendekende; now only the upper part is properly cultivated, the work being done mostly in the evening.

Sugar Cane Growing

Sugar cane is planted in clumps here and there, in the villages or in the fields, merely for use in puddings. A charm is used to drive away the *kitu*, a small bird which eats the sugar-cane and plantains. The owner of the charm rubs certain leaves in his hands and points to a distant spot. The birds then fly to the place indicated. 249

Sugar cane, *nggai* (*Dracaena terminalis*), supplies a thick juicy root which is cooked in hot stones for three days, producing a substance which tastes like licorice. Such ovens are not often made as they are large and require that the stones be heated all night. 252

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Greens

222 [77] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [77] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

431 643 The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 643

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

[539]

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva*; it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 823

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use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka; Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

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fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [825] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

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226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[753] It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

[754] "Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,	Sinu . . . . .
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]	sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
sinu ika tautholo sa rawa i na mba	come before, come behind, come inside, come
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,	outside, come all of you and strike here.
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai	
tautholo mai thoka i ei.	

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The [643] biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

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so decides, on the beach. Many fish which escape into the coral are pulled out. 226

In olden times a noble youth was appointed master of the fishing (*turanga ni nggoli*). He went around in a canoe striking any one who disobeyed.

Mullet Fishing

Mullet is here used to designate the fish called *kanathe*. Fishing for mullet (*thuka*) is done with a bag-shaped net mounted on two sticks.

Mullet fishing is usually said to belong to Tanggalevu [17] but precisely it belongs more to Semi of Tumbou who is the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu and to Ratu Meli of Naivi whose mother was of Tanggalevu.

A man of Waitambu had two daughters: one married into Wathiwathi; the other, called Ndranindongo, came to Tumbou as the wife of a man of Nandomole in Thekena. The people of Waitambu gave her mullet-fishing saying, "Let it be for your soup (*su*) in your house." With it they gave a gulley (*soso*) in Waitambu as dowry (*i kau*). Either she or a female descendant of hers gave the leading position on the seaward side to a daughter of hers who married into Tuware. Both the fishing and the gulley are still the property of the descendants of Ndranindongo. Formerly if any one besides the owners fished mullet there was trouble. If High Chief wishes mullet to be fished, he must ask Semi. If any one is building a house and desires to have mullets for a feast he offers up kava to Semi that he may instruct the women of Tumbou quarter to catch mullet. Semi then informs the women and they hold a council to decide matters and determine the place of each. All the women who are uterine descendants (*kete yani*) from Tumbou may take part. The women go out in two files, two to a net. The first two places are the "eyes" or "face of the fishing" (*mata ni nggoli*); these places have fixed owners as Semi decides: the one toward the sea belongs to Semi's wife and daughter (Semi belongs to Tuware as well as Tanggalevu), the other belongs to the Vaka's wife or some other woman of Nandomole. The other places are decided by "appropriating the fishing" (*usu nggoli*), which is done in this way: after some discussion they suddenly begin calling in quick succession: "I stand behind X"; "I stand next." And so on they scramble for positions, and are placed in the order in which they spoke. As for the ladies of Tai who are not connected with Tumbou, they merely await the decision of the others. Between any two pairs from Tumbou there is an interval in which the nobles are placed; each woman of Tumbou decides which ladies from Tai and how many will stand between her and the next Tumbou net. The position next to the "eyes of the fishing" is fixed; it is called "following the fishing" (*muri nggoli*) and is given to Big House. The last woman of Tumbou is the "limit of the fishing" (*i yalayala ni nggoli*); after that the rest follow in any order, and are known as "the bottom of the fishing" (*mboto ni nggoli*).

The two files advance in the sea looking for a shoal of mullets. If they see one the leader on the seaward side says "Do you see fish?"

The other answers, "I see."

They then start running and all the women know there is a shoal. The two leaders come together and so come the last two thus forming a complete circle round the fish. The leader says, "*Koso*" (cut off) or "Cross," and those who stand at "the limit" on either side run across to join, thus dividing the circle in two. If both circles contain plenty of fish the leader again cries "*Koso*," and each circle again divides in two. The fish try to escape by leaping, but strike against the upper part of the net

[17] Of old, all things were owned (*vaka i tanker*).

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226 which projects high above the water and fall into the bag below. When they have secured the fish they begin again, and so on till the leader is satisfied.

After the fishing each lady of Tai presents a mullet to the Tumbou woman in whose interval she was. If a lady of Tumbou goes down for the first time she makes a feast called *ola* for Tumbou at any time after her first fishing. In return she gets all the fish caught at the next fishing.

Until the time when the people left the Old Village, the ladies of Tai used to give the twine to the women of Tumbou to make into nets; but the Tumbou ladies were in the habit of keeping some of the twine for themselves, so the women of Tai learned the art.

Mullet fishing also has its tapu:

It is forbidden to tread on one another's toes before going out fishing or the person trodden on catches nothing.

The net is whipped with *sinu* like an ordinary net only it is done in silence because it is clear for what fish it is meant.

While fishing it is forbidden to touch one another or let the sticks touch one another; for two to eat out of the same basket; to spear or hit the mullet.

The scarcity of mullet in my time was ascribed to ill feeling between the owners of the fishing over the question who should control it. As long as the Tumbu people got on well together they caught plenty.

I could discover no spirit of mullet fishing. In Waitambu it was definitely said the fishing had no spirits (*tevoro*), it merely originated in Waitambu.

The other villages do not fish mullet, not that it is forbidden to them, but they do not know how and have no nets. Besides, mullet only comes close to land between Waitambu and Tumbou.

Fish Fences

Fish fences made of reeds are set up across the tracks which the fish follow when they retire with the tide. These tracks are known to experts.

The plan of the fence, which varies somewhat according to the lay of the land, is roughly that of a crescent. The two wings must rest on flats that are dry, or nearly so, at low tide. The central part is doubled and the inner fence has an opening in the middle. At each of the corridors between the inner and the outer fence is a chamber with an opening so narrow that a man can barely squeeze through, this entrance is wider at the top than at the bottom, so that the lower the tide, the narrower the opening; it is closed by flaps so arranged that the fish can push their way in but not out. At low tide the owners come to collect the fish. After making sure there is no shark or sting ray present, they enter and spear or stab the fish.

These fences have to be shifted from time to time as the fish cease to come. They are not much used in Lakemba, as they are not very productive on the Tumbou side, fifty being a good catch as against hundreds in Viti Levu. In fact, it was I who revived this method.

In Waitambu there are "fish fence waters" which are proprietary. If a man sets up a fish fence he asks his wives and sisters to supply provisions

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

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The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro ne*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 643 262

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [587] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauras mowi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i warabi*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbaru ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

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Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?" 226 773

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given: 226

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alcwa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent. 342

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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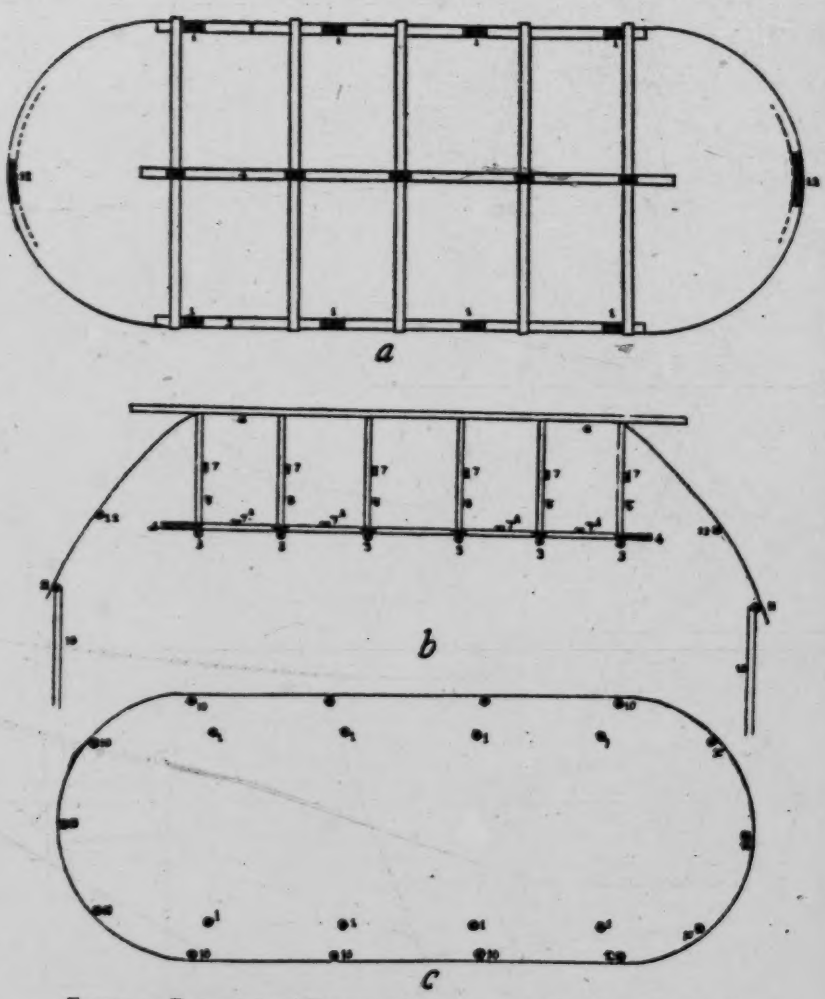

FIGURE 4.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, horizontal section showing tie beams; *b*, longitudinal section; *c*, ground plan, 1, main posts (*nduru*); 2, lower purlin (*kathu mbalavu*); 3, tie beam (*ithoka*); 4, base of king posts (*yavu ni mbou*); 5, king post (*mbou*); 6, ridge beam (*indoka*); 7, collar beam (*ilengge*); 7a, struts; 10, side post (*nduru*); 11, circular wall plate (*ilolo*); 12, apse beam (*feleanga*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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neath. (See Pl. III, *B*.) The thatch consists of dried leaves of screwpine made supple by drawing backwards and forwards round a stick planted upright in the ground. They are pinned together with the stems of a fern called *vativati*. When thatching, some men stand on the ladder which rests 342

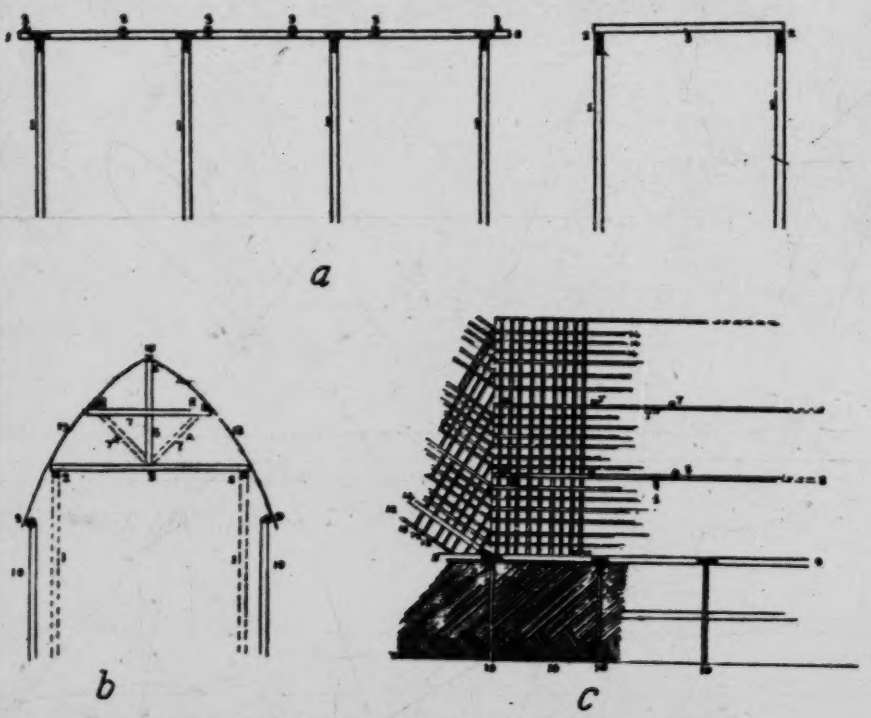

FIGURE 5.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, posts, tie beams, lower purlin (sectional view); *b*, cross section of the outmost tie beam; *c*, walls and roof (interior), 1, main posts; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 5, king post; 6, ridge beam; 7, collar beam; 7*a*, struts; 8, upper purlin; 9, wall plate (*inggasinggasi ni kalavo*); 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 12, apse beam; 13, rafter (*isu*); 14, reepers (*iapai*); 15, upper ridge (*indokarua*); 16, wall, *lotoa* style.

against the rafters inside the house, while men below spit the rows of thatch leaves on long sticks and pass them up. These sticks are called *thimba* (the same word means "dying," whether by coincidence or origin, I do not know).

The ridge of small houses is covered with plaited coconut leaves; pinned down with sharp sticks called *isanggai*, this covering is called *teviti*. Coco-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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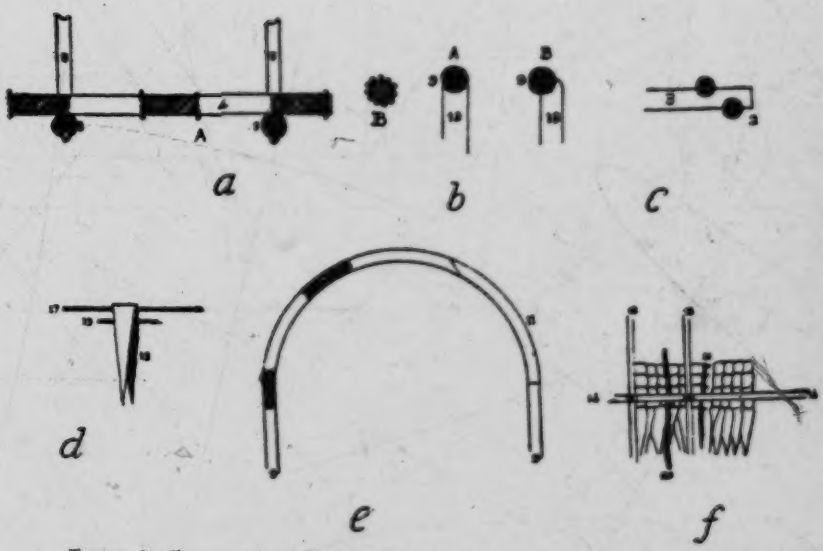

FIGURE 6.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, base of king post; *b*, connection of wall plate and side posts; *c*, extremity of a tie beam; *d*, thatch leaf; *e*, apse wall plate showing level and coir string; *f*, thatch rafters and reepers; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 4, base of king posts; 5, king post; 9, wall plate; 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 13, rafters; 14, reepers; 17, thatch carrier (*yovo*); 18, thatch leaf (*rau*); 19, leaf pin (*vativati*); 20, thatch cord (*wale*); 21, thatch joint (*nduta*).

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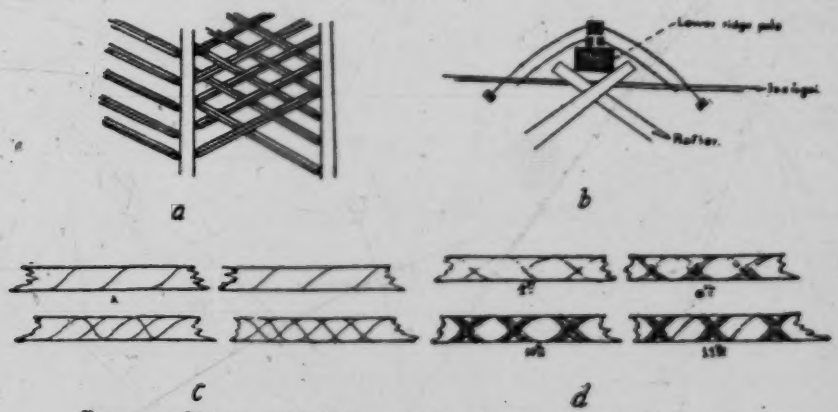

FIGURE 7.—Plaiting and lashing: *a*, *teviti* style of plaiting; *b*, diagram of *teviti*; *c*, stages in design; *d*, first stages of *matani ndavui*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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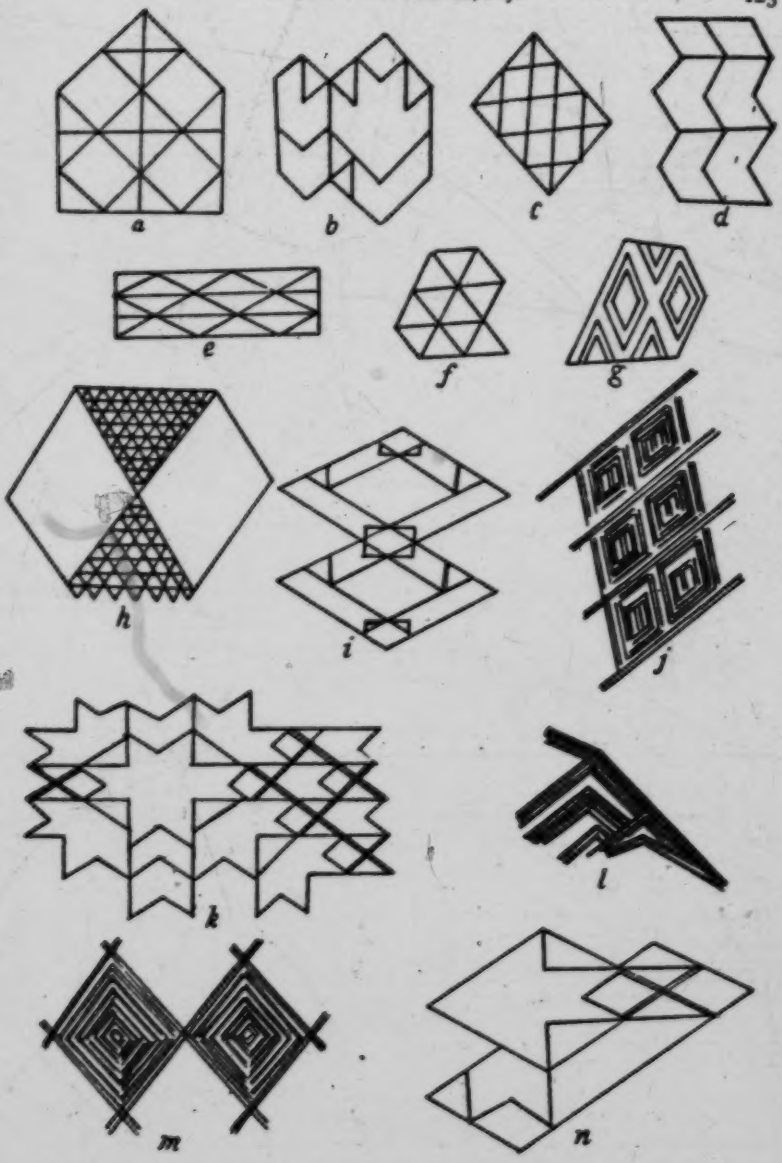

FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *b*, on main post; *c*, *fatuingalau*; *d*, *veikuku*; *e*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *f*, *manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g*, *matanindavui*; *h*, *fufuikiu*, diagram from main post; *i*, from extremity of base of king post; *j*, *fatuingalau*, diagram of strands; *k*, from a wall plate; *l*, from a side post; *m*, from a main post; *n*, analysis of *k*.

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342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zigzag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti*.

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa*, a Tongan word *loto*, interior, and *a*, fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi*, is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.

Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *vunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo*. The coir so prepared is called *somo*.

The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lawalawa*, and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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names of patterns are Tongan;[19] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts; for the tie beams *palataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who comes to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the evening another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[19] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kairi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

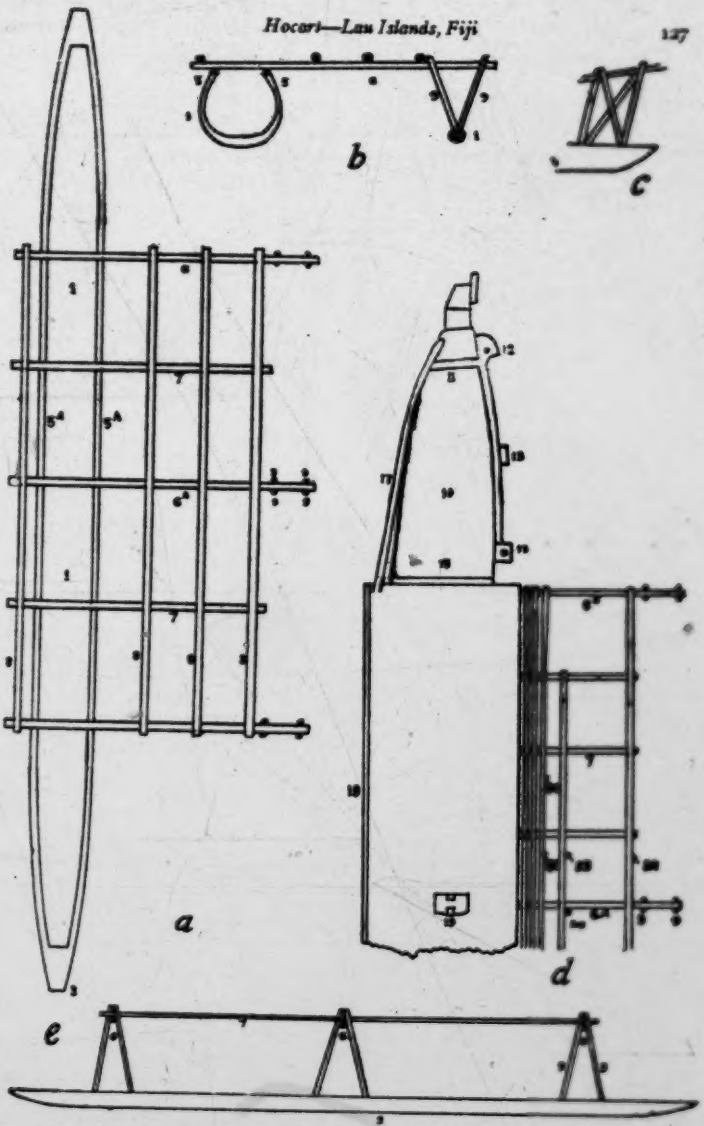

FIGURE 9.—The Kandavu sailing canoe: *a*, plan; *b*, cross section; *c*, attachment of outrigger; *d*, plan of sailing canoe; 1, hull; 2, float (*thama*); 3, bow; 4, stern; 5, washbrake (*sea*); 6, 6A, principal outrigger booms (*ikaso tu*); 7, short outrigger booms (*ikaso leka*); 8, outrigger crosspieces; 8A, B, C, *ravunisa, ivakosonindoko, imasua*, spars; 9, float sticks (*ivatolo*); 10, fore deck; 11, emplacement of the point of the sail (*i tutu ni tu*); 12, *mbusirisi*; 13, *saw*; 14, main deck (*rara*); 15, *latitumbu*; 16, *tavia*; 17, *ivantandave*; 18, railing (*mbonisa*); 19, step (*vungakoto*); 20, mast; 21, *roko*; 22, cleat (*teké*); 23, bow stay (*uthuimua*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

396 struction of a canoe seen at Soso in Kandavu. The hull is made of Fijian *kauri* or of greenheart. The lower end of the masthead is levelled and lashed to the mast; two stays called *tu ruarua* (I use the Kandavu terms) are fastened to the joint; the other end of one is lashed to the outmost spar, the end of the other to the lee side; one single stout stay called *tu ruarua* runs from the blocks (*i sandali*) on the masthead to the central outrigger boom and the outer float sticks. Two stays also run from the base of the masthead to the further blocks on the weather side of the canoe

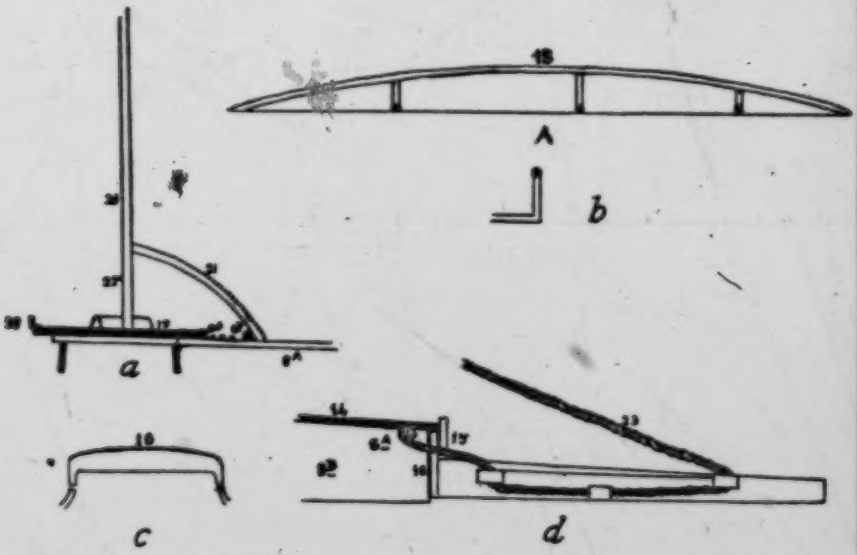

FIGURE 10.—The Kandavu canoe: *a*, mast; *b*, railing and detailed section; *c*, section of the fore deck; *d*, longitudinal view of the fore deck.

fore and aft, then back through two more blocks to the outer outrigger booms. The spaces (*ndungundungu*) under the fore and aft decks are almost completely partitioned off from the main hold (*ndreke*). The hold is partly covered by a platform on which a small hut may be erected. In larger canoes these become regular deck cabins which have flat roofs known as the sail shelf.

396 574 Large double canoes are spoken of as sacred canoes (*wangga tambu*). Any one can cut a dug-out paddling canoe and without ceremony, but large canoes are put into hands of carpenters, this entails feasts at various stages of the construction.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some 396
such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, 431
amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, 574
and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way."

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain 396
tapu had to be observed; 784

No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was 396
prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the 574
bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wungga*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakataua nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,	Bring the black cloth,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.	A rag for the sailor boys.
Ure, ure wi urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.	Bring the variegated tapa,
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which
[431] are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes
501 574 ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

501 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca.1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 539 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*. 248 287

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

287 of *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

531 Patterns consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kathu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

531 386 Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai ndina; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

531 The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakaleweninmbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*). 531

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens. [177]

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905): 531 476 575

The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the Presiden They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secret will withdraw the amount of money 476 575

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

476
575 required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

531
476
575 In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[16] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i momo*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *koho* pudding which formerly was provided.

[804
192] The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

287 Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[16] Ribs of coconut leaves.

1: Hocart/Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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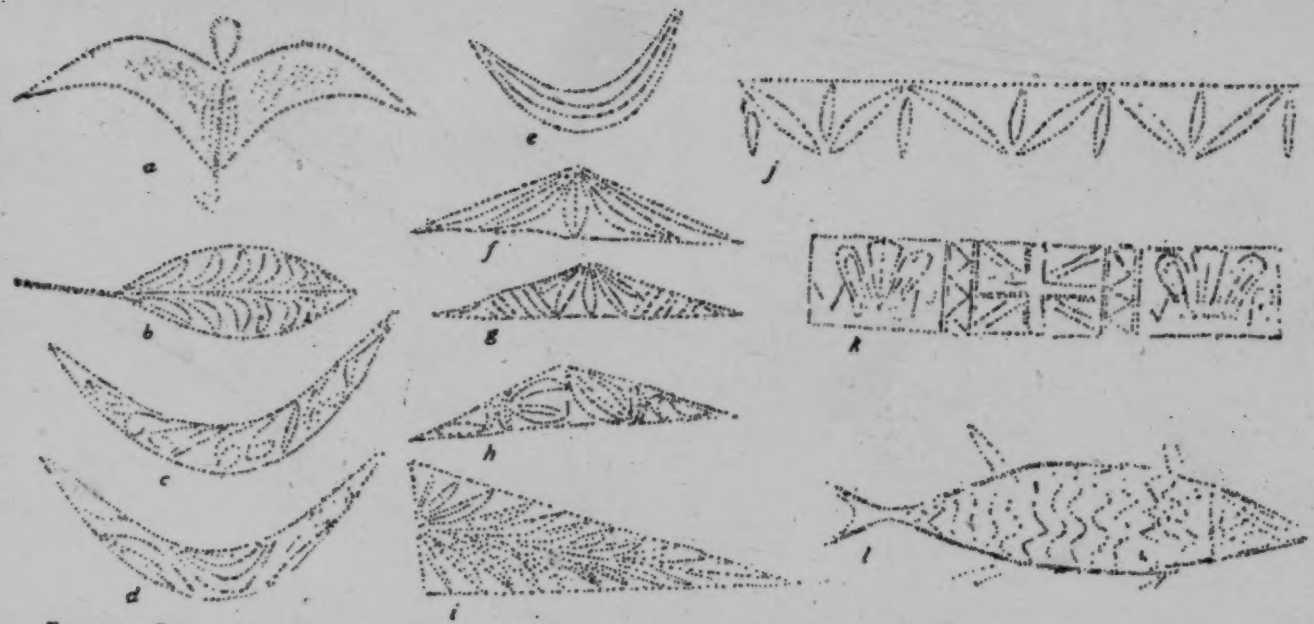

FIGURE 11.—Patterns for applique on tapas: *a*, bat (designed by Tongan woman); *b*, fan (*iri*, from Mbau); *c*, *d*, *e*, moon (*vula*, *c*, *e*, from Tonga); *f*, *mbua* leaves; *g*, *h*, *i*, name not learned; *j*, *mamba* leaves (Mbau); *k*, *sala ni Tui* (Mbau); *l*, fish (from Nasangalau). (Drawn from rubbings.)

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 531 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form [531] designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed [illegible] the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tomeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[589] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish. 262

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk. 231

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*. 252

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chilies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro, 354

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252 breadfruit, or whatever is required for puddings, is roasted, and banana leaves are heated to make them supple. When the stones are hot they are spread out with sticks and covered with leaves, on which the food is placed. If both taro and yam are put in together the contents of the oven are said to be like a sea-snake, in other words brindled. Taro is put in pealed, yams unpealed. Fish is usually wrapped in breadfruit leaves lain inside a fan palm leaf, an envelope of fish (*i sala ni ika*) it is called; but sometimes it is placed with sauce, inside a banana leaf like a pudding. A pig is singed whole, scraped, the legs are cut off, and the entrails removed by making a slit in the abdomen and one in the throat; then the belly is filled with hot stones and it is put into the oven whole; the legs are put in separately; the liver and the edible viscera are put in a leaf with water and put into the oven or else they are boiled and eaten by the workers. Oxen are no longer cooked whole, as it was found better to cut them up raw and let each man take his share home and boil it.

When the oven is full it is covered with old baskets and sacks, then buried. While the food is cooking, baskets are plaited of coconut leaves. The steam coming through the top of the oven indicates that the food is cooked.

354 Sometimes ovens are made in the evening and dug up in the morning; this is called *melo*.

Puddings

252 Puddings (*nggalu*) appear at most feasts, but are seldom made except for feasts, as they involve much labor.

Most puddings are made with taro, none with yams. For some puddings the taro is roasted to keep its flavor. The taro may be pounded or grated; grated puddings are more esteemed. For pounding, the taro is placed in a long trough. A man stands on either side armed with the stump of a coconut leaf and pounds it into a sticky mass (*matu*); then an expert wets his hands, seizes some of the mash in each hand and squeezes it so that it oozes out between the thumb and forefinger, then shakes it off in pellets about an inch thick. One who has the knack can throw pellets on alternate hands with great speed. The pellets are rolled in the sauce, then put into banana leaves which are gathered up round them and tied at the top with a piece from the midrib. The sauce is always made with coconut cream, raw or cooked; puddings with cooked sauce are more esteemed. Formerly if the sauce were raw the banana leaf was simply tied round the top of the leaf; if the sauce were cooked, one end of the leaf was turned down like a hood, then tied round; now all puddings are tied alike.

For white *sivaro*, pellets are prepared as above; for sauce raw coconut cream with sea water and sugar is used. This is a quick method. Sometimes the sauce is mixed with *Dracaena* juice.

Another pudding of which I do not know the name, was made in this way:

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Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce. 252

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu*, *hoho*, and *ngoua*, this last a kind of mollusc called *veata*, in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed. 539

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

Fermenting

Fermented food, excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food. 251

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled. 252

Yams are never fermented. 251

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SERVING

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[415]

Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264
565

When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

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WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat. 712

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably describe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The following account has been received: 726 757 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*rawa*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped: they might not be angry with the Matangi.

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PREPARATIONS

648 When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauri-tambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

441 The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

726 European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i vakathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

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was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Screivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [83]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

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726 From Matuku, Moala Islands, comes the following account of proceedings after the battle:

The clubs of the manslayers, on the day on which they were presented with gifts, are called *ngandro;* the manslayers run with them to the temple. For four nights they slept in a separate house. If one of them wanted badly to see his child, he would go up to his house, touch the child with a reed from outside, kiss the reed, and go back to the common house.

The chief then called Tumbunimalungu, now called Vaka (p. 223) would call out in the night, "The clubs are turned over." Then the conch was blown and all awakened. The clubs were not turned over; that was merely their way of doing. After four nights they went to bathe when everyone was asleep. The clubs were carried by Tumbunimalungu and the conch was blown. The people might not exclaim; if anyone did, he was *mokau,* that is, he would be killed in the next battle. On that day they carried the club round and slew any pig they chose, even though it belonged to the Roko Sau.

E266

Of old, only the old men, not the women and children, ate men.

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THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old. 854

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mburc*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

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855 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat
264 at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said
861 to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently.
623 Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early,
868 because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

152 Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152
A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145
from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 341
they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576
out *"ninggo,"* it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304
ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in 304
their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195
Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304
circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881
at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a [565]
feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tavu sri*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [? nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
302 indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lavo*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
> 644 of Roko San was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko San's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> 857 panions played with dolls (*vukataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
> 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be
> 1 forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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88 country-folk (Lauandeko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more 177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

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with Se (Flower), Ranji (Lady), are naturally women's names; but why 551
Kunea (Found-it), Tangi (Weep), Lave (Lift) should be confined to women is hard to see. Perhaps this is merely a family tradition.

When a name is compounded of two words connected by a preposition, the short form is cut off after the preposition, thus Uluilakemba (Hill of Lakemba) is shortened not to Ulu, but to Ului (Hill-of). In the same way is Ndelai for Ndelvaivungalei (Hill-to-Vungalei), Vui for Vuiyanutha (God of Yanutha). The rule has exceptions; thus Volaivuna was always known as Vola, but then *vola* is not a noun that takes the suffixed possessive like *ulu, ndela, vu.*

As a rule, names run in families. The pedigrees show that usually a man is named after his grandfather, using that word in the native sense to cover the grandfather's brothers as well as the grandfather himself. A woman is oftenest called after her grandmother. There are many more cases than appear in the pedigrees, because frequently a man does not actually take his grandfather's name, but is called in remembrance of something that happened to his grandfather. Thus Saumbulinayau (Chief installed in Naiau) recalls the fact trat Rasolo was installed in Naiau; Umuumulovo (Baked in the oven) refers to Niumataiwalu the younger, who was killed and cooked.

This preponderance in favor of the grandfather is never stated by the natives themselves, who scarcely seem aware of it. One man, when it was pointed out to him, explained that children took the name of the grandfather in order that the descent might be known; a few men have been named after their great-grandfathers.

Next in order to the grandfather and grandmother come the father's brother and the mother's sister. Here again the fact may be disguised by the child being named after some event. I know only one child who has taken his father's name, obviously following European custom.

Some names from foreign parts are given because strangers come to Lakemba and give their names; thus Tuimereke (King of America) was given in honor of an American who lived in Lakemba; and Ratu Sikeli got his name Ralovo from the chief of Ndravo, where he was born. Names containing *rewa* belong to Navuanirewa, as Senirewa, Landuvunirewa (shortened to Landu). The various branches of Navuanirewa tend to have their special names; Nayathatambu, for instance, is found only in Naivi.

Very common are names for men beginning with Koroi (Town of), Seru (Comb), Wangga (Ship), and Thama (Outrigger), Lemba for women, *lemba* is a tree of which the fruit is used for necklaces, so *lemba* may be translated necklace. The second part of such names is the name of some person in whose honor the bearer of the name is called: Koroirathiki (Town-of-Rathika), Seruimalini (Comb-of-Malani), Wanggaituinayau

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55! (Ship-of-Tui Naiau), Thamailawathi (Outrigger-of-Lawathi), Lembaikelekele (Necklace-of-Kelekele).

Koroi, Seru, Wangga are names given to one who has slain an enemy. Thama and Lemba are given on the grounds of kinship, and to inferiors. A man may call his younger brother's son Thama after his own son. Lawathi and Thamailawathi were both sons of Ndranivia, but by different mothers; the mothers, however, were sisters, and younger sister's son was called after the elder sister's son. Lemba is given to women in the same way; a *lemba* is an "after-eater" or younger sister. "If two brothers have daughters the daughter of the younger is *lemba* to the daughter of the elder. Lemba and Thama are used only for our inferiors."

Nicknames are called *yatha ni vakathivo*. *Vakathivo* (to lower) is the custom of shouting out some humorous remark after drinking a cup of kava; a nickname is therefore properly a name given at a kava party. One boy was nicknamed Silini (Shilling) and another Penitolu (Three-pence) because as a small child he had put three-pence in the collection plate; another was supposed to look like a billy goat and so was called Tamanime.

A man addresses his namesake as My Name, in Fijian this is *nonggu yatha*, whereas a man speaks of his own name as *yathanggu*, using the suffixed possessive. "If two men have the same name," says one informant, "they are related." Of course, it is generally because they are related that they have the same name, but a common name does seem to bring them closer together, and people sometimes speak as though having the same name were a close tie. I could, however, get nothing definite on the subject beyond the following example: Pasoni, a Tongan, is related according to Tongan custom to Repeka, because his father was born when her father, Leonaitasi Ngu, was in Tonga and so was called after him.

The people are reluctant to mention their names, and, if compelled to ask the name, will do so most politely. When asked his name a man will usually request a third party to tell it for him.

553 The father, mother, and grandfather decide upon the child's name. The naming is not accompanied by any ceremony, except of course for the Christian name which is given at baptism. If, however, a man wants to give his name to a child he brings gifts for the assigning of a name (*me i vakatoka ni vatha*).

ADULTS

146 577 A hard worker is described as a man who achieves things; a lazy man is unable to achieve food or goods. Such a man is liable to have it flung in his face at the first quarrel. Hard work is very much prized, and a man's

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capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work.

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veingati* or *veikati*.

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait.

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name.

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by *mandua*. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest.

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on

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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (nona tamata sara nga), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

Morality

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of 195
women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) 834
is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedi- 834
grees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of 848
Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each 834
other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They 186
may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or 834
if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

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[B34] dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
548 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kauu*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone aleua*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[117] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovoki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and 585
the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.]

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vata*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife [578]
is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be.

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second 587
marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the
574 house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's
602 people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of
611 Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind
643 to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 593
a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614
ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 844
and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband [753]
cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843
more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine [757]
as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844
birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

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844 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa[10]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomona,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndrawu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[10] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851
Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644
their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751
make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka.*

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758
their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753
and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753
> for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757
> the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755
> patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timea lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

759 The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things 757
and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755
boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431]
feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758
the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757
some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755
natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262]
(b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum; strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262]
fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262]
and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu, thangolaya, yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu, yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt
[262] water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndavuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesiveni wai* to be eaten with it
[262] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uvuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
262 days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *ewewu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757 [262]

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease:

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[n] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 834]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for diseases which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[n] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

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chewing octopus (*kuita nguru moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (*kuita mangimangi*); withcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *witiwiri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient
262 bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . . ; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt
262 water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

757 *Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has
755 many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mbordte* and six of *sentoa*; strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyari* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivala* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be 757
nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; 755
four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add
oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [784]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka' tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and [752]
sinu leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of 752
reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. 757

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they 755
will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into 757
faito. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are 177
supernaturally effective. 755

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy:- Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

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the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [22]

Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *waroworo*; wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *ewuewu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[22] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used.

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches:

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*):

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tuumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

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755 and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later
157 he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto*, and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

756 There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water,
177 elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754 Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 787 a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754 The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and fore- [824] finger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [776] charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

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787 754 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 754 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

Various Kinds of Witchcraft

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakalialewakalou*. I take a young branch of

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screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to *leeward. Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I* stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to." 754

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *silo*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula;	Beat without killing, beat without killing;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva.	Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

Chop leaves, add water, beat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much. [755]

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausau*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrance in Yandrana.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate. [756]

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (Mbulu). They call that a

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754 dream. He stood to attention and said, 'After three nights her eyes will recover.' It was a soul; I don't know whose."

'NGAN WITCHCRAFT

Tonga is said to ' of powerful witchcraft. It is also said that no European physic an cure a Tongan disease; on the other hand, it is said that Tongans are afraid of Fijian witchcraft, and should even a child in the house feign to do witchcraft, a Tongan, even though he be a person of quality, will walk out.

In a form of Tongan witchcraft called *fokotuu tapu* (to set up a tapu) leaves are prepared to infect (*manati*) those who come and take without leave. In Tonga it is hereditary. The difference between Tongan and Fijian witchcraft is that the Fijian charm is buried, while the Tongan is hung up, formerly where everyone could see it.

A Lauan learned from a Tongan how to cause *fulumingi*, a disease in which the penis is pierced and the urine comes out at the sides (another informant says it occurs about the anus and calls it piles).

Chew four leaves of *seasea*, four of *vue*, four of *molau*, four of *kura;* mix them with turmeric, wrap in a bit of bark cloth, and hang up wherever you choose.

A Tongan will mention the name of all the leaves and then ask the spirit of the charm (*kalou ni wai*) to be gracious and make the charm effective (*mana*). Who the spirit (*kalou*) is the informant could not tell. The Christian God is now prayed to to make it effective. When the charm is removed it may not be thrown into the sea, or the owner will get piles. The owner must himself put it into a dark place, where the sun does not shine, or he will get piles. The refresher is as follows:

Two twigs of the plant used for the witchcraft; these are scraped a little, and water is added; it is used for dabbing. Tapu: pig, dishes prepared with oil, scented oil, sea water.

Other Tongan forms are *kulakula*, which is quick to take effect, but is not always effective. *Lolokumete* can be produced in the same way.

WITCHCRAFT ON FISHING AND GARDENS

From Naiau come the following witchcraft for the sea:

If women are going along the beach, to fish, the owner of the charm comes along secretly in the bush and taking a reed one and a half fathoms long, he rubs the point and the whole length with four leaves of *wazusovuso* turned alternately tip to stem. When the women are all in the water he secretly throws it at the back of the last one; she must not feel the reed or she will look back and the charm will not act. He then turns away and may not look back. The effect is that no fish will be caught.

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Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i volu na luvenggu. A i volu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

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763 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be
565 blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the
431 dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth in-
431 side, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*taura wale*
565 *nga*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rengurengu*) because after putting down
431 the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles: these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*).
From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

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men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764
the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304]
to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766
if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764
occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177
nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764
penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 565 562 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

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consisted of two oxen, eleven cases of tinned beef, and two pigs; there was 765 one oven from each clan in Tumbou, and one from Levuka, each including a case of beef or a pig. For a man of Tanggalevu and Thekena there was one oven from Thekena, one from Vatuwangga because his sister had married into that clan, one from Naivi because of his natural son whose mother was of Naivi, one from Joshua and his brothers, one from Narewandamu because Emosi and the deceased were "slightly brothers." The feast held for the death of Ratu Finau's little daughter was attended by Tumbou, Nasanggalau, Yandrana, Wathiwathi.

When the feast is piled up (*kele*) kava is served Tongan style (p. 60). Everything is done in noble fashion because the dead are noble. The feast is divided in the usual way with this difference that only those who brought kissing gifts receive a share; each person who brought one is reckoned as "one path." The portions are divided according to paths.

This death feast is observed by distant kinsfolk or subjects upon hearing of a death. The whole of Lakemba held one for King Edward VII.

The ladies of the *putu* go on sleeping in the house of the deceased. Formerly they stayed a hundred days, but the government stopped it because of the expense; for the kinsfolk of the deceased have to feed them all the time.

As long as the body is there the company sing religious songs only, but afterwards they sing Tongan dances and altogether have a merry time. Outside men and women are drinking kava, chattering, laughing, or singing. Formerly men used to hit the ladies of the mourning with banana suckers, but if a lady got hold of the man she stripped him naked. For an important death (*mate yatho*) this went on every night; one quarter of the village would say, "Let us go and strike the *putu*."

A writer in the Native Gazette complains that "the young men of the village go to drink kava in the house; every night they foregather there with the women, and evil arises from it. If there is a woman who cannot be achieved when in her own house she can be achieved in the house of mourning." Another writer, a man of Viti Levu commenting on this says that this custom is not to be found in Lomaiviti or in the outer parts of Fiji, only in Lau; he had never heard the terms *putu* and *tonitoni* before (11, Feb., p. 16, July, p. 16, 1891).

Nowadays at the end of five or ten days this comes to an end. On the morning after the last night the *tilatila* (beating the cloth log) is held. A few rapid beats are struck on the log on which bark cloth is beaten, thus raising the interdict on this work. At one funeral this period was shortened because the High Chief saw no one to look after the ladies of the mourning.

The tenth night feast (*vakambongitini*) is larger than the burial feast, though smaller than the *i mburua*. While the men prepare the ovens the

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765 women of the mourning bathe, which they accomplish by going fishing. The "true kinsmen of the deceased" contributed one oven each group; one from Vatuwangga, one from Narewandamu, one from Tanggalevu and Thekena. The ovens are smaller than for the death feast, the pigs having been killed then, there is not much left for the tenth night; yet the oven for the tenth night is well attended to. While the young men pound the puddings the elders drink kava outside the house.

Of old the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula who watched and buried the body bathed on the tenth day. While ordinary baths were taken before, the ceremonial bathing was on the tenth day. This statement rests on the herald's authority only.

The morning after the death feast according to one, after the tenth night, according to another, sand is dug (*ta pata*). A layer of fine sand is spread out on the grave and over this a layer of coarse sand called *pata*. A small feast is made for those who take part in the work.

Later, it may be at the hundredth night, it may be earlier, pebbles (*kilikili*) are placed in a bowl of oil, and strewn on the grave to give a neat appearance. (See Pl. II, *E*.) The grave of a particularly beloved kinsman is spread with cotton cloth, bark cloth, and mats before the pebbles are strewn over it, so that the pebbles may lie well and the sand not touch them; calico and oiled bark cloth and scented necklets are laid on the top of the pebbles or hung on a horizontal stick over the grave, for anyone to take away. Bark cloth so hung up is called the fence (*mbai*) of the grave. That hung up for Ratu Isoa was given to the Methodist choir.

The feasts for strewing the pebbles was formerly a heavy charge. The dish in which to oil the pebbles had to be cut. The relatives of the deceased prepared gifts for the women who worked at the pebbles. The oiling is called *vakandranumi kilikili*.

The old style tomb consists of an oblong heap of earth with a revetment of slabs of the kind called *maka papa*, just like the foundation of a house, only on a smaller scale. Vaults are of Tongan origin and called by a Tongan name, *fonua loto*, "place within." They were only made for high chiefs. Formerly the walls and covering were made of slabs of *maka papa*. The late Tui Naiau's was made of cement and was opened twice, once to put in his widow, and once his son. The mound over his grave consisted of two tiers, the lower with a revetment of upright slabs, the upper with one of slabs laid horizontally.

Many people were buried inside the house of Matailakemba. The third Tui Naiau's eldest son was buried in the temple of Nautuutu.

If the deceased had many kinsfolk, they built a house on his grave to shade it. Portable houses (*vale siki*) were erected over the graves of nobles, consisting of a roof laid on the grave without walls or posts; three beams,

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including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with 765
cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena,* crotons, and a plant called *vasa.*

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or 211
in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the 605
record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu,* forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tum- [177]
bou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

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765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba,* the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu,* to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba.* The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [195] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

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776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: *"A thava e manati iko"* (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

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"Because the house is closed."
"It is not."
"Ghosts are afraid of the dog."
"And when I had no dog?"
"They were afraid of the cat."
"And when I had no cat?"
Silence. "Why are you not afraid when there are two of you?"
"We are bold because we talk."

One night shortly before cockcrow a boy got up and saw what looked like a man going from the assistant-master's house towards the graveyard; he knew it was a ghost because his own hair stood on end, besides the person's kilt was bright. Once we saw a light on the hills: there was much excitement and a discussion took place whether it was a spirit, a man, or a bushfire; at last from its immobility it was concluded it was a spirit. A boy thus describes his meeting with a spirit:

> We were sitting together as it was getting towards evening, when my back was hit by a stone. I thought some one had hit me; but when we set off for the village the spirit came and stooped over the oven and ate the sweet potatoes in the oven. Tuvukapa, an old man, took a spear and hit the *tevoro*, which turned into a spirit. This spirit was like a man, but green like the shade of a reading lamp.

Melaia once asked me if I had ever seen *tevoro* in Europe, "the souls of the dead you know." One night a half-caste who had perished at sea came and sat on Loata's chest so that she cried out and awoke.

The soul of a man that has been slain is called a soul of the slain (*yalo ni moku*). The place where he was killed is feared.

Spirits are believed to strike people. A Lomaloma boy had a scar on his leg which was due to his having been struck by a ghost: one day he was standing in a paddock close to a grave; suddenly he became dizzy, his sight became dim, and he fell; upon reaching home he found his leg was bleeding.

Spirits enter a man and eat him. Some spirits are called devouring spirits (*kalou kana*).

A boy once walked in his sleep. Upon being told of it, he shivered with fright and declared a spirit had entered him. Some men are mad because spirits attack their souls (*valata a yalondra*), they lead their souls astray. There is a madman in Yandrana called Taikiko. He once fell from a tree and wounded his head on a stone. My boy supposed a spirit had entered him; though weak, he could carry big loads; the spirit must carry them. When they heard Taikiko spoke to himself, they said, "Ah! It is plain the spirits are with him." If Taikiko sings or goes round Lakemba some one will die; some say a person will die on the side by which he sets

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775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni wai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

INTRODUCTION

196 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate" (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

346 Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets; they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai. Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their
784 return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the ~~priest~~ divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him,
793 "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Emosi gives Tutumatua as the god (*kalou*) of Naitombo. His name is compounded of *tu* (to stand or chief), and *matua* (old). He is not embodied in any animal.

He is a well known personage and his name is familiar to all throughout Lau. He is a *tevoro* everywhere; there is no place where he has not a seat. He is identified with Ndauthina of Vanua Mbalavu Ndakuwangga of Thakaundrove; a writer (11, p. 172, 1896) identifies him with Komainatavasara of Thakaundrove, Randikendike of Ngau, Rathinathina of Namuka.

Tutumatua is an ancient god who lives on the shore and is often seen.

He has a long penis. If a woman bending forward exposes herself and Tutumatua sees her, and say he is on the reef and she on the hill (about a mile and a half apart), he will have connection with her. Tutumatua was once in Totoya and saw a woman in the sea busy fishing; he erected his penis; it was a hard as wood. He saw the woman naked, and saw her private parts, and erected his penis, and then patted his testicles. The woman came that way. His penis missed her and struck a stone; where it struck there is a hole; there it is to this day, the mark of the penis as it hit the stone. In a certain island the women were fishing; Tutumatua saw a woman lying in a canoe: he erected his penis; it struck the woman's privates, that she fell into the water and died.

Sometimes Tutumatua looks like a man; he is handsome; sometimes like a boy; sometimes like an old man with elephantiasis and white hair, who walks leaning on a staff. If he is like a boy, there is not as good-looking a boy in Fiji; if like an old man there is not as weak a man in Fiji. If he desires a woman he is a fine man with no one to surpass him; but if he once achieves a woman he changes into an ugly old man. Many women die of it, some don't. He killed Saro of Nasangalau and others.

Seini Otu, a woman of Waitambu, gave me the following account:

Once when I was lying ill in my house, I heard a noise like a whistle, then Tutumatua entered into the foot of a post and kept on calling my name, "Otu, Otu, Otu." He did not cease for a minute, night or day. Nine months he kept assailing me. If I lay down in the daytime he called me. I could do nothing but religious exercises (*lotu*). I read my Bible continually except when asleep. As I kneeled in prayer he called out: "It is false. It is false." I was ill about five months. When I prayed the spirits said, "Amen." I only heard their voices, did not see their bodies. I used no medicine, only religion. There were Tutumatua and others. I alone heard them, not the other people. I know by experience the devil (*tevoro*) is strong, that when the World was created the devils came down from Heaven to inhabit the World.

Ndroka is mentioned by Emosi alone as being the god (*kalou*) of Tandravula. Should a big fire for a feast be built, though all the food in the oven might be burnt, one root would be raw (*ndroka*). It is said this was for Ndroka.

Thekena had as gods (*kalou*) two young girls, known as the Two Children (*koirau na ngone*). One was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha, (Bad).

They are the children of Tui Vakano, a god of Vakano. Their ship is a small bird called *kaisevau*; that bird was the god of Thekena. The two birds sometimes enter a house where there is a sick man; if they fly away and one comes back it is Good, and the sick man will recover; if she does not return he will die. If Good

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 carries away anyone (his soul) he will recover; but if Bad carries away a child it will not recover. They once came into the native medical practitioner's house; the people shut the door to kill them, but they could not find them. The Two Children are always about. There are plenty of *kaisevau* about, but only two goddesses (*vu*) are the Two Children. They continually come into the house of Poasa of Thekena. If he is ill they come to see him; in his sleep he sees them standing beside his bed as small girls.

The people of Thekena may not speak of a child in their own clan or the Two Children will be angry and they will kill the child; so the people of Thekena call their children rats (p. 215).

Thekena were the priests of the Two Children. Their house was Nailangombakola in the old village; the name means "the log on which the body of the slain rests," and it is explained that dead bodies used to be offered there, and the name referred to the laying of the body at the door. If a chief ordered a man to be killed, the body was brought and offered up (*vakathambori*) before the door. Bodies were offered to the Two Children because they were goddesses (*tevoro*) and gods were chiefs. If the people were about to go to war, they went to the god's temple and offered up food there (*vakathambo*). The priest would say: "Go ahead; they will be beaten." If an enemy were killed, he was brought and offered up at the door. This was spoken of as taking a thing as *i singana* to the temple. If a child were killed, they would entreat and entreat on its behalf and it would recover; if it recovered they knew the soul had been taken by Good; otherwise it would not recover. The Two Children did not teach any medicine; the priest just said, "Go, all of you; it will recover." Then a big feast (*i mandrali*) was made to offer up at the temple where was the priest, and presented as their thanksgiving, because their wish was accomplished.

The Two Children are the children of the goddesses that go by the name of the Two Ladies (*koirau na marama*), the Two Women (*koirau na alewa*) in various parts of Fiji. In Lau they are known as *koirau a alewa matangi* or simply *matangi;* Lauans interpret *matangi* as the Tongan for wind.

If they desire a man they kill him, for they follow the ways of Tutumatua; if they have connection with a man he becomes pregnant. They appear as white ladies or as Fijian ladies, or as old women; if they desire a man they appear as girls with neatly hanging tresses. They caused the death of four men in Waitambu where they dwell. One Apakuki met the Wind Women among the mangrove trees; they had black skirts on; one had her hair combed in European fashion, and one wore it fuzzy in Fijian style. Apakuki took them for Tongan women; afterwards it occurred to him they might be the Matangi Women; he inquired in the village: no one had seen them, so he concluded they were the Matangi. He was stricken and died after four years.

One man was carrying a letter in Thithia. The two Matangi Women stood by the way; he desired them. The spirits (*timoni*) proposed that they should smoke; the man complied. As they were standing they disappeared in the ground and the man died. A woman in the village went and found him, and came to tell her kinsfolk. They came and carried him to the village.

In some island in Lau is an eel: which if anyone kills, he will die; if it appears it means someone will die in the village.

The god (*kalou*) of Tanggalevu is Ulupoko (*ulu*, head; *poko*, body).

He is all head and no body. His appearance signifies that someone will die. If he bites a person's hand in sleep, the person will die. If Tui Tumbou's eldest son were in Matuku and dreamed that Ulupoko was biting his hand, he would know someone is about to die, and it would come to pass within one or two months. One morning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yanga*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *kamakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 778
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

773 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tarukua ran away. That is why Tarukua is still waterless. Kendekende773 is the source of the stream.

In Tarukua they tell the following story: The *tupua* of the Lakemban villages went to steal the water of Kendekende. They went at night when day was drawing near. They each of them carried a water bottle. When they reached the spring the god of Tumbou, the owner of the spring, was not in sight; so they filled their water bottles. When they had filled them, the owner of the spring arrived. Then the god of Tumbou was very angry and drove them away, and the god of Tarukua ran, and ran fast, because he was glad that he had got water. He tripped over a big stone, as it was still night, and fell down flat, and his water bottle rolled away, and was cracked, and all the water was spilt, and so there is still no water in Tarukua at the present day. The various gods went and poured out the water in some places, and so there is plenty of water there to the present day.

Another story relates:

The people of Kendekende (it is not said that they were *tupua*) sailed to Naiau. There they found the bird called *kaisevau*, and they could not sleep because of its noise. When they were about to return, Tui Lakemba said, "You men of Naiau, go and catch the *kaisevau*." The people of Naiau, who were then very numerous, caught them, put them in baskets and landed at Wanggatalatha. The chief met them on the beach and told them to dig an oven; so they dug one large and one small one, which are still to be seen a little beyond Wanggatalatha just off the road. The chief on being told that the oven was dug, ordered to light it. The chief thought that they would throw the birds on the oven inside their baskets; but the people opened the baskets and poured out the *kaisevau* into the oven. They all flew away. Therefore the chief drove some of the people away and they are now in Tonga. The people of Lakemba were foolish to dig a huge oven thinking the *kaisevau* to be a big bird, whereas it is quite small, so that their labor was wasted.

Another version states that the birds were brought from Nukunuku, where they are plenty among the mangrove trees. This is probably not a fairy tale (*tala tupua*), since the evidence is there (*sa tu na kena i vakandinandina*); it may be true.

I received several accounts of places inhabited by spirits:

There is an island called Mburotu. It is the land of spirits (*tevoro*), namely, spirit women. It lies within the sea, and is not seen above. If it is about to emerge at any place and a boat is in the offing, it sinks again; if it sinks the swirl of it rises up. A Totoya boat came near it but it sank again, and a red coconut spathe (*mbarawa kula*) was cast into the boat. If the women of Matuku go out at low tide, at dawn they find red reeds that come from Mburotu.

There is a cave in Munia with two rocks, male and female; the breasts are visible on the female. These stones are memorials that Koroimbo lay with his wife.

There are also Children of Water in Munia. They are small and have white skins. They appear to women when they go to fish.

Tutumatua was in Munia with the god (*tevoro*) who lives in the Lomaloma passage. They were gathering coconuts. The other god said to Tutumatua, "What can you do? Climb or husk nuts?"

"Both," said Tutumatua, and climbed the trees and picked nearly a thousand nuts of a kind so hard that it can only be husked with an axe. They had no stick to husk them so the other god husked them on Tutumatua's penis. It hurt Tutumatua, who fled and said he would not be found again in Munia. It is supposed Tutumatua fell from heaven; he is Beelzebub.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Ndauthina is the spirit of Nautu and is also a god of war. His priest at the present day is Eliesa who uses much dreaded medicines which Ndauthina gives him. His abode is in Ndalithoni. Ndauthina is the same as Ndakuwangga, a god (*tvu*) of Taveuni.

Ko mai Naisoipu is a spirit in the clan of Mualevu. He is incarnated in a snake. There are many people who dream of him and nearly die of fright.

The god of the island of Munia is Koroimbo. His rafters are made of a fish, the *loulou;* he uses octopus for halyards and his pig is a fish. These abound around Munia.

Ndimailangi is a *tevoro* who is the goddess (*kalou*) of Uruone. The reason why they have her as goddess is this:

One day an old man was working in his sweet potato field in the place which is their graveyard at the present day, when Ndimailangi fell from heaven, and turned into a monitor. The old man said, "That monitor which has fallen I shall roast and eat."

The monitor said, "Will you roast me, or I roast you?" The old man went and seized it and went to light a fire. The monitor said, "Let me live, and I will be your goddess of sailing."

The old man said, "When we sail it is I who am pilot."

She said again, "Let me live and I will be your goddess of wealth."

The old man said, "If we compete in wealth it is I whose wealth is greatest."

The monitor said, "Let me live; let me live to be your goddess of war."

The old man said, "War indeed! See! by my might I have bound you."

The monitor said, "Let me be your goddess of war."

He said, "It is well," and released the monitor.

Ever since Lomaloma never fought, only Uruone slew men; but the nobles of Lomaloma just came and ate the dead men.

The goddesses of the clan Sau in Yandrana, Iloilokula, and Ra Marama, live on a promontory called Nggaraileka in Vuniyavi. No one may go there without cause, or they take him and have intercourse with him; if a handsome man goes they kill him. It used to be forbidden to be impudent near their abode, as by wearing a turban. They appear in human form. Those who consulted the goddesses brought a bunch of coconuts; the priest rolled on the mat, grunting as he did so. The gentlemen said, "Give us an answer," but he only grunted. Then he would assume a woman's voice and lifting up the bunch shake it; if one fell down, it meant a man would be killed.

The clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana has a god called Rereakalou.

He is useful at reed throwing. His name comes from the fact that if a reed thrown by a man of Mbaumbunia lies, the next one, though it come with speed, turns aside on approaching the Mbaumbunia reed; hence he is called The-god-is-afraid. The priest used to touch the patient and he recovered. Fijian gods were true: if a man failed to present the first-fruits to the god, the god made the man's child ill. Rereakalou was incarnated in a dog.

The god of Yawalevu in Yandrana is Tutumatua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

He was turned out of heaven; he is a fallen angel. He is a brave god; he is 776
fond of women. If they were preparing to go to war they went and twirled the sacred coconut (*vakawiri mandingi*). This coconut was kept in the temple; the people offered it up; then they twirled it, and divined what would happen. If Tutumatua carries off the soul of a man Ananaiasa cures him by touch because Tutumatua is Ananaiasa's god. The temple is Nautuutu. He is incarnated in a white crane.

There is a god Semo in a side of the oven of Yawalevu, who is incarnated in a grasshopper. They say in jest it is a low-born animal because it is small.

The god of Thenu is Eleilakemba.

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana is Lauthala by reason of Rereakalou. Another is Vatoa; the ancestor-god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, especially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

There is a stuffed stone (*vatu sososo*) at Muanivatu at Yandrana.

A man puts a leaf in and says, "Plate of my food, I go to Vakano; let me not be late; let me come in time for the pudding." It is also good for women: "This leaf I stuff in that I may meet the woman I am going to see. May we meet alone in the path to talk." It is no use for fishing. Sometimes it is true, sometimes it does not come true. It is effective (*mana*) through a spirit; a supernatural being (*metha tani*) lives there, a demon, Tutumatua.

Mbatininggaka (Crab's-claw) was an ancestor-god of Narothake, given to planting. In proof of this the following story is told:

Once there was a famine in Lakemba. The ancestor-god of Lakemba went to Kendekende and ate pounded cinders, but Mbatininggaka had breadfruit in Wamalutu. The god smelt the ripe one and looked for them. He was found with a ripe one and driven away. You can still see his footprints. He leapt into the sea and the place into which he jumped became a great pool. His temple was called Valetho (Grass-house).

One man says he was embodied in a *nggaka* crab. If such a crab pinches a man of Narothake in the arm he will die; another says he was embodied in a hawk and they used to salute the hawk. He was the god (*tupua*) both of Narothake and of the nobles of Tumbou.

The god of Lomanikoro, Nukunuku, was Leka (Dwarf); his abode, the frontier; his embodiment, an owl. Formerly a round stone called Vakasaova was worshipped, in Nukunuku, a share of the fishing was put on it. "Doubtless the spirit entered the stone." He was the god of the whole village.

The god of Vandravua, Vakano, is Mbulakambiri, a rat with white stripes. That is why in Vakano the children were called rats, not children. The temple was beside a big chestnut tree; in former times a female rat came out from there followed by her young.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Tui Vakano is the chief god of Vakano; that is why no man was formerly a Tui Vakano; the title was forbidden to men since Tui Vakano dwelt in the Nether Regions (Mbulu). I do not know what clan was priest. He was the god of the village, not of a clan. He is said to have been the child of the High Chief, an abortion, and he came to live in Atapu.

His temple was called Atapu and the battle cry (*i vakathovu*) of Vakano was, "The offering lies in Atapu." He was the father of the Two Children of Thekena. He was a strong god, a fighter; if a god came from some other state it was he who drove him away.

Lewandranu is the goddess (*tevoro*) of the clan of Nakambuta in Nasangalau. It was not certain whether she was Tokairambe's sister or mother. If they were brother and sister, Tokairambe was the elder. She enters into a dog. If she is angry with anyone she makes his child ill.

Thurutangitangi is the god of Nauto-nggumu, Nasangalau, and is embodied in an owl. There is no relationship of *tauvu*.

The god of Ndreketi, Nasangalau, is Mbatingasau. The hawk is his ship like Tokairambe of Katumbalevu. Ramasi supposes that Ndreketi and Katumbalevu are kin, for both are heralds.

The gods of Loma, Nasangalau, are two women called Raluve and Koilasa [? *kuilasa*].

They are flirts (*wendewende*). They still appear. If they like a man they have tresses and look pretty; if they dislike one they are covered with rash. They are dreaded goddesses. They sometimes order a skirt to be made and hung in the house to be their skirt; if anyone takes it he falls ill.

The god of Wathiwathi was Nanduruvesi Raisorovi, also called Weleilakemba; his temple is Nasavanithangi (Temple-of-the-wind). He was questioned if a war or a voyage were preparing; his priest trembled and spoke. Veikau had the same god. No animal of Raisorovi's was known.

The clan of Mataivungalei in Wathiwathi had as god a big stone some five feet high and round, and called Taindreve.

It is surrounded by small stones. If the people of Mataivungalei make an oven they do not remove all the food; for if they do so the big stone comes and embraces (*ronggota*) all the stones in the oven and carries them away. The people dare not go and get them back.

Ulunawale (Head-only) is the god of Tarukua, Lakemba. He is evidently the same as Ulupoko in Tumbou.

Tui Oneata is the god of Oneata. His incarnation is partly snake, partly eel, partly sea-snake.

Once he appeared in the path, was picked up, wrapped in a leaf and placed at the foot of a post. The priest began to shiver and called for hot embers which he ate. When he had finished the snake was not to be found. The priest said Tui Oneata wanted a big feast to be made; it was made and taken to the priest's house, who ate

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 601
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word *"tauvu"* therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits
[776] (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a
[824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in
621 Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

> 775 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This
776 goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits
621 (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

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Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. 602
The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging 776
to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might 794
be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Ka turua a wai ni sosou. — The milk of the coconut drips.
794 Ka tangi a kena nggolou. — And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta, — The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula, — The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya. — To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits.

The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka, — The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua. — The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduvu* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him.

The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776 794 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduvu*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduvu* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.

Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would 776
go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to 794
make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark.

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri manjingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). 787
In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat."[77a] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and follow-

[77a] A kind of game?

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ing it reached Waggatalatha. She picked up some coconuts and tied them together and she embarked on them and drifted away westwards. Her only food was coconuts. So she went on and on and Lakemba was far away; then the lady lay down. A big bird came flying and obscured the sun. She thought rain was going to fall, but she looked up and saw that this great bird was coming. She stood up and the great bird swooped down to devour her. Then this lady got up among the feathers and clung fast to it. The bird flew up and strove to eat the lady but could not; then glided down again. When she was over Leleuvia near Mbau and Sinatelangi saw a large wood, she resolved to jump, no matter if she were wounded, her one thought was to escape. She let go and fell right in the midst of the trees, and the branches were as a fence over here as she stood on the ground. The bird again attempted to reach this lady but could not, so he left her. Then the lady perceived that the bird was gone so she walked about and came to the beach and bathed. 531

Now in those days Mbau was the village of the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka; as for the nobles of Mbau they had their village on the mainland at Kumbuna. An old man of Levuka went to fish; his son was still a child and wanted to eat broiled fish; so they went to the island of Tomberua. They landed there and saw the footprints on the sand. The old man followed them and went up into the wood and found Sinatelangi there. She was like a ripe orange in hue, but he was dark skinned. When he saw her he thought she was a spirit and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You stand there a spirit, we come as men).

The lady answered his words and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You come as spirits, and I stand here human).

He said, "Whence do you come?"

"I come from Lakemba," she said.

Said the old man, "Where is Lakemba?"

Sinatelangi replied, "Towards the rising of the sun."

"Where is your canoe?" he asked.

"Coconuts were my canoe," she said, "I ran away in anger, and I went and tied coconuts together to embark upon. Then a *latui* came flying and perched on the coconuts which I was sailing on. I climbed on to the bird; it flew this away and came to perch here, and so I dropped off."

Then the old man said, "Let us go, eh!" So the father and the son conveyed her and went to Mbau. They resolved to hide her lest the nobles of Mbau should know and take her away. As they drew nigh to Mbau they lowered the sail and wrapped up the lady in it. It was dark. The old man admonished his son not to tell. He then carried the sail and took it into his house; he put it straight on the shelf. His wife asked, "Where is the fish basket?"

The old man said, "It is in the canoe."

"Why do you bring in the sail in such a hurry?"

"It's nothing," he said, "the rain is coming; it might get wet; go you and get the basket."

The old woman went to get the basket. The husband then climbed up to the shelf and untied the sail, so that the lady lay at ease in the sail; but he did not tell his wife about this lady. Then they ate, ate. When they had eaten he took what was left of the food and placed it on the shelf saying, "Here stands my cold food." The lady ate it. Thus he went on feeding her.

One day they caught a big fish in Mbau, a *sangga*, and ate it there and then. The children came and took the bones of the fish to make themselves bows. Then a woman of Levuka and her grandchild went to trade on the mainland at the village of Kumbuna; she was carrying a piece of that big fish by way of provisions. As they sat in the house of a nobleman the child cried with hunger, and the grandmother said, "What are you crying to eat?"

The child said, "Where is that fish of ours?"

The grandmother drew the fish from the basket and gave it to her child. As the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 child was eating the nobleman saw the flesh of the fish and said, "What is this? The flesh of a fish or what?" He said to the woman, "What is your child eating?"

"Fish, sir."

"That is a big fish you have eaten, eh?" The woman wished to conceal the fact but could not. "What is that your grandchild has made a bow of?" The fish and the rib of the fish were brought to the nobleman. Then the nobleman said, "Heigh! but this is a big fish indeed you have eaten." The mother and child withdrew and the nobles of Kumbuna gathered together. They discussed and discussed. Then the chief said, "Let the Levukans be fined."

The envoy to Levuka went to tell them they were fined. The elders of Levuka decided to go and get stuff to pay their fine. The old man went to ask the lady from Lakemba, "How is your country? Can we go there?"

She said, "Yes."

Then the old man gathered the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka together and said, "Repair your canoes." The cabin was divided into two: in one room was Sinatelangi; the old man put her there in the morning early, wrapping her up in bark cloth that no one might see her. This part he called the holy (*tambu*) place for their god (*kalou*) to dwell in. "Let no one enter here," he said, "this is the room of the god (*kalou*) who is to guide us." As they went on their way the old man went to lean against the post next to the sacred part to ask Sinatelangi the way they should go. He kept saying it was their god; not one of them knew that it was a human being that abode in that part of the canoe; only the father and the son knew. They sailed on and came to Levuka in Ovalau and wished to make pots there; but this old man who was hiding the lady on board said, "Let us go to Koro." They arrived in Koro, and the men of Mbutoni said, "Mbau is far away. Let us stay here."

Then the old man asked, "Is your land near, lady, or not?"

She answered, "No, Lakemba is far away to the east." So they hoisted sail again to proceed, but the men of Mbutoni remained behind in Koro. The Levukans alone went and came to Somosomo in Taveuni.

They said, "Let us stay here that we may make pots here."

But the old man said, "Let us go to Lauthala."

"Well this is a mad old man," they said, "who bids us go on afar to Lauthala." They came to Lauthala and the old man went up the hill. As he stood there he saw Naitaumbe and saw Yathata. He said again, "Let us go and see the island that appears yonder." They sailed and came to Naitaumbe; then they sailed straight to Kanathea. The old man went to lift the curtain of the place where the lady lay and asked, "Is that your land yonder?"

The lady said, "No, Tui Lakemba's land is Thithia."

"Where is Thithia?" he asked.

"It lies beyond on the other side," she said. Thithia came in sight.

The old man went to her and said, "There is land in sight."

"That is the beginning of my land," she said, "that is Thithia."

The old man said, "Straight to that land to anchor there." They anchored and the crews went ashore; there were only two left on board, the old man and the lady. The old man went to uncover the lady.

"Yes," she said, "this is the land of the High Chief (*sau*) of Lakemba."

"Get up," said he, "and dress." She put on her skirt and they both landed and went straight to the house of the chief of that village. The wife of the chief of that village asked, "This lady is like the lady Ndi Sinatelangi?"

The old man said, "Yes, it is she." The women wept and mourned over her (*saupu-tutaka*). The crews were in the village; they said, "Ho! some one has died."

But the villagers said, "No, the lady you have brought is being wept for."

"No, we have not come with any lady," they answered.

The villagers said, "Nay, the lady you have brought is the lady that was missing in Lakemba."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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"Well, he is a secretive old man," said the Levukans.

Then the people bestirred themselves and prepared a change of clothes, consisting of a sheet of painted bark cloth a hundred fathoms long, and of coir string. Then they built a house and put the stuff inside to wait for the Levukans on their way back. The Levukans sailed on to Naiau; they prepared a change of clothes in Naiau and the stuff was shut up in a house. When they hoisted sail in Naiau the canoe on board which was Sinatelangi's went first. Now in their travels if a canoe anchored first in any island the men who manned it became the navigators (*ndau*) of that island. The canoe which had Sinatelangi on board anchored first in Lakemba, so the owners of the canoe are called Ndau ni Lakemba to the present day. They anchored in Navutoka. They resolved to go up to Kendekende. They blackened their faces and put on turbans. Now in Lakemba only the Sau could wear a turban by day, but common people[29] were allowed to wear a turban by night. As they were going up to Kendekende they passed some Lakembans who were tilling a taro field. "Who are these," they said, "that come with turbans on. Where are you gentlemen from?" 539

"From Mbau," they said.

"Where is Mbau?" said the Lakembans. They went up to Kendekende together. The father and mother of the young lady had been fasting all the time for sorrow. The Levukans said, "We have brought Sinatelangi," and the people of Kendekende rejoiced. This was reported to the Chief, and he looked up, and ate because his child was living. The people spread out a big sheet of painted cloth from the beach to Kendekende to be the path of Sinatelangi, that her feet should not touch the ground. The whole of Lakemba made a feast. "It is well," said Tui Lakemba, "Sinatelangi has been recovered; Sinatelangi is your wife, Levukans."

But the old man of Levuka said, "No she is not our wife, but she is our daughter. It is well if she marries that she should marry inside Lakemba."

"Yes, that is well." Then they sailed back to Mbau. They went to take on board the stuff in Naiau, went to take on board the stuff in Thithia. Then they sailed straight to Mbau; they brought this stuff as their fine. When they had paid their fine to Mbau they returned to Lakemba. They built their village in Navutoka and set up a temple called Navatanitawake after the temple in Mbau.

They heard there were islands to the windward and they went to Komo, Namuka, Fulanga, Ongea, and sailed right on to Vatoa, the furthest land known, for Ono was not then known. There they practiced a dance.

There was a hollow *evuevu* tree in which dwelt two spirits (*levoro,*) the Matangi Women. The Levukans were practising their dance, and practising and practising. The two spirits peeped out to see. Every time they peeped out from the tree the dance went wrong, and they could not remember. Then the dancers said, "Sing, raise the song; tomorrow we shall go to Lakemba." They sang and the spirits peeped out, and it went wrong.

One old man was sitting at the door of their lodging plaiting coir string. As the shadow of the spirits came forth he saw them. When the old man saw them he got a rope and made it into a noose, and placed it beside the hollow bole, and said, "Go on, raise the song. If I say 'pull,' pull quickly." They raised the song, and the spirits peeped out. The old man said, "Pull," they pulled and noosed the spirits. The pair were bound fast. "Bring them and slay them," said the old man, "they made the dance go wrong."

The spirits entreated them, "Let us live." The Levukans said they would be spared if they became gods (*kalou*) of navigation to show them hidden lands. The spirits said they would ransom (*soro*) themselves by revealing Ono; so they were spared.

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[29]Unfortunately these words are translated in my notes. It is a good illustration of the importance of taking down in the vernacular: at that time I thought that *vanua*, land, simply meant the common people, and so translated it; if the original is here *vanua* it would be of great importance that the chief wears a turban by day, and the Tumbou side by night.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 They lay bound in the canoe with their feet towards the bow and their heads towards the stern. So they sailed towards Ono, sailed towards Ono. Ono used to lie close to Vatoa, but as they drew near to Ono the women kicked at the land and it moved further off and disappeared. A second time they kicked at the land and it removed further. The old man who had caught them in Vatoa noticed this and said, "We shall not get to Ono unless they are turned round. Turn them round towards the stern." They were turned round and the canoe came to Ono. They anchored in Ono and danced there in the village of Matokana: it was a spear dance (*wesi*); the leader had a cock's feather in his hair. As they danced, they dug a tunnel which ended underneath the Green. The singers went to sing in the middle of the Green, while the dancers went underground and came out in the midst of the Green. Then the people of Ono said, "Heigh! the spirits have come forth from underground." Some of the Onoans fled but some stayed.

The Levukans then asked, "Is there another land?"

The two spirits said, "Tuvana above and Tuvana below." So they sailed to Tuvana and landed in Tuvana. The elders went ashore and only the children remained on board. The spirits then said, "Release us that we may teach you a dance."

Some of the children who were mature (*vakayalo*) said "No, do not release them." But the spirits entreated and were released. They climbed up the mast and began to sing at the masthead the following song:

Tuvana i tholo, Tuvana i ra,	Tuvana above, Tuvana below;
Ko Nasali Ka thoka mbamba,	Nasali lies across;
Ko Mburotu ru vuni tu nga.	Mburotu they are hiding.
Tinamu, tamamu.	Your father, your mother.

Then they stamped and the ship sank, the children perished, and the spirits flew away. To this day the children keep crying at the place where the canoe sank; their souls (*yalondra*) cry. They are heard on a calm day. To this day when a Levuka child is impudent they say, "It is he who set free the goddesses." For the children of Levuka are impudent and it is no use talking to them. The rest of the Levukans returned to Lakemba where they live to the present day.

Some say Sinatelangi married into Levuka. The Levukans certainly exercised rights which resemble those of a sister's son.

The following account is given concerning the ancestors of the nobility:

Niumataiwalu, the ancestor of the present nobility, fell in love with Tarau, a captive girl in Totoya, so the chief of Totoya said, "Very well, climb a red coconut palm to wash away her Komoan nationality that she may become a Totoyan." So they brought a red coconut and washed her with the milk that she might be reckoned as the chief of Totoya's daughter. Then Niu married her.

Niumataiwalu was murdered in Ono at the instigation of the chief of Mbau who sent a whale's tooth made of stone to get the deed done. It was a cubit long and more precious than a real tooth. The whale's tooth and the club were presented to the Governor at the Great Council in 1880. As Niu was clubbed on the head his grandson was named The-broken-head, but as it is tapu to speak of the head of a nobleman, they altered it to The-forbidden-name.

When his eldest son was murdered his body was dragged to Navutoka and left there overnight. Next morning it was found covered with crabs of a kind called *lairo tui*. Since then no one in Katumbalevu is allowed to eat that kind. No spirit is embodied in it, but it is respected because it lay on Uluilakemba's body. Sharks are also tapu because they may have drunk his blood, but this tapu is not observed. There is a spring on that beach where it is tapu to bathe. Crafts passing the rock where he stood used to salute, "O, oa," and the women going by while fishing sang

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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"Ninggo." A woman of Naiau touched it as she swam past, and was eaten by a shark 539 for it was forbidden to touch it.

Niumataiwalu's son Rasolo lived sometime with the rest of the family in exile in Naiau, by a *rewa* tree, which is still pointed to at the present day. Hence they took the tribal name of Navuanirewa, the *rewa* fruit. Hence also such personal names as Vunirewa, Senirewa, Landuvunirewa. A spirit told them, "Instal a chief and call him Lord of Naiau." He was chosen in this way.

The nobles said, "It is well we should go and jump off at the place where stands the banyan tree. If one of us takes up the challenge he shall be our chief." Rasolo jumped and landed unhurt on a branch below. They let down a rope and hauled him up. Thus was Rasolo the first Lord of Naiau in Lakemba.

After Rasolo's death Uluilakemba's son Ndranivia snatched the chieftainship. He went to get the state basket (*katonitu*) in which the treasure (*iyau*) of the land was kept and entered Great House.

After the death of Rasolo the three sons of Rasolo discussed who should be High Chief. The third said to the second, "Be you High Chief, Soroanggali, since your mother is a woman of Lakemba; we are strangers here" [their mothers came from outside Lakemba].

But Soroanggali said, "No, I have plenty of kinsfolk here, and so am equal to the work. But if I am High Chief, you who have no kinsfolk here, cannot tell the people to do this or that, or they will say to you, 'You have no kinsfolk here.' But if you are High Chief and want anything I shall tell the people to do it." So the eldest of the three was made High Chief.

In the course of the civil wars once before an attack the nobles ate some fermented food, but did not give any to the people of Mothe as provisions of war. When hard pressed the nobles said to the men of Mothe, "Come here."

But the men of Mothe said, "Go on making fermented food with the livers of the Lakembans"; and would not fight.

The nobles moved from Tarukua to Mambula. The reason is as follows:

All the nobles were assembled once in Tarukua. They were building a house and about to set up a post. They waited for the chief of Mambula, Koli by name. They made some kava. As he did not come they decided to set up the post without him; so they poured kava at the foot of the post and prayed that Koli might die, for Koli was a man of valor, and slew men, and hung them up as a sign his coconuts were tapu. Koli then arrived bearing his club; he went to a rocky point and sat down with his club in his lap. He did not speak to them: some disease seized him and he went back to Mambula. Ratumaimbulu, a spirit (*tevoro*) was seated by the roadside, turning his back. As Koli went past, he jumped upon the spirit and, lifting his club, prepared to strike. Ratumaimbulu cried, "Let me live." Then Koli made a condition, "Let the pole on which the feast is carried be turned towards you and me," that is to say, "Let the nobles go to Mambula, leaving Tarukua." That is why the nobles moved to Tarukua. Koli's belly swelled up and by the time he reached Mambula the swelling extended to his neck and he died.

Once there was a great chief in Vatuvara called Tui Lau who had a house on the top of the hill. In the southeasterly monsoon he opened the south door to look out for canoes, and in the northwest season the north door.

KAMBARA ISLAND

The goddess of Nanggara was called Tapaso. If anyone fell ill and was taken to different gods in the hope of a cure she would say in Fijian with a Tongan accent, "*A tafa ka veikauyaki tu? Kau mai ciei me lili me su molu*" (Why is he carried about; bring him here to be cooked till he is tender). A dog is the god of Nanggara.

There is a god called Tui Vakano. Kambara and Thekena are kinsfolk.

Ra Matao was an ancestor (*vu*) in Kambara, but only a man. He was a clever man. When he died four men carried him to Nuku or Onemato to bury him there,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 but he spoke from the bier and said, "I am going to be buried in the Great Cave." When they arrived at the Great Cave they wanted to bury him on this side, but he said, "Carry me as far as Wainiyambia." So they took him there and buried him.

Oloi is the *tauvu* of Kambara. Oloi is not far from Suva. If the Kambarans go to Suva they go and take food in Oloi; the part of the Oloi people is to abuse them. The ancestor (*vu*) of Kambara, Mberewalaki by name, went down to Oloi to beg for earth to bring to Kambara. The stick he used to carry the baskets with was a *vesi* tree which he wanted to plant in Kambara so that it might grow there. He made one journey and went back for more. On his return the people were baking the earth which he had brought the first time. He saw the smoke from the reef. He was very angry at this and in his anger hurled his burden anyhow at the land so that the earth was heaped up at one place, so they called the place Toka. Taro and horse taro grow there. That is why Oloi and Kambara are *tauvu*.

Another version says the cock crowed while he was out by the reef so he threw away the earth; still another that he pulled up the top of Oloi and planted it in Kambara.

523 The hill in Kambara where lies the earth brought by Mberewalaki is called Ndelaioloi. It is the only planting ground in Kambara. When the people of Kambara dig in order to plant, the water in Oloi is troubled, seeing which the people of Oloi say, "Kambara is a land of low fellows, of cannibal's meat."

ONO ISLAND

Tuiliku is said to have been a man but it is supposed he was a spirit.
539 This was in the days when Matokana was chief in Ono.

Tui Ono sailed to Tuvana, and the women and Tuiliku went there. After staying in Tuvana they prepared to return to Ono. Tui Ono told the women to stay in Tuvana. Tuiliku hearing this ran away to the bush. When the chief of Matokana knew that Tuiliku had run away he took the women on board and went home. Tuiliku remained alone. Night came, and as he was lying down to sleep spirits came and rolled him in the mud and threw him up in the air. At daybreak the spirits went home; at sunset they came again. Tuiliku wondered what he should do, so he thought of burying himself in the sand. When he had done so the spirits took each a stick and prodded the sand, and prodded Tuiliku; they took him to the sea and ducked him and threw him about till daylight. Tuiliku bethought him what he should do to save his life. When night came he thought of a device to hide: he climbed a coconut palm. The spirits came and looked for him in the earth, in the mud, then in the trees, and found him, and brought him down. They rolled him again till daylight and then went back to the bush. Tuiliku again pondered on some means of safety when Lingandua, also called Tutumatua, came along and said to Tuiliku, "What are you doing?"

Tuiliku said, "Sir, I am a dead man; the spirits torment me. Where are you going?"

Lingandua said, "I am going to Mburotu; why do you ask?"

Tuiliku said, "What if we went together?"

"If you can, let us go," said Lingandua.

"I shall try," said Tuiliku, "I can't stay in Tuvana." They both set out for Mburotu.

They followed a path to a reef which is still to be seen. Lingandua said, "Let us watch the breakers: three will come, one will be black, one white; when the red one comes let us jump into it." They jumped into the red breaker and found themselves inside a house in Mburotu. That house was full of women taken there by Lingandua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lingandua had told Tuiliku to get three *kura* fruits in Tuvana; he now said, "We 539
shall be here three nights: the first day eat one *kura* fruit, the second eat another, and on the third day eat the third. Eat no Mburotu food, lest you die." At the end of three nights Lingandua told him they should go back to Tuvana. He took one coir coconut, one dwarf coconut, one red *Dracaena*, one king coconut, one red *sovisovi* plant: all these plants are now found in Tuvana. When they arrived in Tuvana the coconuts they planted there remained. Lingandua said, "I am going; go you to Ono. Don't go and tell of our journey; the day you tell you will find yourself in Mburotu." After a long time Tuiliku thought he would tell. He told his household to bring bark-cloth and mats and had them spread out. He then told them his journey to Mburotu. When the story was ended he died. So there were coconuts in Tuvana and from there they were brought to Ono.

The story of Tuiliku will be found in the Native Gazette (11, p. 164, 1894; p. 151, 1909).

NAIAU ISLAND

Many stories are told about the people of Naiau showing them to be 538
simpletons (*uthe*). Foolishness seizes them at low tide. They fished in the 539
woods; drove lizards, snakes, cockroaches into a cave which they then closed; they took spears, removed the stone, and speared the animals as they appeared: they saw water at the foot of a cliff and did not know what it was, so the men went to adorn themselves and came forward to leap. The people sang:

Ra tukutuku ndonga (bis);	They are making dye;
Ra ndrendre koto (bis);	They laugh as they lie;
Nda rika, nda rika.	Let us jump, let us jump.

Then one of the men jumped over the edge of the cliff and fell lying on his back, 539
and exposing his teeth as he died; those above thought he was laughing. His whole body was red with blood which they took for dye. They did not know death; their minds were gone astray.

The descendants of Langone were granted by Taliai Tupou the privilege of eating turtle, because Langone warned Taliai that Ndranivia and his people were plotting to murder him. Langone was a descendant of Nggomo, who went to stay in Naiau. There was in Narothivo a chief called Tui Naiau; Nggomo wanted to transfer the title to Ndevo, but before he could do so he was killed. He had a wife in Lakemba of the Tumbou clan, who bore a son, Ndelailoa. The son conquered Naiau.

At Liku was a god called Sambasamba or Mami, a shark. His dwelling was in the shark cave on a promontory. Wanting to go sightseeing in Mbau, he embarked in the shape of a man. The Levuka people took him on board. They arrived in Mbau. The fishermen of Vutia near Rewa came to Mbau. He wanted to go with them to Rewa. He spent the night on shore; after dinner he said, "I want two boys to take me to the place where lives Tui Ndreketi's fisherman." Tui Ndreketi's fisherman was a big *ndambea* fish. "Why do you wish to go," they asked.

"Sightseeing," he said.

So two boys rowed him, one at the bow and one at the stern; Sambasamba sat in the middle. They rowed him to the place where the *ndambea* lived. Sambasamba put one leg into the water and it changed into a fin, then the other changed into a fin. He gave the boys some bark cloth called *tongo* as a return for their work. By that time his body had turned into a shark's up to the neck. He said, "You watch; when I fight the *ndambea*, if you see black blood it is the Westerner's blood; if it is red blood

1: Hocart Y.-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 it is the Lauan's." He dived into the cave of Ratu's fisherman. They fought; the *ndambea* was killed and black blood came up.

They said, "Ratu's fiserman is dead." Sambasamba missed his way coming back, and it is not known where he went. There is now a *ndambea* belonging to Tui Ndreketi, the child of the one that was killed.

A woman of Naiau was plaiting mats in the middle of the day; she put behind her ear the shell with which she slit the leaves. While she was working the tide went down; she wanted to eat shellfish so she went down to the sea. She found a *vuroi*, but she had nothing to eat with it. She was standing then with water up to her thighs. "I wish a *mami* were brought to eat with it," she said. A *mami* is a kind of banana. Now there was a god in Naiau called Mami, an ancestor god who was a shark. When Mami heard, he was angry, and came and swallowed her up. The old woman remained alive without a wound in the shark's inside. She remembered the shell she had stuck behind her ear, and with it cut the throat of the shark. In pain he swam and entered the Rewa river and got stranded in Notho. A woman came down, it may be to draw water, and saw the shark and went and told the village to take the shark and eat it. When they came to cut it up the woman spoke, so they cut the body where the human body ended, and brought out the woman. The woman and the shark were taken to the village and the shark was eaten.

The Lord of Notho married the woman and she bore him a child named Vu. He was a small boy that would not grow. The children were playing together; it was his habit to make them cry; he played the bully and hit them; there was not a big boy he did not overcome. They all however outgrew him; several generations succeeded each other and still it was his part to torment them. When he made a child cry they abused him saying, "You are not a native of this place; you are the son of a woman from the body of a shark." These words vexed Vu and he asked his mother.

She replied, "It is true, a shark ate me." The boy went and importuned the Lord of Notho with tears to build him a canoe, a canoe for the high seas. He then prepared his journey towards his mother's land. He drew water and kept it in a leaf of horse-taro, and tied it to the boom-attachment sticks. He then hoisted sail and set out alone, holding the sheet of the sail. He could not drink his water for when he tried to drink he stepped on the outrigger and the boom was submerged, so he had to withdraw. After one night he came and made land in Naiau. The stretch of beach where he made land was called Tuvukei. His boat was beach. In anger he threw on the beach the water that hung on the outrigger; that water still exists and is used for bathing and drinking.

The women came down to fish. They took him to the village, and he told them who he was and who was his mother, and so they knew this woman was still living. Then he told them how she had become the wife of Tui Notho. Great was their joy over him, and they prepared stuff and shipped it to Tui Notho. This is the reason why Notho and Naiau are *tauvu*. The Naiau people are indeed lords in Notho. If there is fermented food and a Naiau man is present no Notho man may touch it. It is the same if Notho people come to Naiau.

Another version calls the boy Vuvu and represents him as shipwrecked on Thithia. He there cut himself a mangrove branch and used it to swim to Naiau. He landed in Lawaki and therefore there are mangroves there to the present day. He carried his water-bottle about and hung it on a tree between Narothivo and Salia in Tuvukei.

The Notho people say the woman was taken to the temple in Notho and was then married to the chief. When Vuvu was born she became known as Tinaivuvu. Vuvu in sailing to Naiau tied his water-bottle in a leaf of horse-taro on the sheet of the sail above the outrigger. He several times

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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tried to drink but could not. Since then the Notho people never drink 539
water at sea, or the sheet would break. This tapu held good till they became Christians. Of old they did not sail further than Kandavu and Nandronga. Vuvu poured out his water in Naiau: that is why there is plenty of horse-taro there.

VANUA VATU

There are many people in Vanua Vatu who trace their descent to Naiau. The following story is told:

The gods (*tevoro*) took counsel together to go and draw water for themselves; but the ancestor (*tupua*) of Naiau remained idle in this undertaking, and did not go to draw water. The ancestor of Vanua Vatu filled two bottles and hung them on a tree and went to dig a ditch for the water to stand in. As he was digging, the Naiau man went past. The Naiau man came and called, "Ah eh! let me have some water;" but the ancestor of Vanua Vatu did not hear as he was deaf, but bent over his digging. The Naiau man called again, "Eh! Let me have just a bottle." But again the man of Vanua Vatu did not hear. The Naiau man saw the ancestor of Vanua Vatu bending over his work, so he took both bottles and flew to Naiau. When the man of Vanua Vatu had finished digging and came to take the bottles to pour them out they were missing. He looked toward Naiau, and the ancestor of Naiau in his flight was halfway between Vanua Vatu and Naiau. He picked up a stone, and threw it and struck the bottles so that they broke, and some of the water dripped as far as Naiau. This is the reason why at the present day there are some small springs in Naiau. As for the stone it broke in two, and one half is in Naiau.

ONEATA ISLAND

In Maua is a cave called the Mosquito Cave, where lies a heap of conch shells. Of old, if a party of visitors came whose presence was not desired because food was short or for some other reason, the young men were sent to the cave to swing these conches; and as they swung them they said, "Let the mosquitoes come and bite the strangers." The visitors got bitten so that they fled.

Wakulikuli used the trees of Oneata to wipe himself after stool; for which reason all the trees in Oneata are crooked.

To the east of Oneata is an island called Loa and the top of a hill called Kendekende, which was formerly part of Oneata; but the god (*tupua*) of Oneata pulled them up to remove them. He was about to carry them away when the god of Mothe crowed like a cock; the god of Oneata thought day was dawning and dropped them. The spirit (*tevoro*) of Mothe saw what was going on, and wanted to stop it as he did not want Oneata to become big. Spirits do not work in the daytime. The places where the island and the hill top were pulled up are called Aithavuthavui Loa, and Aithavuthavui Kendekende (The-rooting-up-of-Loa; The-rooting-up-of-Kendekende).

Formerly there were no *lairo* crabs in Oneata. Those they now have come from Wainikeli in Tavenui. The people of Wainikeli waved them over to Oneata, and the women caught the crabs.

At one time it was tapu to drag a log along the beach across the frontier between Tarukua and Wathiwathi, for to do so would result in a fight.

The following legend is told about the island of Aiwa which formerly belonged to Tarukua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka,* or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[28]

WAITAMBU

776 539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[28] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaleta a tevoro*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were used for necklaces, the *vono*, the *uthi*, and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain. T76 539

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua*, or ancestor goddess, met the *vu*, or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala. 539

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall. 782

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia: If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing. and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*tu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba
Viti-i-Loma OQ9

MOALA, TOTOYA, AND MATUKU ISLANDS

GENERAL RELATIONS

V L 648

Moala, Totoya, and Matuku constituted a group of islands which "stood by itself"; they were subject to neither Mbau nor Lakemba. They formerly "went to" Mbau, but "were not turned very much" that way; and went only as relatives, not as subjects. However, an article in the Native Gazette (11, Feb., p. 13, 1891) represents Mbau as making requisitions (*lala*) in Moala, and a writer in the same journal (op. cit. 4, p. 47, 1897) traces the origin of one whole group of Fijian chiefs to Moala. He says:

V 173

> I will also relate to you a Fijian tradition concerning the origin of some of the great chiefs of Fiji. The name of that family is Ndelaindaku. The various states where they are found and their ranks are as follows: In Mbau the Vunivalu is a scion from Ndelaindaku, in Thakaundrove the Tui Thakau, in Rewa the Roko Tui Ndreketi, in Mbua the Tui Mbua, in Mathuata the Tui Mathuata, in Lakemba the Roko Sau, in Nakelo the Tui Nakelo, in Namata the Roko Tui Namata, in Namara the Roko Tui Veikau, in Nasavusavu the Tui Nasavusavu, in Natewa the Vunivalu, in Wainikeli Roko Tuei, in Namuka (Mathuata) the Time, in Mualevu the Tui Mavana, in Nasangalau the Tui Nasangalau.
>
> There are other scions of Ndelaindaku in the various lands of Fiji that are by descent small nobility, and there are also many who are by descent people of the land (*kawa lewe ni vanua*). Now this noble family is said to originate entirely from Moala; that is why those lands are still related to Moala. The people of Moala are wont to carry out in honor of those great noble lands "the opening of the path," "the setting foot on land," the "visiting" at the various installments of chiefs. Moala people have only just returned from Mbau after visiting the Roko Tui Tailevu [i. e., the Yunivalu of Mbau].

This writer distinguishes another noble line, called the Ratu, who originate from Nakauvandra; unfortunately his account is confused with modern theories about Malaya and Melanesians, but he states (11, p. 78, 1897) that the Ndelaindaku clan is in Moala.

Totoya is the land of origin (*vanua vu*) of the nobles of Moala: they are called Kai Lomanikoro, or "Men of the middle of the town." Their line split and spread first to Moala, whence come the great nobles of Naroi, then to Matuku. The writer whom I have quoted says that Ravuvu or Ravouvou of Mburotu, son of Tui Mburotu, was shipwrecked in Totoya. After staying some time he went on to Moala where he married Raluve of Moala. One of the party went to build Nayavutoka in Lakemba to be his village.

Another version is that Ndaunisai, the youngest of the brothers, came from Nakauvandra, settled in Kambara, but owing to the lack of land they sailed in two canoes, one to Keteithake in Moala, the other to Keteira in Totoya. In Keteira they set up a big mound (*yavu*) called Kau Kambara.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau
Viti-i-lomaOQ9

648 Moala and Matuku did not carry tribute to Totoya which is the leading state, being somewhat nobler, but none of the three is subject to one another. The three lands hold festivals as relatives. In feasts, Totoya is called first, then Moala, then Matuku.

262 The Lord of Totoya had four children, all girls. When they grew up he decided each should be married into a different village of Totoya; the eldest into Tovu, one into Ketei, one into Undu, one into Ndravuwalu; according to another informant the eldest went to Ketei. Each of these villages has its turtle-oven, whereas in most states only one village can eat turtle; but Tui Totoya gave them the bamboo for cutting up turtle. In Moala the subjection is severe: no turtle is eaten outside Yaroi. In Matuku all three districts ate turtle until the Tongans forbade it except in Yaroi.

173 One informant reckons that the lands that once belonged to the Moala group were Thithia, Mango, Naiau, Vanuavatu, Komo, Kambara, Namuka, Fulanga, as opposed to the Viti group comprising Taveuni, Naitaumba, Yathata, Kanathea, Lomaloma (Vanua Mbalavu), Tuvutha, Lakemba, Oneata.

643 The title of Tui Moala was once borne by the chief of Tovu, who was installed by the people of Moala, the people of Totoya preparing presents for them. The same chief was also installed as Tui Matuku. The title of Sau is also applied to him. The chief of Moala was formerly known as Vaka, a title given to the chief who is installed next to the High Chief. He rules the land. When Tui Moala went to Moala, a big feast was prepared, and tribute brought; likewise when the Vaka went to Totoya. When the visitors left they were forbidden to eat at sea the food left over from the feast; so they left it behind.

MOALA

103 The name of Moala is often Fijianized as Muala. The story is that Ravouvou ni Mburotu or the chief of Kambara being asked which way they would steer said, "*Ki mua la*" (forward). The Moala people are known for their loud ways.

361 Yaroi, the chief village of Moala, was formerly called Navuthunimasi.
704 In this village is the grave of the late Roko Tui Moala, consisting of two
563 terraces in tiers with four conches laid upon it. A piece of white cloth, stretched above it, was inscribed with the word "Sau Tambu." When I saw it the weeds had been cleared from around it, in anticipation of the hundredth night feast. A large part of Yaroi is a Tongan quarter called Nambuthi. Some of the Tongans went to Kandavu and Rewa, where they are known as Na Vusa Namu.

614 There are in Moala descendants of the Lasakau tribe of Mbau. The clans are divided thus:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau
ViTi-i-Lom a OQ4

a, (1) Turangaulu; (2) Nandrungulangi, who go with Turangaulu, one 614
clan divided into two, which holds the title of Vakavanua (p. 54); (3) Naivikathambe, the heralds; (4) Keteithake, a division of the nobles that has been joined with the gentlemen of Nasau.

b, The owners of the land, also called "they of Nasau," after the hill of Nasau: (1) Turangambete who lead Nasau. Holding the title of Roko Tui Nasau, they lead the *mbati* or edge; and send them word to destroy a village; (2) Naivingga, who are like the Vakavanua of Roko Tui Nasau. If the Tui Nasau wants anything, the land clan (*matanggali vanua*) is told; this is called *i tene* (nursing); Turangambete and Naivingga together make up Mboi; (3) Sereu; (4) Nandumba, servants of the Roko Tui Nasau.

The *mbati* are Sereu, Nandumba, etc., the owners of the land. Nakoroithake is the name of the village of the owners of the land because in the old village of Navuthunimasi the village of the nobles was on the beach, and the upper part was occupied by the land.

The land of Moala is divided by a bay into two parts: Tailailai and 133
Moalalevu; Tailailai is Keteithake; Moalalevu are the owners of the land.

Moala and Thakaundrove are *tauvu* on account of Mainatavasara whose 602
name is also Kumboavanua. Moala and Haatungua in Tonga are also *tauvu*. The people of Tateiso (the Fijian for Haateo) in Tonga formerly [524]
had a kite made of black bark cloth with a tail of coir string. When the wind was good they left it aloft overnight. One night when it was up, a gale carried it away to Moala. Hence the two places are *tauvu* and related. Tongans have no *tauvu* except in Fiji. The village of Maloku has as *tauvu* Levuka in Ovalau and Waikama in Totoya.

TOTOYA

The village of Ketei in Totoya is divided into two parts, Sauturanga 621
and Manukuira. 614

Manukuira comprises three clans known as the land clans (*matanggali vanua*). The leading clan, Uluvatu, gathers all the land clans to carry feasts to the Sauturanga; it was originally in Sauturanga but went over to Manukuira to rule them. Wakaia are *mbati;* the third is Njingonjingo.

There are two clans eligible for chieftainship: Matanikorotu and Tukosokoso; their sides of the oven are Nggarani, who are bastards, and Manukuithake, who are heralds. Waisunindawa is an edge of the oven which is joined with the nobles.

The title of the chief of Ketei is Ramalo.

Ketei is *tauvu* of Tungua in Tonga, but this has extended to the whole 602
of the Moala Islands. One version is that a daughter of Ndaunisai married into Tungua, where she had descendants. This is a great *tauvu* of Ketei. It is on account of the sister's son (*vasu*) that they have common gods.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau
Viti + Lomo 099

776 602 In the island of Vanua Vatu, which belongs to Totoya, was a god called Ravuravu to whom offerings of firewood were made in olden times. The *tauvu* of Vanua Vatu are Thakaundrove and Mbengga and Nairai—the lands which Ravuravu used.

MATUKU

773 It is related that Matuku formerly lay where now lies the reef of Navatu, but the gods of Lomanikoro (Totoya) objected to the Matuku people living in the center as they were loud in their ways and made a noise, so the gods (*tevoro*) moved them to the back of the land where Matuku now is. All the names of the various parts of the Matuku reef are also applied to the Navatu reef (between Totoya and Vanua Vatu).

The following information was given me:

[643] 631 There is no one chief in Matuku, the office is split up; hence the name of the Nggalikarua boat is Nduimbana (Several Branches). Matuku is divided into two tribes:

(1) The Vusa Vakavanua or Land tribe, known also as Nggalikatolu (Three Tribes), occupy the villages of Yaroi, Nggalikarua, and Natokalau.

(2) The Matuku have Levukaindaku as the chief village, but occupy also Ndaku, Raviravi, and Lomati.

The land tribe (Nggalivakavanua) are so called because they are the nobles who own the land. They were brought together by Yaroi, a strong village. It is true the Ramasi of Nggalikarua is independent, and yet in a sense he is not. The village is called Nggalikarua because its people were attached to both sides: some fought for Levukaidaku and some for Yaroi according to the land from which their mothers came. The people of Yaroi now live in Murimuri.

Yaroi consists of two parts, the nobles together with the people who are their land (*eratou vanua kina*), that is, the heralds; and Nakai or the Land. The clans of Yaroi are: (1) Four [*sic*] noble clans, some of which are extinct: Naseisei, Navutoka, Wanggatalatha, Vatutuva, Salialevu; (2) Vunikura or Matanivanua, heralds, and Murimuri which are in Yaroi what Katumbalevu and Valelailai are in Tumbou; (3) Vanua, the land which is subdivided into (a) Nakai consisting of Naivalivali to which belong the chiefs of Nakai, Nailou, Vunikura, Mbete; (b) Yawa consisting of Naivalivali who are also noble, Navura, Tiliva, Navalivali-i-sau. The village of Natokalau belongs to Land, and Nakai are chiefs there.

The nobles are divided into four groups in order that feasts may be large, but they are all descended from Rakuita whose mother was of Nasangalau. If a Tui Yaroi from the Naseisei clan dies, a nobleman of Navutoka is installed. The other houses are not installed.

A boy called Roko Savou was a great person in Matuku, and even Tui Yaroi used to *tama* to him because he was descended from Roko Tambete; yet Tambete did not become Tui Yaroi because he was in the female line.

Murimuri are the priests of Ravasu, the great god of Yaroi.

Nakai are *mbati* and nobles: they do not plant; they are mighty men, and only eat from the nobleman's fields. In war they are strong men and lead the companies. The clan of Yawa brings tribute to the chief, but not Nakai.

The following story tells how the Nakai became noble:

539 A man of Yaroi went up the hill to shoot bats. His arrow fell in Ngesia. He found the arrow stuck in a grave and when he pulled it out a spirit arose with the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau
Viti-4-LonaOQ9

head of a snake and the body of a sea-snake. This snake was the Cloth of the Land (*mani ni tunua*). "Let us go," said the spirit. 539

"Let us go this way, "said the man, and because he was afraid he went to Nggalikarua. As he approached Yaroi he said, "Wait here; I shall go and tell the village." This man belonged to Yawa. He forgot all about it. The place where the snake waited is called the Track of the Cloth. There were several gulleys there: he [the snake] turned aside from that leading to Yawa and followed that called Mbutoi-yaroi which leads to Nakai. It followed it down and lay down; wherever it lay down is a place of spirits. It went on and lay in a plain called Nathovandra. The ancients of Nakai found it; hence Nakai are noble in a way: if there are two turtles one is for the nobles, one for Nakai; Yawa and Natokalau eat the one for Nakai. At the installation of a chief, Yawa tie on the cloth; Nakai keep guard on the house where the kava is held to bar the way.

There is a longer version, of which the substance is this:

The Lords (*turanga*) of Matuku used to live in Levukaindaku in Matuku proper. A landsman shot the cock which was the awakener of Roko Ratu. The cock flew some thirteen miles to Ratu's village. The landsman followed it. Roko Ratu asked him into the house. The landsman asked for a halyard, that lay there; this halyard was a snake, a spirit. Roko Ratu gave it to him, telling him it was the ancestor god of the nobles of Matuku, and tied a piece of bark cloth round it saying, "See the cloth of chieftainship; if you take the snake and install a chief; tie the cloth on his arm." The landsman left the snake at the back of his village and forgot all about it. A young nobleman came that way and the snake said to him, "A fool, a bushman brought me here. Had he taken me into the village he would have been chief. Now take me to your side of the village." The youth's people made a feast and kava. The nobles of the center of the village decided to have a chief (*tui*). They elected him and tied the scarf on the arm of Tui Yaroi. Hence the custom of tying a cloth on Tui Yaroi's arm and leaving it four nights. At the end of the four nights the scarf was slipped off the arm, the knot pulled tight, and it was kept in a box as "the cloth of the land." When the time of death had arrived the cloth was buried with the chief. After the four nights he went to bathe in a pool and a village was smitten to provide his bathing feast.

The chief of Nakai is called Vaka ni Matuku. It is his duty to speak in the land. If the village makes a feast, the people of the land place it before him and he directs it; the herald handles it. Vaka is a new title. In heathen days the title was Tumbunimalungu or "grandfather of the club" because if a man killed a man he was confined to a house (*tamburaki*) for four nights; and it was Tumbunimalungu's duty to anoint him with oil (p. 144). The people prepared food. After four days they bathed, and they received such names from Tumbunimalungu as Dog, and Shark, etc.

Tui Ndreketi formerly was the great god of Yaroi and was in Natikorua. He was set aside because a chief feigned sickness and the priest of Tui Ndreketi said, "This is the penalty for the pig at such and such a place." But the priest of Ravasu said, "He is feigning."

Ravasu is the god of the nobles but belongs to the clan of the priests, Vunikura. He is a great god, not ancestor god, but a foreign god from Kandavu. His incarnation is the *latuitui*, a hawk; it flies fast as they are lying in ambush, and they know they will win. All the places at which he is worshipped are *tauvu*: Mbuliya and Ndravuni in Kandavu, Tumbuninggio in Viti Levu, Tunuloa in Vanua Levu, Waitonga in Nairai, Undu in Totoya. He is called Ravasu in Ndravuni, but in the other places he is named differently.

Nasereka was the temple of the *mbati* or edge tribe; the god was Nakorosinga or Nangonembalavu, a strong youth. The priest might not eat eels or long fishes

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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539 became of Nangonembalavu. He hated people getting killed; his priests were never killed; hence Yaroi was victorious, if one were killed Yaroi would perish.

The temple of the Yawa clan was Nasauvangone: Nggalonggalo of Natokalau; Natikorusa of Keteitiliva; Navosaivalu of the heralds.

The god of Natokalau was Salevuwangga, so called because he did not wish any one to perish at sea. He is a fairly young boy. If the people of Yaroi defeated another village some man of Yaroi would be killed to "turn the head." He dislikes the smell of blood. He is a god of seafaring; if a man was shipwrecked he would change into a shark and convey him home on his back. He was in use in Undu and in Tunuloa. The other god of Natokalau, Wanggairakura, is a god of war; his incarnation is a hawk.

In heathen days the people worshipped souls (*yalo*). Nasau was a temple of the soul of a deceased nobleman, just a human spirit (*halou tamata nga*). Each man had his father as spirit. If a child were ill the father spread mats on his grandfather's grave in order that his child might live. That is why Fijians fear a grave.

Undu in Totoya and Natokalau in Matuku are *tovvu*, as is explained in the following story:

There was no water of old in Natokalau. One day the god (*tupua*) of Natokalau went to Totoya and went round the island. He could find no water till he came to the coast of Undu. Here he went inland and found the god of Undu making a taro plantation. He hid to see where the water was in order to steal it. He crept up along the field till he got to the place where the Undu god had hung up his bottle of water. The god of Natokalau stole it and ran away, but threw it down anyhow at the foot of a big rock, and a big spring arose, but the water in Undu was dried up. Then the two gods discussed and the god of Undu said, "Very well, take the water to plant taro there for me to eat." Thus Natokalau and Undu became *tovvu* and seise taro and things without asking. Natokalau go and eat coconuts, sugar-cane, and bananas in Undu.

The *tovvu* of Yaroi is Sawakasa, on the Mbau side. The people of Sawakasa are known as the Vunivalu's sea slugs. They have a common god, Ravasu. Sawakasa is *tovvu* of all the land (*tovvu tukovonua*), so also is Namathu in Koro. There are also *tovvu* of Yaroi confined to the village, such as Ndravuni in Kandavu, Vandravandra is *tovvu* of Natokalau and has a common god, Wanggairakula.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui. 631

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside. 621

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614 565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[8]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauva* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauva* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the 643

[8] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 761 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief. It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 787 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and 643
some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and 602
Yandrana are *tauvu*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:

The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."

When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."

To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.

When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakpilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the [194] *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are 656 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and spoke them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald. When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INFERENCES

000 I will confine my inferences entirely to the material already published whether in this book or elsewhere. It is my aim merely to sum up so that the facts which I hope sometime to record about the rest of Fiji may be more readily understood.

It follows that some of my suggestions will appear somewhat weak, because I am not availing myself of the decisive evidence that may be found in other parts. But these suggestions, weak or strong, are merely the first links in chains of arguments which cannot be completed until other tribes have handed in their facts.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE

174 Tradition says that the people of Kambara came from the west as part of the great migration which streamed down from the hills of Viti Levu and flooded all the east coast and the islands. From Kambara they extended to Lakemba. Tradition, however variable in details, never varies as to the general fact of an eastward movement. Samoan legend bears it out since it is full of chiefs and gods who came over from Fiji (16, Index; 9). Fijian legend, on the other hand, knows nothing about Samoa. It does know Tonga and tells of migrations both ways, but the penetration of Lau by the Tongans did not begin in earnest till the days of Rasolo, about 1800. On the other hand, titles which disappeared from Lau before the memory of man are to be found in Tonga.

Who were the people who occupied Lau before the westerners pushed them over to Samoa and Tonga? The people of Ono used to be Tongan in appearance, and still retain many Tongan traits. We may suppose that these Tongan-looking people were the last remnants of the original population, and that the Wathiwathi people who colonized Ono were the furthest and last ripple of the westward movement. The semi-Tongan appearance of the Lauans is better explained by an original Polynesian population than by the Tongan influx during the last century, for the pedigrees do not show enough inter-marriage with Tongans to account for the appearance of the Lauans who are seldom to be confused with westerners, but often with Tongans. I can find only seven inter-marriages; there must be many more that are not mentioned because there is no issue. In the five generations between Niumataiwalu and Finau there is recorded only one nobleman marrying a Tongan lady: there are ten descendants. Allowance must be made for Tongan blood coming in through women from Lau; but it is doubtful whether there is enough of it, especially taking into consideration

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Moala blood and western blood coming in directly or through Naiau, Vakano, and Yandrana.

Linguistic remains support the hypothesis of a Polynesian population. The name of Sinatelangi, the daughter of Tui Lakemba, who drifted to Mbau, is pure Polynesian: Sina is a common name for a chief's daughter in Polynesia; *te* is a Polynesian article; *langi*, heaven, is a common title of chiefs in Polynesia. The name reveals a dialect that is not Tongan, at least modern Tongan, since *te* is not the present-day article in Tongan. It is probable that this dialect retained the *s*, instead of changing it into *h*, like Tongan, though it is just possible that the Fijians changed the *h* back into *s*; the western Fijian, however, would not do so at the present day.

There are various old place names which look Polynesian: the people themselves admit that Moala is not Fijian and now try and Fijianize it as Muala. The following words have meanings in Tongan, but not in Fijian:

FIJIAN	TONGAN	MEANING
Vanga,	fanga,	bay
Liku,	liku,	rocky shore
Oneata,	one,	sand
	'ata,	shade
Onemato,	mato,	steep slope

The word *onemato* seems decisive since it also bears the name of *nuku*, the Fijian word for sand.

There are in Lakemban a large number of words which contain a *p*, which is a Polynesian but not a Fijian sound; yet these words are not found in the Marists' Tongan dictionary:

LAKEMBAN	MEANING
papa	board
paruparu	covered with rash
poko	body
sapila	smashed by a fall
sope	mud

The exclamations *polopolo* and *palapala* were definitely said not to be Tongan; and Tongans do not know what *tupua* means, though they do use it in the expression *talatupua*. The word *i potani* (patch) is decidedly not Tongan, since it is translated into Tongan as *i mono*. These words therefore point to a Polynesian dialect, distinct from Tongan. This would explain forms like *papaku* (thick), *poroka* (body), *pura* (to bulge), *ripiripi* (angular), for they exist in Viti Levu with a *v*; as they are not found in Tongan, there is no reason why the Lauans should have changed *v* into *p*, so it must be concluded that the people of Viti Levu took them over from their Polynesian predecessors and turned the *p* into *v*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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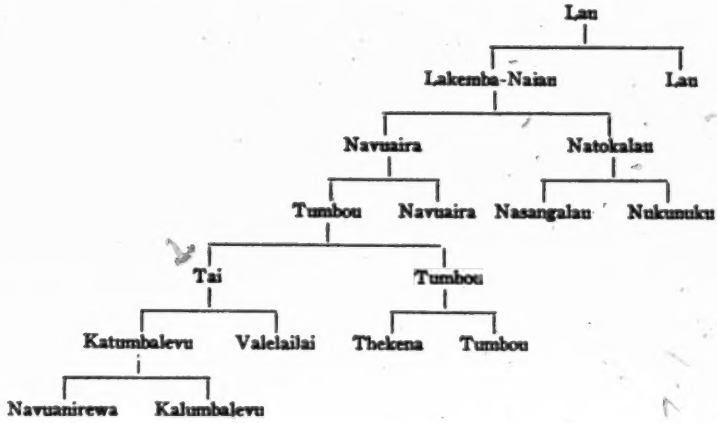
174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a*, but is unknown outside Lau.

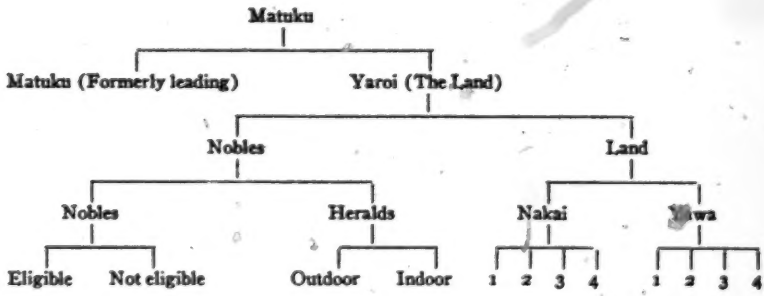
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus



The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

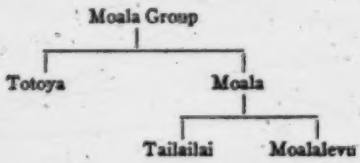
In Matuku it is the same.



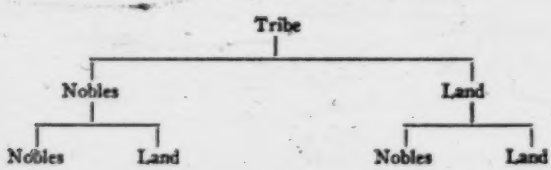
The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The chief of the land is called the Land Chief. The chief of Moala is called Land Chief, and Totoya is said to be noble, thus:



Both in Tumbou and in Yaroi the heralds are said to be the Land of the Chiefs. In the Land division of Yaroi, Nakai are noble.



and so on indefinitely.

The noble side includes the reigning family, the heralds, and the household. The vanguard (*mbati*) is always in the land division. Thus Kambara is on the Lau side. In Lakemba, Yandrana is on the Natokalau side; about Navuaira there is no evidence; in Tumbou Tuware are on the Land side.

The twofold division of Lomaloma at first seems based on a different principle since the whole tribe is not divided into two compact territories, but the capital is divided into two halves of which some villages follow one, others the other. But it can be shown that this was the original state of affairs in Lakemba: it is agreed on all hands that Nasangalau and Nukunuku are noble and are connected with the nobles of Tumbou; and this is borne out by the fact that the heralds of Nasangalau and the indoor heralds of Tumbou have the same god. On the other hand, Vakano and Waitambu were subject to the Land side of Tumbou; Waitambu and Tumbou both worship the bodiless god, and Waitambu worships the Two Ladies, while Thekena worship their children whose father is Tui Vakano; all three call their children rats.

The vanguard (*mbati*) of the whole seems to be closely related to the vanguard of the subdivisions, for Kambara is specially related to both Yandrana and Tumbou quarter. This suggests that the dual division of Tai-Nasangalau-Nukunuku versus Tumbou-Waitambu-Vakano once ran through the whole group.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 The whole frequently derives its name from the inferior divisions. Examples of this are Lau, Navuaira, Tumbou, Katumbalevu, Moala. Of the converse, there is only one instance: Matuku, once the leading half, gives its name to the whole island.

Sometimes there is a third group which does not seem to fit in, as Naturuku in Lomaloma. Intrusive villages such as Levuka and the Tongans in Lakemba may supply the explanation.

Is this the dual organization? The Lauan kinship system is based on the dual organization, and therefore proves that it once existed; in fact, it may be said still to exist since every unit tends to form a bond of intermarriage with some other unit: the nobles and Nasangalau, then later Matailakemba and Nasangalau, Vatuwangga and Naivi, etc. The custom of *tauvu* also records the former existence of intermarrying groups, since the people themselves are conscious that the bond is the same as between cross-cousins. Finally is the word *veitambani* which is used of cross-cousins: it means related as one side to another, and is derived from *tamba* which means wing, side, a side of the village. The great prestige of the home-nephew (*vasu i taukei*) points to a time when the highest form of marriage for a nobleman was with a lady of the Land. For the home-nephew is the son of a nobleman by a lady of the Land. It is difficult to understand otherwise why the son of a lady of a comparatively obscure clan like Thekena, or low caste village like Waitambu, should be a greater man than he who could boast a mother from Thakaundrove, one of the premier states of Fiji. Again, why is Uluilakemba II reckoned a "Great nephew" not on account of his mother of Nasangalau, the ancient nobility of which is known even abroad, but through his grandmother of Tanggalevu? Vakathoko, though senior in the senior branch, is not enumerated among the great noblemen, despite his grandmother of Nukunuku. Obviously it was not mere rank that counted, but the combination of noble and land.

Since society was divided and again subdivided into intermarrying groups, the dual organization was bound to become obscured; for a nobleman as Lakemban would marry into Lau, as one of Tai into Tumbou, as one of Katumbalevu into Valelailai, as Vatuwanggan into Naivi. If at some remote period, as appears to have been the case, the line of cleavage ran out between Lakemba and Lau, Natokalau and Navuaira, and so on, but right across all these divisions forming the nobles consisting of Tai, Naiau, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, perhaps Mothe and some others, and the land, that is, Tumbou, Vakano, Waitambu, Yandrana, Kambara, and others, the case was then much plainer.

There is one possible objection to the theory that identifies the dual organization of the village with what is commonly known among anthropologists as the dual organization. The relations of intermarrying group,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621
insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614
veve, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565
as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622
alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

642 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but semen-man would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INSTALLATION

The ceremony of installing a chief varies in details in different tribes, 643 but the general outlines are constant: kava drinking, tying on of a piece of cloth or scarf, guard to keep anyone from coming in during the ceremony, prohibition of all noises for four days, bathing feasts at the end of four days. This period of four days is very much like a period of mourning, indeed it is described by the same term as mourning, *tonivaki*. It looks then as though the installation was conceived as a death. Tui Mavana at his installation is nursed in the lap of the elders for four days like an eldest newborn son: this looks like death and rebirth. The legend of the origin of the chiefs of Yaroi leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the tying on of the scarf: the snake was a god, it had a scarf tied round the body, was itself called "the cloth of the land," bark cloth is waved to catch souls: therefore it may be inferred that the scarf contains the divinity which passes into the chief who dies as a man, to be reborn as a god. This inference is confirmed by the cult of the water-sprites: the initiates of the cult drink kava and thereby become possessed by spirits.

The evidence of the divinity of kings is slight in Lau, but it is there: there is a god called Tui Lakemba, who, according to Fison (4, p. 49) was son of the sky god, and there was once a chief bearing that name, and there still is in Tonga. The same with Tui Vakano.

Thus a new explanation of the title Vunivalu is evolved which is conferred on one of the two chiefs of Mbau. It is usually interpreted as a metaphorical expression, the Root of War, but it would be more in accordance with the Fijian thought usage to translate it literally God of War. The captain of a reed-throwing team is called the God of the Reed-throwing, obviously because the god is in him. The priests of the tidal stone in Levukaindaku are spoken of as "the gods (*vu*) of the stones." On this analogy the *vunivalu* is the god of war, the *vuniwai* is the god of the medicine. What then is the *ravunisa?* The same word, *sa*, is found in *mburenisa*, club-house; in Samoa, *sa* means a tribe, a clan: this meaning suits both words, and *ravunisa* would then be the Lord God of the Tribe, in other words the incarnation of the ancestor god.

The chief being divine it follows that the same ceremonial is observed towards him as towards a god: offerings, first fruits, etc.

The herald may be defined as the chief's priest: he is to the chief what the priest is to the god.

There are two hints that the possession of the regalia conferred the chieftainship: the meaning of the ornaments which Kumboavanua stole from Tokairambe was subjection; in other words, he who held them was overlord;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

GLOSSARY

DIALECT WORDS

Lauan

Mbathi. Again.
Mbaravi (mbārāvi). Shore.
Mbo-ka. To find.
Mbona. Evil smelling.
Mborisi. Angry.
Mbosi. Evil smelling (after coitus).
Mbuthi. Wet.

Thewa. To sit.
Thivo. Down.
Thowiri. To spin, twirl.

Nndai-na. To lie, be mistaken, deceive.
Ndakala. To open the mouth.
Nduthi. To point with the finger.
Nduke. To project.
Ndrakai. Weary; hard work.
Ndra (ndrā). Leaf.
Nndriva-ta. To steal.
Ndroso. Hoarse.

Faufau. To wear a turban.
Feno-ka. To tickle.
Fiu. Tired of.

Nggalu. Pudding.
Nggau. My (to eat).
Nggou. My (property).

I. This.
Iei. This, here.
Ifinga. To gobble up.
Inggore, Inggoya. That.

Kathu. Plant, tree, wood, stick.
Kambete. Cracked.
Kai-laka. To abuse, use bad language.
Kai (kaī). There it is.
Kanda. To run.
Kayavi. Evening.
Kapelu. Bent.
Kavere. Broken (of brittle objects).
Kavoro. Broken (of solid objects).
Kemunu (kemunū). You.
Keta. We (inclusive).
Ki. To, hither.
Kokosi (kōkosi). To play.
Koikoya. That is it.
Kutha. How much.
Kuno-tha. To shake with both hands.
Kuta. To bite off.

Langi. Sky, rain.
Lekutu. Bush, country (as opposed to town).
Lele (lēlē). A coaxing particle as in lele, e nda nggau (do you give me one). 104
Leka-ta. To be shorter than.
Lenggelengge. To kick about.
Lepo. Oven not covered with earth.
Linde-nga. To fillip.
Lingo. Only used in ta lingo-tha, forget.

Mamake (māmākē). Din of voices.
Manda. In front.
Mandatakina. To lead.
Mairu. E maiū. I do not know (Levuka?).
Maopo. Intelligent, clever.
Motu-ka. To hit.
Mosi-ta. To hurt, pain.

Nini-vakina. To dislike a man, have him on one's nerves.
No (nō). To lie; used as auxiliary to qualify.
Numbu. Deep.
Nuve. Caterpillar.

Olaue (olauē). Exclamation of surprise.
Ofuofu. Onanist.
Omu. Thy.
Omunu (omunū). Your.
Ona. His.
Ondra. Their.

Pani-a. To anoint.
Pelu-ka. To bend; pass (See kapelu, thopelu).
Pia. Penis.
Pisi. To spurt up.
Piathi. Bad, "rotten."
Pono-ka. To catch.
Polo. Elephantiasis of the testicles.
Popo. Rotten.

Rewa, Rewa i thake. High.
Rindeu. To start, be surprised.
Ririva. Afraid, nervous.

Sala. By himself.
Salau. Myself alone.
Saumbongi, Sāmbongimbongi, ni. Tomorrow.
Sapota. To catch a falling object.

Ta. Not.
Tasiporitakina. To crop the hair close.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

104 Tatama. Quick.
Tawa. Not.
Tatawai. To talk in sleep.
Teki. Not yet, never.
Tei-makina. To stick in.
Teiefua. Naked.
Tonggo-va. To pounce upon.
Tona. Yaws.
Toto. Painful.
Tuki-a. To hit, box.
Tumba-takina. To run away from.
Tuwai. Long, delayed, ancient.

Unu. To drink.
Undre-va. Alight, to light.
Usu-ta. To push self forward, to appropriate with a high hand.
Uta. Used to, pleasant.

Vakasolo kakana (vakasolo kākana). To whisper.
Vakatakea (vakatāea). To explain, show.
Vaia-ta. To do.
Vakutha, ni (vākutha). When?
Vea. Overripe.
Vuta. To refuse.
Vusa. Faded, ruined.
Vutungu (vutungū). Fractious.

Wathara-a. To pursue.
Wakuri-a (wākuri-a). To drive away.
Waliwali. Scented oil.
Weimami. Our (exclusive).
Weta. Our (inclusive).

Y. A glide introducing "a," as Lauans cannot pronounce "a" without a preceding sound.
Yamba. Mat.
Yasa-va. To seek.
Yapa. To fly about.
Yavi, ni. Yesterday.
Yavi. To pull a rope.
Yawalevu. Main passage.
Yauka. I do not know. Moala.

Mbusi. Evil smelling.
Mburini. To husk a coconut.

Nggala (nggalā). A bird called teri in Mbauan.

Kea. Here.
Kotha. To hit.

Mathi. Again.

Somi-tha. To drink.

Veikavuai. To abuse, insult one another.

Yali, e. There is none.
Vanua Mbalavu
Ndrama-ka. To throw at (also Ono).

Kea. He (in ko kea).
Koma. To burn.
Kutu-ma. To pursue.

Lombau. Grove.

Ovo. To cry.

Taki. Not yet.
Tapalea. To parry.

Veimbore. To insult, abuse one another.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ABSTRA

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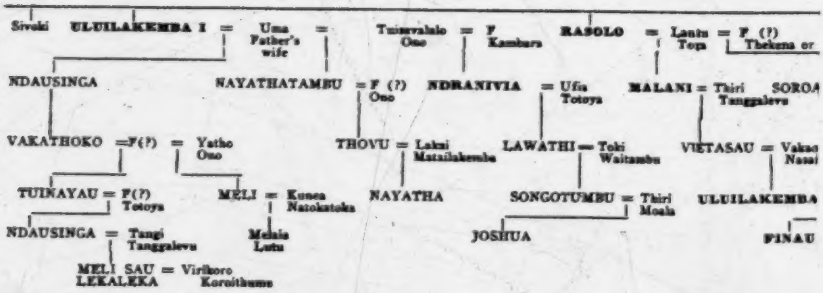
NIU



[p. 240 A]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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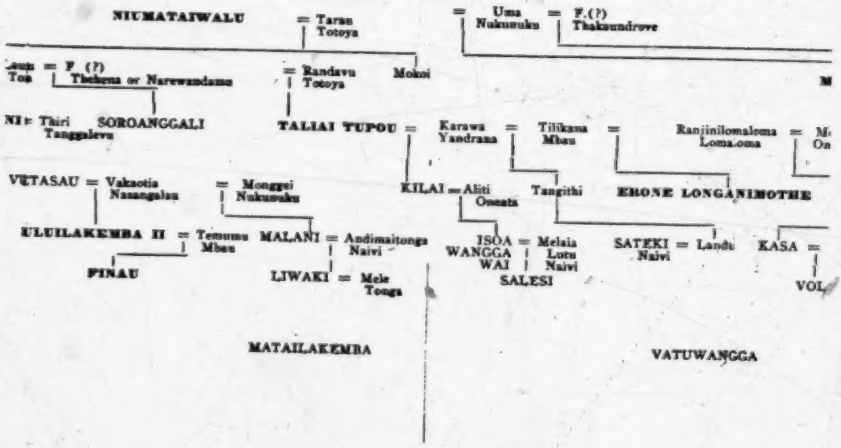
ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF NAVUANIREWA



[p. 240 B].

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OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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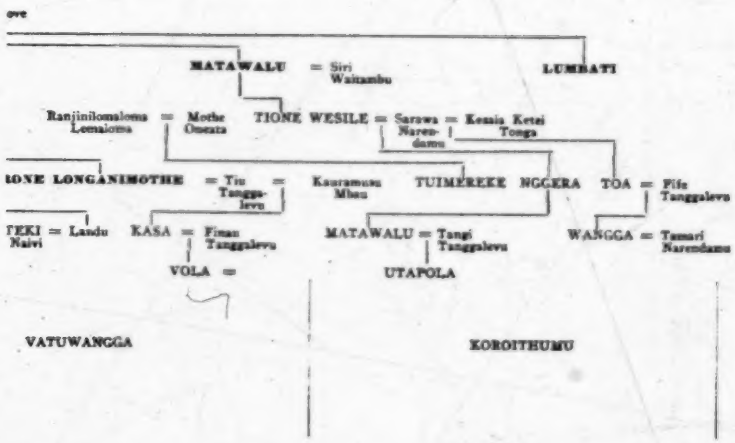

[p. 240 C]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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A B C D

E F G H I

PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM FULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

[End Plate]

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN, TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

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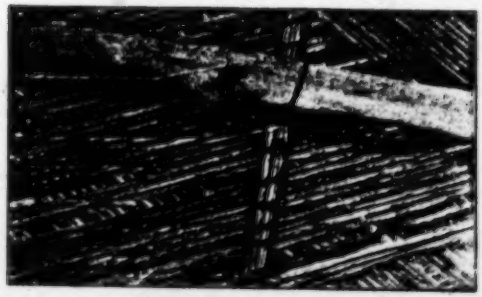
254
501

A



B

C

D

LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS: *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE; *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 — OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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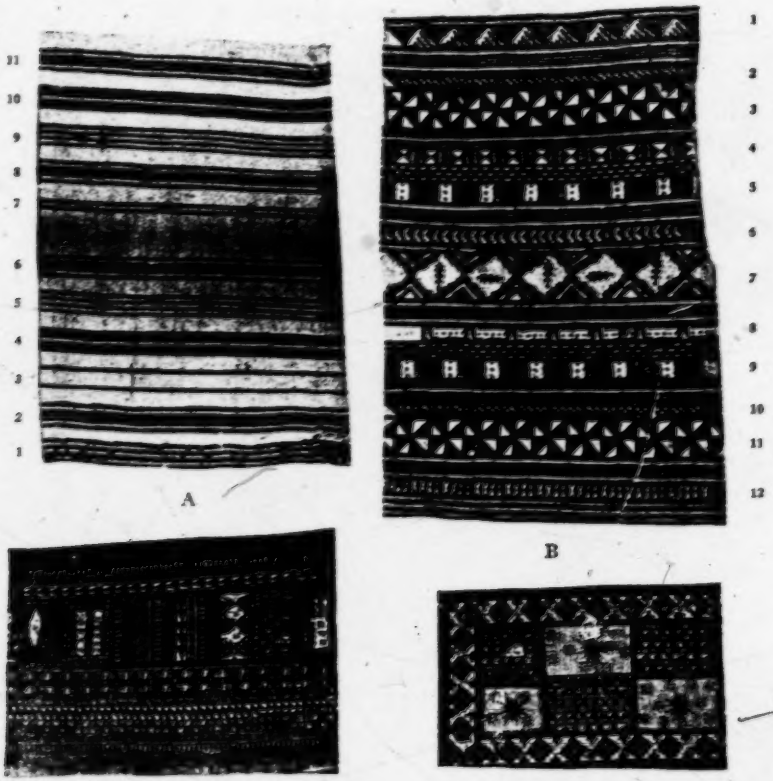

LAUAN BARK CLOTH DESIGNS: *A*, FRAMEWORK; 1, FRAME OF RED, FOUR LINES SO CALLED BECAUSE THE CENTRAL WHITE LINE IS FILLED IN WITH THAT COLOR; 2, FRAME OF MBIKA; 3, NAME UNKNOWN; 4, DRIPPING WATER, WAI KATIRI, PART, I BELIEVE, OF THE BROAD WHITE STRIP IS RED; 5, FRAME OF THE RED; 6, FRAME OF THE MBIKA; 7, WITH THE WIDE SPACE BELOW FORMS THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN; THE OTHER BARS ARE REPETITIONS OF THOSE BELOW; *B*, FRAMEWORK FILLED WITH DESIGNS, 1, VAKALINISEI, KALINESEI'S STYLE; 2, VEIMBALEYAKI, FALLING APART; 3, KAMIKI, FALLING APART; 4, KUMETE NDRUA, DOUBLE KAVA BOWL; 5, VAKATAITI, TAHITIAN STYLE; 6, VATHU NI TAURUKU, BROW OF THE CAVE; 7, VETAU (TONGAN, FETAU, NAME OF A TREE). IN CENTER A DESIGN SOMETIMES CALLED PAWPAW FLOWER. THE BLACK TRIANGLES BETWEEN THE TWO VETAU ALTERNATELY LEFT BLANK AND PAINTED RED; *C*, *D*, STENCILLED DESIGNS ON BARK CLOTH.

[End Plate 4]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI: AN ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

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Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By LAURA THOMPSON
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122
from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellow- 121
ship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177
insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114
presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161]
island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

[Text continues on p. 5,-
Analyst]

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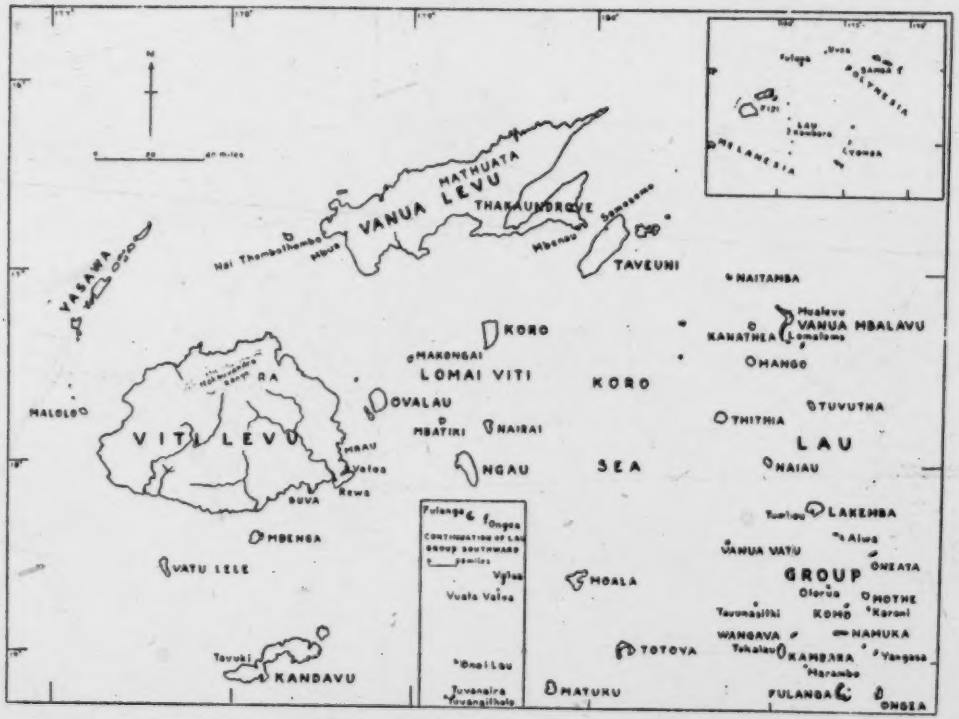

FIGURE 1.—Map of the Fiji Islands, with insert at upper right showing the location of the Lau islands in the south Pacific, on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia.

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Kambara

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

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121 as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (21, 22, 23, 24).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

197 The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British [198] colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð	ngg = ^{ŋ}g	mb = ^{m}b
ng = ŋ	nd = ^{n}d	tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

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I wish to express my appreciation to the officials of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and Yale University for cooperation in making possible this study. I thank the officials of the Colony of Fiji who aided the work in the field, especially his Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji; Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs; Dr. Victor W. T. McGusty, Chief Medical Officer; Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs; and also Mr. George T. Barker, Director of the Fiji Museum. I am very much indebted to Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, whose hospitality and whose knowledge of his people proved of great assistance. I thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Garden for identification of native plant names; Dr. Harry S. Ladd, Regional Geologist, National Park Service, and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, Professor of Geology at the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands; and Dr. Peter H. Buck, Miss Elizabeth Harrington, and Mr. Edward Y. Hosaka for help with the illustrations. I am grateful to my Lauan friends, especially Ratu Tchosaia, chief of Kambara, Iferemi Mbaraki of Undu, and Mathiu of Muanaithake for their assistance. I am most indebted, however, to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field, and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Mothe, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

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142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed 302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair 386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark [824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce 302 this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

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131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p. 12. - Analyst]

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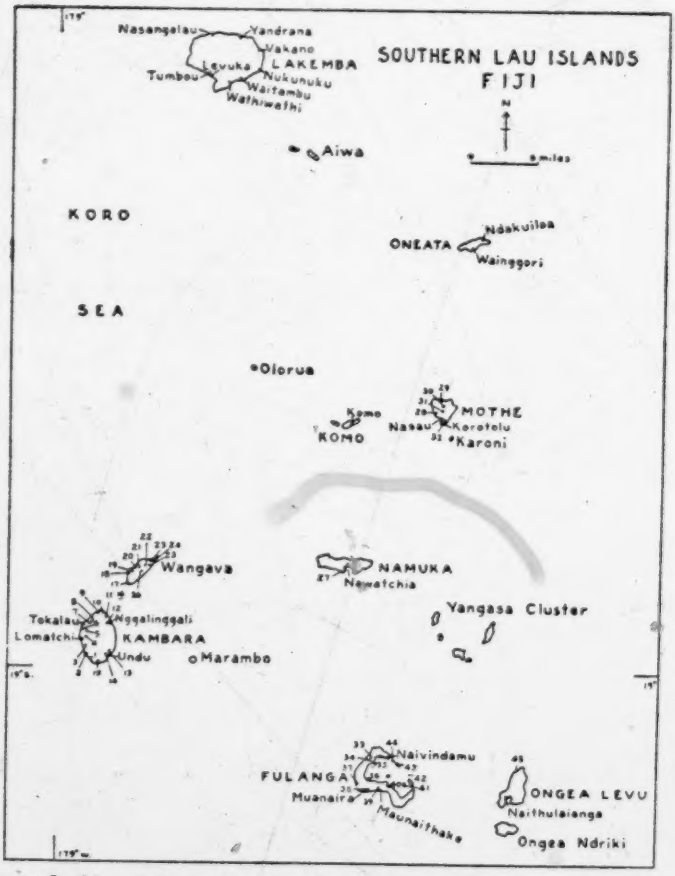

FIGURE 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevou and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Matatundu
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawarowaro
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakotu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

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133 have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an impor-
262 tant part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

132 Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be col-
[312] lected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

361 The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

621 Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3
133 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here
[1257] most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

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resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133 592

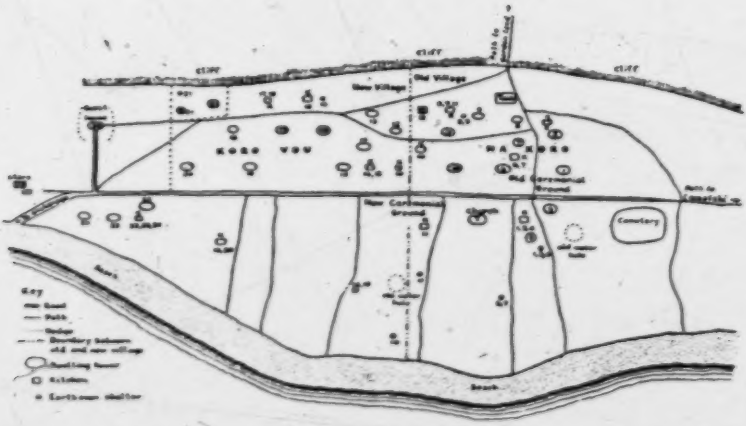

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	I occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1 (3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead (4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island (5) female, age 19, child of 4 (6) female, age 8, child of 4 (7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9 (9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8 (10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20 (11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9 (12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9 (13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9 (14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9 (15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9 (16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9 (17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9 (18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9 (19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavonu	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor
				(47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni
				(48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47
				(49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47
				(50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47
				(51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan
				(53) female, age 22, child of 52
				(54) female, age 10, child of 52
				(55) male, age 7, child of 52
				(56) female, age 16, child of 35
				(57) male, age 7, child of 35
				(58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74
				(76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74
				(77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald
				(79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82
				(80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1
				(82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81
				(83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81
				(84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva
				(85) male, age 1, son of 84
				(86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91
				(87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
				(88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni
				(89) female, child of 88
19	Tartchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan
				(91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90
				(92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91
				(93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, child of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119
				(112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111
				(113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111
				(114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111
				(115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111
				(116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111
				(117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111
				(118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow
				(119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan
				(120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119
				(121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau
				(122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110
				(123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

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621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) [731] they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

712 Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

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the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

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Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

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The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

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A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawaroworo (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

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Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 621 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity. 621 133 172

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village. 621 133 [439]

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth. [137]

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai.

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village.

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village.

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

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In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (*27*, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

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Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau/OQ6
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WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands. 114

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows: 177 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 977

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 651 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Kinship Groups

THE PHRATRY

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

565 The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradi-

J: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ8 Kambara

tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai. 615 618

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors. [565]

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather. [776]

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Lemaki carpenters

615 The *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*matai lemaki*), according to tradition and
618 pedigree, was founded by Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who came to Lau from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the chiefs' phratry was well established in Lau. Tatchini, the headman of the Matai Lemaki clan in Nggalinggali, Kambara, said the group originated as follows:

> Lemaki, Tatchini's ancestor seven generations back, was a carpenter born on Manono Island, Samoa. He went from Samoa to Nukulofa, Tonga, whence he was sent to Lau for the purpose of building a large, double canoe for the Tongan king. He became carpenter to the high chief of Lau at Lakemba and established a hereditary line of carpenters to the high chief. Lemaki's first son, Manako Siali (Makasiali), and his grandsons spread the *lemaki* line to the southern islands, where they built canoes of hardwoods unobtainable in the north. Malamala, Manako Siali's first-born son, settled on Kambara, where he became the carpenter to the chief of Kambara. Later he was driven from Tokalau because of an affair with the chief's wife. He went to the other side of the island and the chief of Nggalinggali received him and gave him a house site called Tangguiwai, in the old village. With his principal wife, Ndranivasa of the chiefs' phratry, he founded the Matai Lemaki clan.

The headman of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambetembete* type (pp. 186-187); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 160-169); and multiple-legged kava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Nggalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the Mboutolu clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in Mboutolu, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tawalo on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai wai*). Although I was unable to determine the full significance of this term, on the basis of the following evidence I have classed the sea people as a separate phratry.

The genealogies of the two clans are known for only six generations and during this time they show no kinship to each other. Each is traced to a local ancestor but they may, of course, have had a common ancestor before the six generations recorded. An old informant on Fulanga says that before coming to Fulanga the Vandravandra group lived at Narothake on the island of Ngau in the Lomai Viti group, Fiji. The clan headman of Vandravandra holds the title Tui Naro and Fulanga informants agree that the clan formerly lived at a hamlet site called Narothake on the island.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai uvi*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters. 615 618

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal. 618

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his 618 428

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Kambara

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classificatory brothers by seniority or, if he has no brothers, to his eldest son. The title remains in the subclan of the first-born of the original band. There are, however, exceptions to this rule of succession. If the rightful descendant is mentally deficient, either the next in succession becomes headman or the elders of the clan choose a headman from among themselves. Although the affairs of the clan are discussed by the male clan elders, the headman makes important decisions and has a strong influence on the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of his clan.

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and frequently between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and barkcloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i tokatoka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *tokatoka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mbatchi ni lovo* (literally "teeth of edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan, grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (pp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, waiving the rule of patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, marries into a clan and his children form a new subclan within that of their mother (pp. 54-55).

The subclan, functioning under the clan headman, serves to subdivide the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of the clan. It often functions as an economic unit in the daily tasks of gardening, fishing, sailing, barkcloth making, and mat plaiting. Some small subclans prepare the evening meal as a group, using the same earth oven and kitchen hut. Small feasts are celebrated by the subclan only.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

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LOCAL GROUPS

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

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The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

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regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.

Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.

Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan, and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.

Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.

Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

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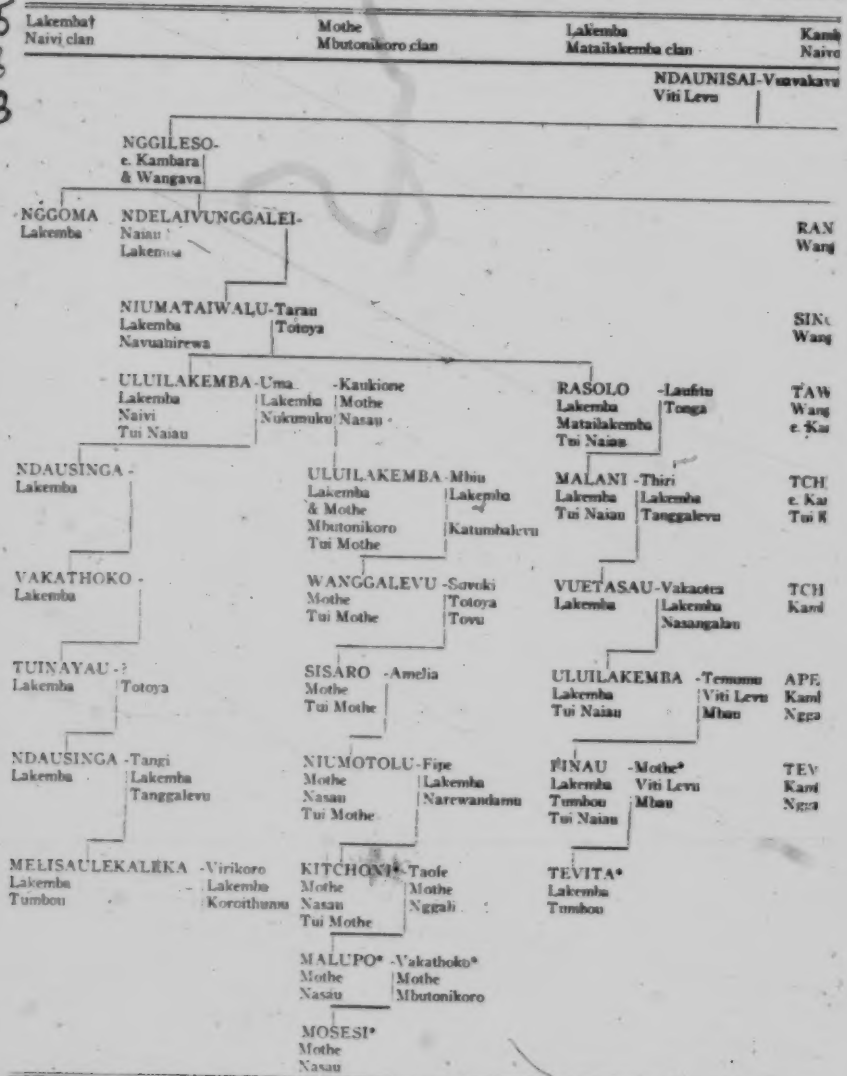
TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO



† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies claimed locally (see pp. 31 f
* Indicates those living in 1933.

[p 38(A)]

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tanggu clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
	AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu		-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- e. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lumbathi w. Kambara Vuanikathu Kambara Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - e. Kambara	TUWAI •Maitonga w. Kambara Totoya Mbusa Natukosokoso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava Totoya	SUE -Ufia e. Kambara Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara Kambara Vanua
iufitu onga	TAWAKETCHINI- Vutu Wangava & e. Kambara Kambara Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Raloaloa w. Kambara Thithia Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi e. Kambara Tui Kambara Kambara Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe e. Kambara Lakemba Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara Totoya Mousa Natukosakosa?
akaotea akemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara Kambara Mbete
A -Temumu Viti Levu Mbau	APETENIKO -Riniete Kambara Nggalinggali Kambara Undu Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Nggali-nggali Kambara Undu Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
e• Levu a	TEVITA• Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI• -Silai Kambara Nggali-nggali Kambara Nggali-nggali Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusione w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
		TCHONI• Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Tokalau Tui Kambara Kambara Tokalau Katoka
			TCHOSAIA• -Kaituate Kambara Tokalau Tonga Vavau
			INOKE• Kambara Tokalau

...ional legality (see pp. 18-19).

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Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

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Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

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Kambara

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

622 The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

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Kambara

TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery. 621 68

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops. 226

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

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Kambara

621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the
618 father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but
[427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

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Kambara

six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau. 621 618

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka. 621 618 578

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Kambara

UNDU

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Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Matasoata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

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Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka. 621 618

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Matasoata clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

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KOROTOLU

62
618

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

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Kambara

Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoioa. The latter is extinct. 621 618

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest. 554

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Kambara

Clan Titles

554 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also
618 by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

HIGH CHIEF

[554] The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is
643 the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[595] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe*, and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief s wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

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Kambara

THE ISLAND CHIEF

622 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

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by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga. 624

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important. 624 784

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older. 624

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal 624 226

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Kambara

624 226 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 335 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 793 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kaleu vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 644 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to [428 his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in 184] the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

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582 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees.
618 Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive cor-
134 relation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's
611 clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common
[134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau, OQ6 Kambara

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakoti*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan lands. 848 [797] [925]

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848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

[554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554 descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold 428] the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger 561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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father's older brother and the husband of *tchina- levu* (2). The term *tama-lailai* (little father) is used to specify the father's younger brother and the husband of *tchina- lailai* (2). 601

2. Tchina-: Mother, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter, mother's father's sister's daughter, spouse's father's sister, and the wives of all men designated by *tama-* (1). The term *tchina- levu* (big mother) is used to specify the mother's older sister and the wife of *tama- levu* (1). The term *tchina-lailai* (little mother) is used to specify the mother's younger sister and the wife of *tama- lailai* (1).
3. Tuaka-: The converse of *tachi-* (4). (ms) Elder brother and the son of *tama-levu* (1). Also the term is occasionally used to designate the elder sister. (fs) Elder sister and the daughter of *tama- levu*.
4. Tachi-: Generic term for siblings (brothers and sisters) and parallel cousins. Specifically it is the converse of *tuaka-* (3). (ms) Younger brother and the son of *tama- levu* (1). (fs) Younger sister and the daughter of *tchina-lailai* (2.)
5. Weka-: A reciprocal term. (ms) Sister, female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Brother, male parallel cousin including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *ndauve-* (10).
6. Karua: A reciprocal term of address usually used without a possessive suffix. It is a term denoting respect as well as kinship. (ms) Male parallel cousin, including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *watchi-* (7), less frequently, brother. (fs) Female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *watchi-* (7); less frequently, sister.
7. Watchi-: A reciprocal term for spouse. (ms) Female cross cousin, hence the father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. (fs) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's father's sister's daughter's son, the mother's mother's brother's daughter's son. The first spouse is the *matai ni watchi-*.
8. Ndavola-: A reciprocal term used as an alternate for *watchi-* (7). *Ndavola-* is considered a more polite form of address than *watchi-*. *Ndavola-* is a Mbauan term, whereas *watchi-* is Lauan.
9. Tavale: A reciprocal term used only by males to refer to males. (ms.) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, husband of *watchi-* (7).
10. Ndauve-: A reciprocal term corresponding to *tavale-* (9), used only by females to refer to females. (fs) Female cross cousin, hence the wife of *watchi-* (7).
11. Vungo-: A reciprocal term. Mother's brother, father's sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, child of *weka-* (5), spouse of *luve-* (12). (ms) Child of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Child of *ndauve-* (10).
12. Luve-: Speaker's child, child of *watchi-* (7), child of *karua* (6). The converse of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2). (*Ngone* is the generic name for child.)
13. Tuka-: Grandfather, any male ancestor. *Tuka- levu* (big grandfather) is used to designate the grandfather's older brother; *tuka- lailai* (little grandfather) to designate his younger brother. Great-grandfather is designated as *tuka-vakarua* (second grandfather), great-great-grandfather as *tuka- vakatolu* (third grandfather).
14. Tumbu-: Grandmother, any female ancestor. *Tumbu- levu* (big grandmother) is used to designate the grandmother's older sister and the wife of the *tuka-levu*; *tumbu- lailai* (little grandmother) to designate her younger sister and the wife of *tuka-lailai*. Great grandmother is designated as *tumbu- vakarua* (second grandmother), etc.

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601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

543 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

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593 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of
184 one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest
[835 tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the
684 woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

593 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*.
605 A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama,* the father's older brother by *tama levu.* It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko.* Young children often call their father *tata.* The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. 601 576

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This 606 privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 618 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights. 604 606 618

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute. 643

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother. 604 606 618 182

Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan. 604 606 618

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The tabus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
643 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All
[689] chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house. 554 576

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion. [516]

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls. 431 796

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern. 241 796

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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Chief of crops: enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka vanua, saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka me i vala mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . oa." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Kotokoto vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei iratou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosoraki thake vaka-turanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . . " (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana! E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*); and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa (Pometia pinnata)*, and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

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The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak, and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).

Chief of crops claps three times. "I . . . a . . ." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tu mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu . . . ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fulanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).

Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A . . . u, a . . . u, u . . . lia; thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

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226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

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presence of a chief. Kava ceremonies vary slightly on different islands and for different occasions. In southern Lau on formal occasions a mixed Tongan and old Lauan kava ceremony is used. On less formal occasions a simplification of the Tongan ceremony is customary. The natives say that the Lauan ceremony is long and is marked by much hand clapping, whereas the Tongan ceremony is short and simple. The Tongans say, "Faka sinisini ko Fishi. Sa levu na topotopo" (Too many tens in Fiji, too much clapping), meaning that the Fijian ceremony is too elaborate.

The kava ceremony for the chief of Kambara is as follows:

The kava drinkers sit cross-legged in circular formation called *yalofi*, in the following order: the chief sits in the center of the upper end of the house. On his left sits his herald, on his right, another chief or herald. The clan elders sit in two rows on either side of the chief. Those of highest rank sit nearest the chief. At the lower end of the house, opposite and facing the chief, sits a young man who is the kava maker (*palu yanggona*). In front of him stands the kava bowl, which is a wooden bowl (*kumete ni yanggona*) made of greenheart, usually with four legs. The bowl used for a chief has cowry shells tied to the sennit string handle, which is stretched toward him. It is tabu to use this bowl except in kava ceremonies for the chief. In olden days, according to the natives, an earthenware kava bowl without legs (*ndari ni yanggona*) was used.

On each side of the kava maker sits a young man, called assistant at the bowl (*ngqarati kumete*). The young men who pound the kava sit behind the kava maker. Either green or dry kava is used, but natives say the green root makes a drink which is more tasty and digestible. A flat stone slab is placed on a kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) and when the root has been pounded with a rough stone hammer into bits, the stone slab is tilted so that the bits of root fall on the mat, the mat is passed to one of the assistants, who slides the kava bits into the kava bowl. Occasionally a wooden mortar and an iron pestle are used.

Formerly kava root was chewed by youths. The kava chewers (*matha*) sat behind the kava maker. They were young men of rank related to the chief. The chewed root was removed from the mouth and placed on the strainer (*i vauvau*), composed of strips of the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*vau*), which lay in the bowl; or it was passed to one of the assistants, who put it into the bowl. The kava maker and assistants chewed also. (Old men who have chewed kava in their youth seem to have better preserved teeth than those who have not chewed it. Chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government.)

When sufficient kava has been prepared the kava maker raises the bowl by the two rear legs and says, "Kawa nai mama" (The kava is chewed).

The herald answers, "Kuo holo" (It is kneaded), and the kava maker lowers the bowl. The herald adds, "Tukuwatu" (put it down), and the kava maker puts the bowl down. When it is resting on the ground the herald says, "Tutumalie pe kae palu" (All right, mix). The kava maker places his hands, fingers together, palms down, on the sides of the bowl. The herald looks at them and if they are not clean he says nothing and the kava maker is replaced by another. If they are clean he says, "Palu, tafoki kimoua" (Kava maker, turn), and the two assistants move forward to the bowl. During the mixing and serving they face the bowl, otherwise they face the chief.

Then the herald says, "Lini o ma wai" (Pour the water). The kava maker places his hands in the bowl and the assistant who is sitting on the right of the kava maker pours water from the water container onto the kava maker's hands. It is poured away from the kava maker. It is tabu to pour it toward him. Either a bamboo water container (*ndangoni vai*), imported from Viti Levu, an earthenware pot (*kuro*), or an imported bucket is used.

The kava maker mixes the kava. Before straining it he squeezes the mixture over

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the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pouf the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tambu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth.

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup-bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me.

The kava song follows:

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya po i mba ni langakaii,	To be laid on the *langakaii* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vuka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi a vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

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feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduru*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

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796 New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old
533 *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The
535 newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while
[522] older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

535 There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke*
721 *ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same
[292 time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies
302] are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

[539] A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

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SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows: [293]

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vala,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *seasea,* in which, according to the natives, women
[242] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa ná vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

526 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

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and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 526

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed), [539]
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 526 171

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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[171] This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows.
[868] They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

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STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[8] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

Chief's Installation

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

Chief's Reception

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[8] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

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643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [421] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes. 643 574 431

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. 843 [557] [851]

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant. 842

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held. 843 [386 302]

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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843 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu,* and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

844 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

846 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndraivu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since
852 the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

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given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 184

854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of
[184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is
852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are
[851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The
431] child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

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Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

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A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

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881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents.
304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggauw*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one
531] knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the
[177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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marry his betrothed he may break the engagement (*vakandaroivola*). This necessitates the formal return of the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*) presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan at the betrothal ceremony, or its equivalent. However, the food and property, of considerable value, which the girl's relatives have received from the boy's relatives from time to time are not returned with the original gift. 584

Frequently a man is reluctant to marry his childhood betrothed for, just as the tabu on a man's classificatory sisters (*weka*) tends to stimulate his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins (*watchi*), especially his betrothed, tends to make them less desirable. However, he is loathe to break his engagement, for he knows that if he does so his father will be very angry at the loss of so much property. Hence a young man postpones his marriage as long as possible.

When he is between eighteen and twenty-five, his father and his clan, whose interests lie in the preservation of the sacred clan mana, force him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed or breaks his engagement and finally becomes engaged to another girl. After he has talked to the girl (*veivosaki*) and gained her consent, he tells his father. If the elders of his clan approve of the match, the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) is made. When the elders of the girl's clan have approved the match, an engagement feast (*mangitchi ni vola*) is prepared and presented by the boy's relatives to those of the girl. When a match is not sanctioned by the clan elders, the young couple occasionally elope (*veitumbaitaki*) to the bush, where they stay until the anger of their relatives, especially of the boy's father, has abated. At first the couple is talked about in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When they return they are accepted as man and wife and a wedding feast may or may not be held. [582] [583]

MARRIAGE

Weddings in Lau differ greatly in size and importance. The quality and quantity of the feasts and gifts for the ceremonial affinal exchanges not only reflect but also determine the social status of the intermarrying clans, and there is much rivalry between them. However, in the long run, the boy's clan usually contributes the larger quantity of food and property (p. 95). The boy's clan sets the date for the ceremonies which are usually held in harvest season when food is abundant. 585

Preparations for the wedding rites are begun months ahead. The work is shared by the men of each of the intermarrying clans who are responsible for the marriage feasts and by the women, who provide the tapa and mats for the affinal exchanges of property.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu, a small low ranking village of sailors

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585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property
[43] (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as
292 the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it into the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 6 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

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585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble [431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata,* the "eating together" feast.

[515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

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is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by [828] a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

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763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra tangi na turanga;* at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

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yaka wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. 766 [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni* or *mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanggona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni renggurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

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766

Crown Colony, conch blowers, the women of the *tonitoni*, and other close relatives. Most of the guests waited at the burial mound.

The British flag was placed on the bier at the vault, and a Christian service was conducted by the Lakemba resident missionary. It was punctuated with a drill by a squad of the native police from Suva and with three shots. The coffin was wrapped in tapa and mats and lowered into the mat-lined vault. Three handfuls of sand were thrown onto it, and powdered sandalwood was scattered over it. The conch shells were heaped outside of the vault. After the service the concrete lid of the vault was lifted into place by about 30 men.

A funeral feast, provided by the lower class, was presented by the Lakemba district headman to the upper class in the chief's house. The food was piled on the ceremonial ground and divided into two parts: one for the upper class called *i wase ni yanggona ni tei ni turanga* and one for the lower class called *i mburua*. The chief's herald divided the feast into shares which were presented in the following order: the high chief, the villages of Tumbou, Levuka, Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, Yandrana, and Vakano on Lakemba; Naiau island, Kambara group, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga group, Thithia, Ono group, Lomaloma district on Vanuambalavu, Mualevu district on Vanuambalavu, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku.

The strict tabu on the village of Tumbou was raised as soon as the chief was buried, but the people continued to refrain from making noise until the tenth night. Most of the representatives from other islands left Lakemba a day or two after the funeral.

On the tenth day a smaller feast (*i vaka mbongi tchini*) was held. The women of the *tonitoni* bathed in the sea and went fishing for the first time after the death and returned to their homes. During the ten-day period they had been fed by the chief's household.

On the hundredth day after the chief's death a feast (*i mburua*) was held. This was a great feast for the Lau group, and representatives from the outlying islands again gathered at Lakemba for the ceremonies.

Another ceremony connected with the death of the high chief or a member of his immediate family is the *mbambisa*, performed within a year or two after the death of a ranking noble. It was obligatory in olden days. Informants from Kambara say that some time after the death of Ratu Nailatikau the people of Kambara collected tapa, whales' teeth, mats, oil, and sennit and sailed by canoe to Lakemba. A message was sent ahead of the canoe to notify the Lakemba people that the ceremony was to be held. Before entering the passage at Tumbou the sailors tied the property to the mast. As the canoe approached Lakemba, people swam out to meet it and the sailors pulled down the property piece by piece and threw it overboard. Finally, the sail was lowered and thrown overboard, too. The property was captured and retained by the swimmers.

Death of an island chief

Ceremonies for the death of an island chief follow the same pattern as those for a high chief, but are much less elaborate and vary according to the rank of the deceased. My information concerning the death of Timothe Thakau is from Tchosaia, the present titular chief and from his herald.

When Timothe Thakau of Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, the last chief of Kambara, died conch shells were blown from the time of death, which occurred at dawn, until the burial just before sundown of the same day.

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Gifts of tapa and mats were brought by all the people on the island. The herald received them and wrapped the chief's body in them. The district headman of Kambara was in charge of the funeral. (Before British annexation, the chief of Tokalau, Matandravu subclan, Vuanitavola, was in charge.) The pall bearers belonged to the chief's clan and that of his herald.

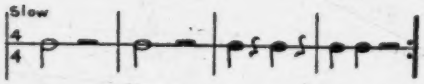
The chief was buried in the village cemetery at Tokalau. A large, old whale's tooth was placed in the grave as a head rest. The grave was marked by a truncated pyramid earth mound with two stone-faced steps and a rectangular ground plan (pl. 1, *B*). Ten conch shells, blown between the death and burial, were placed on it. The village headman was in charge of the burial feast (*i mburua ni mate*), which was provided by the people of the whole island and divided by the chief of crops.

Informants said that the widow of the chief of Kambara was not strangled and that they had never heard of widow strangling in Lau.

The funeral rites for the chief of Fulanga are less elaborate than those for the chief of Kambara, who ranks far higher as an island chief. The following account of the death of Waisake, the former chief of Fulanga, was obtained from Kalo, the wife of the present chief.

[533]

a



b

FIGURE 4.—Drum beats: a, beat to raise the death tabu, drummed on a tapa board; b, beat of the funeral march, drummed on pairs of large wooden slit-gongs.

When Waisake died no conch shells were blown, but the relatives of the deceased wailed: "Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au! Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!" (Alas, my chief! He has gone along the path and will never return!) Kava was provided by the chief's clan (now split into Vunikoro and Rasea) and served by middle-aged people in Tongan fashion for three or four days and nights. The *tonitoni*, composed of women from the village of Muanaithake, occupied the chief's house (*vale ni tangi*, house of wailing) and two or three other houses for ten nights. During this time they were fed by the chief's clan. Laughing and dancing in this house was tabu before dawn on the fourth day, when the sound of the *vakataratara*, beaten by many women of the village on a tapa board, lifted the tabu on silence in the usual way. The rhythm of the *vakataratara* is shown in figure 4, *a*.

The body was buried on the day of death. It was wrapped in mats and carried to the cemetery by men of Nasava and Vandravandra clans, who also dug the grave. The death feasts, provided by all the villages on the island were as follows: *i va kotokoto* for the mourners on the day of burial; *i mburua* for the island on the day after the burial; *vakataratara* for the mourners on the fourth day after the death when the tabu was lifted and the *tonitoni* went fishing; *i vaka mbongi tchini* for the island on the tenth day; and *i vaka mbongi ndrau* for the village on the hundredth day.

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Death of a young man

764 A Namuka boy, 21 years old, was visiting in Nggalinggali, Kambara, where his sister had married into the noble Naivotavota clan, when he broke his toe [754] and contracted tetanus. The natives thought the stiffening of the body due to sorcery. On the eighth day his relatives realized that he was going to die, so they moved him from the small house where he had been lying into a large house belonging to Naivotavota. The boy died the following morning.

When I arrived about noon the village was under a tabu of silence. If anyone laughed or sang he had to pay a fine of property or food. The body of the deceased, with hands folded over the chest, lay on a couch (*vata*) 30 cm. high parallel to the main axis at the upper end of the house. It was resting on a piece of Tongan tapa, placed over fine mats bordered with bright wool. The deceased was dressed in a shirt and kilt of cloth and covered with Tongan tapa. On this lay white oiled tapa. Over the head was a piece of white oiled tapa and a wreath. The upper part of the house was separated from the lower by a large piece of tapa, hanging from the ceiling to within 2 meters of the floor. Six young girls, relatives of the deceased, sat or lay near the bed, weeping silently, and fanning the body and themselves. They wore no special mourning clothing. Older women, wearing black kilts covered with old mats, sat along the walls toward the center of the house. Occasionally a man or woman entered and presented gifts of mats, tapa, cloth, and kava. Before they presented their gifts ceremonially, close relatives kissed the hand of the deceased by placing it against the nose and inhaling. Gifts of cloth and tapa were placed over the body.

Soon the young women, a few old ones, and one or two youths began to wail. The wailing had begun after the death but had been discontinued for a few hours in the middle of the day. It reached a climax when the body was being wrapped for burial in fine tapa and new mats, tied with sennit, and moved out of the house. The wailers beat their foreheads and the walls and house posts with their fists. Four men lifted the large mat on which the body lay, carried it through the door at the upper end of the house, and placed it on a stretcher made of rough boughs tied with sennit which resembled a ladder. The stretcher was carried to the cemetery shoulder high, by six men chosen for their strength. Behind the body walked the native missionary and two or three older men. Most of the women followed, those of high rank leading. While the procession moved to the cemetery the formal death beat used for all funerals was repeated slowly six times on the village gongs. It sounded first on one pair, then on another pair of different pitch at the other end of the village, as shown in figure 4, *b*.

The close female relatives remained in the village and continued to wail, but during the funeral ceremony they arrived, silently, one by one, at the grave, knelt by the body and buried their faces in the mat wrapped around it. The native missionary conducted a twenty-minute Christian funeral service in the Mbauan dialect. The body was lowered into a grave, 3 meters long, 1.3 meters wide, and 1.6 meters deep, by means of the large outer mats, and the sennit fastenings were untied. Three handfuls of sand were tossed into the grave, then beach sand from a dozen freshly made coconut-leaf baskets was poured into it. Finally, the sand which had been dug out of the grave was shoveled back and a mound was formed over it and covered with beach sand brought in the same baskets by young women. No children and no young men except the pall bearers attended the burial ceremony.

On the afternoon of the following day the death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held. Food was provided and prepared by the relatives of the deceased and eaten by the village. For two nights after the death a group of women watchers (*tonitoni*) slept in the house (*vale ni tangi*) where the death had occurred. Early on the morning of the third day the watchers lifted the tabu on noise by beating the *vakataratara* (fig. 4, *a*) on a tapa board. They bathed in the sea and fished for the first time since the death. A small feast called *vakataratara* was provided them by the relatives of the deceased. On the tenth day a

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small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held, and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island. [554]

Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

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764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

[775] Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

888 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandra-
737 vandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41) in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

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and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead.
A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the 726
concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire [721]
for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of 534]
the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a lali ni mbakola*. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their 726
weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden 834

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726 539

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

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173 825 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 824 173 825 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini*, a large hawk.

173 771 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

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The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116). 173

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods. 776

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house. 776 539

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*. 776

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776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kaloü, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 769 618 [771 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the
778 clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and
618 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members
[262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no
[552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu
[726 warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:
539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god). 769 778 618

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118). [775]

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena. [174]

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group. 769

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs: 793

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at 769 793 539

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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
340

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with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

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769 after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after child-
birth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness.
783 Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

774 The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

[761] Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient
recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul
774 goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the
775 dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

775 There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

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Thimbathimba of Fulanga is at Vatu Iri, a rock on the beach south of Muanaithake. There the soul stands on the sand near the rock, and if he is of the chief group he calls, "Lele mai na mua vesi" (Carry me home, canoe of hardwood)! A noble calls for a canoe of greenheart because on earth he has used the chiefly canoe of the dark wood of the greenheart. Then a hardwood canoe in the form of a dark wave comes and carries the soul to Nai Thombothombo. A soul from the lower class also goes to Nai Thimbathimba, but he calls, "Lele mai na mua uto" (Carry me home, canoe of soft wood)! A commoner calls for a canoe of soft wood because he has used such a canoe on earth. Breadfruit (*uto*) is a light-colored, soft wood. A canoe made of soft wood in the form of a light wave comes and takes the commoner's soul to Nai Thombothombo. As the soul departs the widow of the deceased sees the smooth trail of the canoe and pours oil onto the water.

Kalo of Fulanga, who belongs to the sea people, says that souls from Muanaithake village go to Tetesawa, a rock at the end of the beach. From there they jump into the water. A smooth water path forms between the waves so that the soul can pass on the same day through Salia (fig. 2, 42), the passage at the main entrance to the Fulanga lagoon. Kalo does not know where the soul goes afterward but assumes that it enters a fish or something that lives in the water.

Nai Thimbathimba of Ongea is located at a place named Lau on the northwest end of Ongea Levu (fig. 2, 45). Informants on Ongea say that formerly footprints of a man or marks of a crawling child could be seen in the sand there after a death, but they do not know where the souls go from Thimbathimba.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Namuka people is a tree which leans over the lagoon from a small island about 500 meters from the village (fig. 2, 27). From the tree the souls leap into the water and onto a wave. Each time a soul leaves a small branch of the tree withers, so that sailors returning from a long journey know how many Namukans have died in their absence.

Nai Thimbathimba of Mothe is a *sinu* tree in Vanganduku. From there the souls go elsewhere but their destination is not known.

Ono has two Nai Thimbathimbas, one for the souls of the villages of Lovoni and Nakui and one for souls of the villages of Marakawa and Ndoi. Natives say the souls of the first two go to Tuvana-i-tholo, a small island, and from there they go to Mbutundromu, which was later called Mburotu; the souls of the last two go to the island of Tuvana-i-ra and thence to Mburotu.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, is common in Lau. The belief in an island paradise is apparently unrelated to the beliefs of either the early

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775 inhabitants or the immigrants in Lau. Similar concepts are found, however, in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.

The Kambara people say that Mburotu is an island situated between Ono and Matuku. In olden days it was above the water but now it is submerged. The trees, like everything else on this island, are red so it is called Mburotu Kula (Red Mburotu). The island is inhabited by beautiful women so it is called *vanua ni aleua* (land of women). They are clean and light skinned like Tongans and Samoans. The women are spirits who never die. Many men have tried in vain to find Mburotu. In olden days Kumbunavanua, a chief, lived on the island. He had two canoes. He went to Totoya in one while his two sons went in the other to Moala. When Kumbunavanua left Mburotu the island disappeared.

The land people believed in a local abode of the soul after death. According to Moto of Undu, when a man of the Kambaran lower class died his soul went with a hissing sound to Nggara Levu (Big Cave), a burial cave located near the *ngingia* tree. Nggara Levu is the abode of the souls of the early inhabitants. The following tale is told:

> When Ramatau, a man of the lower class who lived near Lomatchi, died he said, "Take me to Nggara Levu." The people took him to the beach and decided to bury him there, but he said from beneath his cover, "This is not Nggara Levu." So they took him to Vatoa because Nggara Levu was far from Lomatchi. At Vatoa he said again, "This is not Nggara Levu." So finally they took him to Nggara Levu.

Moto says he has heard that the souls of the land people went from Nggara Levu to the highest rock on the reef, which is shaped like the roof of a house. He has not heard whether or not the souls of the land people go to Mburotu, but he says that this rock faces Mburotu and is connected with it by means of a submarine coral formation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Nanga

575 Moto says that the commoners of Kambara formerly had a secret society called Nanga, which was "very, very old" and had ceased to exist before his time. All Moto knew about it was that it was secret and that it existed before the migration from Viti Levu to Lau. No other information regarding the Nanga in Lau was obtained.

A secret society called Nanga was formerly found in a limited area in central and western Viti Levu. According to Fison (*7*, pp. 14-30) the Nanga was a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was induction of the grown men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular stone enclosure and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits,

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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 575
the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by [349]
Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social [557
order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government 648]
has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability [778]
to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the 776
cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, 575
not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the 575
bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses [785]
his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They
jump, dance, AND club one another.

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575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 782] named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propi- [782] tiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic 538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are 539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

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Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current, 539
Kitholka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of 311
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, 311
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 461
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula-

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241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [555] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

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minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing the thick jungles of the limestone islands. 244 461

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance. 423

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

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423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 427 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of [177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua,* as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu.* A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed [558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

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423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau,* located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova,* is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [184] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

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Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

305 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa, vala,* mango, *nggalaka,* and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

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March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (***vulai kelikeli***) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term ***vulai kelikeli*** is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (***vulai mangomango*** or ***vulai mbotambota***). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (***vulai werewere***) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (***vulai teitei***) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (***vulai tumbutumbu***) and September and October are the "***ndrala*** flower" moons (***vulai se ni ndrala***), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few ***mbalolo***" (***vulai mbalolo lailai***) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many ***mbalolo***" (***vulai mbalolo levu***).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482-505]

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

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222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), 262 *yaumitha* (*Malaisia scandens*), *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *sutimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

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to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tavilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

Vono. The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

Volavola. In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

Rarau. Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

Songo matana. At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *sòngo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

Mbekambeka. Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

Lawa vuevue. The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently, like the *tatanga* net, at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women

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step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets. 226

Yavirau. A *yavirau* (*yavi*, hauling; *rau*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yavirau* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yavirau* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day. [324]

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided

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226 between the villages in proportion to population, and each village share was divided between clans.

The catch of about 100 fish weighed about 250 pounds, but a catch of about 800 pounds had been expected. The master fisherman told me that a pregnant woman had participated and that a woman during the first hundred days of pregnancy would spoil any net fishing. (The *yazirau* is considered to be a net.) He added that the population had not been respecting the master fisherman in their daily fishing and the consequence was a shortage of fish. While the first reason was recognized by all and caused talk among the women, the people never mentioned the second reason given by the master fisherman. The chief of Kambara, who had not participated because of his age, said: "If a woman in early pregnancy takes part naturally no good result is possible, but, anyway, today is not a *yazirau* day. The sky is too dark and dark are the waters, as dark as the coconut leaves. Consequently the fish could not see the spiral and passed through it. Furthermore, the fishing took place in rather shallow waters which are liked by fish on sunny days. Today they are in deeper waters. Therefore perhaps only a few fish were present."

On Fulanga the *yazirau* method is also used but the *rau* is never pulled toward the beach, always onto the reef.

Latchi tei. A coconut-leaf rope (*rau*), shorter than that used for a *yazirau*, is used by the Fulanga women to catch *tei*, a fish about the size of a mullet. The net is spread just inside the reef where the *tei* are common.

Tuvatu. Such a short *rau* is called *tuvatu* on Mothe where it is placed around a rock formation below the surface of the water during high tide. When the tide falls the fish are frightened by the moving coconut-leaf spiral and stay in pools around the rocks. At low tide the fish are procured by the poisoning method (pp. 134-135).

Lawa ni yavi. The *lawa ni yavi* (drag net) technique is a communal fishing method used occasionally by women only during the day. The net is about 100 meters long and 3.5 meters deep. It is used only during low or ebbing tide in sections with a white sandy bottom near the beach. A few women take one end of the net and haul it into the water. Others stand on the beach and hold the other end. The rest of the participants place themselves all along the net, holding it under water, and gradually move forward. Those standing on the beach remain stationary. Thus the line describes a semicircle around the women on the beach. Girls, boys, and children beat the water in front of the net so that the fish are frightened back toward the fishers. As the fisher line approaches the beach the women skillfully catch many fish about to escape underneath the net.

I witnessed a *lawa ni yavi* at Ndaku, Kambara. When the net had been hauled to the beach, the master fisherman appeared. The net was carried to a grassy spot beneath the coconut trees and emptied of about 200 fish. The whole process took six minutes. The master fisherman and his wife knelt near the pile of fish, sorted them according to size, and put them into piles of 12. Then the master fisherman took one fish from each pile for each clan until none was left, and each clan received an equal share.

Sau kanathe. Men and women fish together for mullet, using the *sau kanathe* method. A net about 35 fathoms wide is taken to a place in the lagoon, preferably 4 to 5 feet deep. The ends of the net are held by men and the women line up along the net, which is put out in horseshoe formation. The men start to pull, the women follow and hold the net in proper position. The men on the ends either proceed toward the beach or, if the net is closed in the water, it is carried by a canoe to the beach, where the catch is divided.

Hose. *Hose* is a finger long fish, reddish in color, found in schools of thousands in the Fulanga lagoons. The women take a small meshed net about 100 meters long into the lagoon where the bottom consists of small coral. There the net is opened and gradually dragged toward shallow water near the beach or toward one of the little islands.

Vutu. The *vutu* method is used by women and children on moonlight nights. They pole out to the reef, and a few people, especially children, climb upon a rock. Others with a *lawa ni yavi* net encircle the rock, while those on top start bumping and jump-

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ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *tutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Mthnaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Kazathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

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226 **Thina.** *Thina* is the Lauan word for lamp, lantern, torch. Men or women or men and women torch fish (*thina*) together at night. Each takes at least one coconut spathe, splits one end of it several times, so that it will catch fire readily and quickly throw a light flame. At the spot on the beach where the fishing is to start, the spathes are lighted with a glowing coconut husk or stick. The torches are held over the water by members of the party who walk slowly ahead of the others. The fish are usually speared or clubbed.

Vaka a samu (the beating fashion). A fish, tied to a short line which is fastened to a stick, is beaten on the water to serve as a lure. The fish are stabbed with a one-pronged spear (*sakathukathu*), which is a sharp pointed shaft of wood.

Tauyara. By the *tauyara* (to lure with an equal) method, a fish is stuck onto one prong of a spear or tied to the shaft, with a string. The spear is moved so that the bait is kept under water to lure a fish close enough to be stabbed.

FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

Fishing with hook and line is called *siva*. This method is used frequently on Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga by men and women either during the day or night, preferably at sandy spots where the hook will not catch. A small fish, a crab, or a slug is bait.

For fishing from the beach a line 50 meters long is used. The loosely rolled coil is thrown by one hand and an end of line held in the other. At intervals the fisherman calls: "Tale mai, tale mai, tale mai" (Come here, come here, come here). In canoe trolling the method is the same, but a shorter line is used. Sometimes the canoe is anchored and the line is weighted. When fishing from a rock the man or woman throws the line out or weights it with a stone so that it sinks vertically.

The fishhook used in Lau today is imported. The natives agree that the fishhooks formerly used were of wood and bone but no one was able to describe them.

FISH STUPIFYING

226 278 **Samulaki.** The afternoon before *samulaki* fishing on Kambara a few people go to the bush to gather a vine called *tuvu*. Old branches are taken because their poison is strong. In the evening the branches are beaten with a rock until the juice begins to ooze. Before sunrise the next morning, and at low tide when the fish have not yet left the coral formations, women go to the reef. A small handful of the beaten twigs is tied into a bundle and splashed on the water so that the poisonous juice mixes with the water and enters the coral caves. Several coral formations are poisoned on the same morning, and by daybreak the fish are drifting unconscious on the surface. Any prevented by the coral from coming to the surface are speared.

A similar method, called *tuvu*, is used on Fulanga. The bark of the *tuvu* is cut into pieces and pounded on a stone with a beating stick. Then the bark is ripped into strips, which are tied in small bundles and taken by canoe to the reef. The girls dive around the coral formations and, if many fish are detected, the basket containing the bundles is lowered into the water. The wet bark is beaten again so that the sap oozes readily. Each girl takes a bundle, dives, places it between the rocks until all the main holes and narrow passages contain the poison. The fish which rise to the surface are picked by hand or speared. On Fulanga this method of fish stupifying is usually used by a household, sometimes by a village.

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Tuva ni nikini. On Kambara the roots of the *tuva ni nikini* (New Guinea *tuva*) are taken by men, women, or children to the reef. The people dive near the reef to chase the fish into the cavities of the coral formation. Then someone, usually a girl but never a man, puts on protecting glasses, dives, and circles the rock to see whether or not the fish have fled into the holes. After the root is beaten into dust with a piece of hard wood about 30 to 40 cm. long and 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, women dive with handfuls of the powder and squeeze them under water. After about 15 minutes the fish come to the surface, apparently dead or stupified, but most fish caught this way die after about five minutes of play. Heavy, strong fish are hit on the head with a stick or with the back of a cane knife. 226 278

On Fulanga the powdered root is placed in a medicine bag made of coconut reticulum and taken to the reef. If the fisherwomen see fish, the bag is taken into the water and squeezed between the rocks. The method is used only during the day.

Tuva kalou. On Namuka, *tuva kalou* fruit is steamed in the earth oven, then put into a basket which is placed in the hull of a canoe partly filled with water. The basket is pressed against the hull or worked with sticks so that the fruit juice mixes with the water. When three or four bailers of this mixture are poured around a rock formation, it sinks slowly and is worked into the caves by the current. When the drugged fish appear on the surface they are caught by hand or stabbed, then put into baskets.

Sosolo or soli. *Soli*, a black slug about 30 cm. long and 4 to 5 cm. in diameter, which is found in masses near Namuka, is used for stupifying fish. The slugs are put into a basket, covered with sand, and trampled so that the juice and the odor of the slugs are absorbed by the sand. The basket is tied to a string and let down from a canoe into the water of the lagoon. It is said that the odor and the slight change in the color of the water attract and stun the fish causing them to rise to the surface in two or three minutes. They are gathered by hand. The same basket of slugs may be used several times.

Soto. On Mothe *soto* leaves are crushed with a cane knife or shell. During the night, at low tide when the water is calm, the leaves are placed in coral holes to stun the fish.

FISH TRAPPING

Toni kana. The fish trap (*ndai ni ika*) used in the *toni kana* method, is a circular basket, up to 1 fathom in diameter and up to 40 cm. deep. The fish enter a funnel-shaped entrance on top. Usually the trap is set by a diver who preferably puts it onto a smooth place. A sea slug or a large crab, which has been opened to cause a stronger odor, serves as bait and is tied with a string either to the trap or to stone weights inside the trap. Occasionally the trap is hooked to a stick, tied onto the end of a string and weighted with a stone. It is lowered and raised by the hook and string. 226

Va katu ku tuku. From the circumference of the round trap described above are run three strings, which are tied together from 0.5 to 1 meter above the stone-weighted trap. At the upper end of the string is tied a floating stick 1 to 2 meters long so that the trap can easily be located and pulled out of the water.

Lasia. A diver places the above described trap and puts stones around it which touch the lower edge of the trap so that the current cannot move it easily. This kind of trap setting is done most frequently in calm waters.

FISHPONDS

Of the six islands visited fishponds were used only on Mothe. This island has six fishponds which resemble horseshoes in shape, the open end bordered by the beach. The stone walls (*moka*), which are about 0.5 meter high, are made from the black basalt with which the beach is strewn. This stone is smooth and heavy, and the walls are not easily destroyed by the surf. High tide brings the fish over the walls, where they are speared or gathered.

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226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [483] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa,* is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo,* while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

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TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe*, to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

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825 section are poisonous while those from the surrounding waters are not, but some believe that during the storm poisonous seaweed was carried through the passage situated opposite the poisoned section and now grows there. Patches near the islands of Komo and Mothe have also been poisoned since the 1929 hurricane.

Hunting

Pigs

224 Though wild pigs are no longer found on Lau, some old people have participated in pig hunting. Moto of Undu describes it as follows:

> Many young men went with spears through the jungle, sometimes with a dog. We encircled a large coral pocket and placed men with spears at the exits. Other men went down into the pocket. The pigs ran from the exits and were speared. Often the injured pigs ran back into the pockets or to other exits until they were killed by another spear or died of loss of blood. The legs of the dead pigs were tied together and two men carried them home on a stick across their shoulders. The pigs belonged to all the hunters and after the hunt a feast was held.

Goats

There are wild goats on the uninhabited island of Aiwa and a few on Kambara. Men sailing by canoe between southern Lau and Lakemba usually stay overnight on Aiwa and occasionally hunt goats. The goats are chased into a coral pocket, and as the animals try to pass through the exits, they are clubbed. Occasionally live goats are caught and taken home.

Wild fowl

223 The Lauans are not very successful in trapping wild pigeons. They are occasionally trapped in a basket (*wali*) in which are tied red berries for bait. But I have seen the trap placed in a red berry bush where the birds can have all the berries they want without entering the trap.

There are wild chickens on Kambara, Fulanga, Wangava, and Namuka which closely resemble the domestic chickens. Wangava and Kambara have many. Traps are occasionally set for them in the jungle. A chicken trap (*ndau ni toa*) is a pyramid-shaped, four-sided frame of any kind of wood faced with slats. It is open at the base and is placed on the ground with the bait inside. One side is raised and propped up with a stick just high enough so that the fowl can enter.

Wild ducks are seen on the brackish lakes of Namuka and Wangava.

Animal Husbandry

Pigs

23 Pigs (*vuaka*), which are scarce in southern Lau, are the most valued domestic animals. Pork is an esteemed food for feasts at important weddings, initiations, and funerals.

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An old informant says:

Before the time of the colonial government we had many pigs because we did not need to feed them. A fence of posts, running along the outskirts of the village from the beach to the cliff, kept the animals away from dwellings, but gave them access to the beach and the jungle where fruits, roots, insects, and greens afforded abundant food. Each household had its pigs and had a special place along the fence where it threw food to them. Often the fences were not kept in repair and animals found their way into the village and the houses. Hence the government ordered each pig owner to keep his animals in pens outside the village. Since that time pigs have had to be fed and, as food is scarce, the number has declined rapidly. 231 [417]

In December 1933, there were only 14 brood sows and one boar on Kambara. All these pigs, with the exception of one that had been brought as a farrow from Totoya, were of the razor-backed, long-legged, Polynesian breed. The animals were kept in pens about 9 meters square, with stone or wooden fences 1 to 1.5 meters high. Each sow had a single pen. In Tokalau one large pen was divided into two parts by a stone wall. The wall had a hole large enough for a farrow to slip through. Whenever the sow wanted a rest she would urge the litter into the other pen where the pigs were fed. The owner said, "Some day the farrows will be so big that they cannot return to the mother and then we shall know how big they are." [417]

The farrows stay with the sow as long as she can give them a drop of milk, often three or four months. The sow by that time has been reduced almost to a skeleton. Pigs of the same litter weigh from 20 to 40 pounds at the age of four months. If a farrow is slow in development the owner takes it home, where it is tied to a tree and given special food. Children play with it and occasionally the owner takes it for a walk. Some owners let their pigs run about after they have left the mother. They are usually kept out of the village, but there are often one or two to be seen around the earth oven and occasionally they enter the houses.

Pigs may be fed by men or women; the women usually feed them with coconut in the late forenoon. Beside each pen a husking stake (*ndoko*) is driven into the ground. In the evening a man, usually the owner, goes to the pen with a bundle of grass and leaves carried on a stick resting on his shoulder. He feeds the grass to the animals and gives them coconut meat. Most pigs are killed when they weigh 90 to 100 pounds, and are presented ceremonially to visiting chiefs or government officials.

The natives did not know the period of gestation for pigs. Their estimate of from three to five months is significant, as a farrow born only a day or two before it is due cannot live. Sows with many teats are preferred for breeding for they are considered most fertile. I did not find any pig able to suckle more than eight young ones and not one animal with a litter of more than six.

A boar is considered best between four and six years. Later he loses in potency. The only boar on Kambara was seven years old. The year before a

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231 boar in Tokalau between 10 and 15 years old had died of old age. No attention is paid to the development of the boars' tusks. I did not witness a castration nor see any castrated boars. Castration of the male is said to be performed with a bamboo knife by any man before the males are able to reproduce. However, in Tokalau and Undu there were several young male animals about five months old chasing young females of the same litter. These males were considered able to reproduce and the females to conceive. So anxious were the natives for farrows that they gave no thought to the fact that the young females would be stunted.

On Namuka were two brown and white pigs imported from Viti Levu. They were kept in a 3 meter deep rock pen near the village. These animals were exceptionally well nourished although they were given exactly the same food as two thin Polynesian pigs in a nearby pen.

There were no pigs on Fulanga. The natives say that they have no food for them. There were, however, several pig pens of limestone.

DOMESTIC FOWL

235 Chickens (*toa*) are found on all islands. No special breed seems to prevail, but I saw no white ones. A chicken is believed to lay about 30 eggs a year on Kambara. Chickens usually lay in one corner of the dwelling house. When a hen has about eight eggs she sits on them until they hatch. The chicks are either left to run about freely or are put into a coop.

Many people on Kambara gave the chicks attention during the first and second weeks and few were lost, but after that they seemed to decrease daily until 75 percent of them disappeared. There are many rats and chicken hawks on Kambara, but natives claim that the large lizard is the greatest enemy of the baby chick. They admitted that no one had seen a lizard attack a chicken but said that neither had a hawk or a rat been seen attacking a chicken.

The head of the family usually feeds the chickens early in the morning and toward evening. He beats a coconut against a board or an old canoe to call the chickens, and they gather around him as he grates the coconut meat for them.

Chickens are cared for best on the island of Fulanga where there are more chickens than on any other island in southern Lau. On Fulanga each household has at least one chicken coop. Usually they stand in the shade of the brush near the kitchen huts at the edge of the beach except in Naivindamu, where the wind on the beach is so strong that it would harm the chickens and destroy the coops.

There are many roosters. A bird with a deep, rolling voice and a strutting walk is esteemed. Because old roosters are thought to have the most mana, young ones are seldom killed. A rooster has a wholesome influence on the

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brood and imparts his mana to the consumer. To be served an old tough 235
rooster is a sign of respect and the good will of the host. On Muanaira, a rooster said to be nine years old was thought to have much mana and was called master (*matai*). Inhabitants of the other villages on the island knew about him. The natives said that to kill such a rooster might have a bad influence on all the chickens of Fulanga.

The natives know that it takes about three weeks for baby chicks to hatch. They believe that without a rooster to fertilize a hen she cannot lay an egg. Old Mosesi of Namuka says, "A long time ago it happened that we had no rooster on Namuka, but we had eggs because the chickens mated with the ground pigeons." Asked if they had any chicks from these eggs, he said, "Yes."

When I arrived on Kambara two domesticated ducks (*nga*) were sitting on eggs under an overturned old canoe. One day the owner lamented that both birds had been sitting over three weeks and that no young ducks had arrived. A week later the owner of the ducks complained that there were still no young ducks. I found that there was no drake on the island and that these two ducks were the first birds of the kind on Kambara. They had been brought from Moala, whence they had come from Viti Levu. Natives said that they had been greatly surprised when the birds began laying, but had deduced that the ducks mated with the roosters.

In 1934 there were about 30 turkeys on Kambara. They belonged to Mosesi of Naivotavota, who said he had procured them from Viti Levu in 1929. They ran freely in the Ndelaioloi garden lands and in the jungle. They were not butchered and were steadily increasing.

I saw no bird cages, but the natives on all islands remembered that at one time or another they had kept a *kaisevou* bird, a pigeon, or a wild chicken.

DOGS AND CATS

There are two or three dogs (*koli*) on each island. The natives pay little 231
attention to them and the animals are usually forced to steal their food. They are often seen scratching around the earth oven, and boys chase them away with stones. During my visit four dogs were born in Tokalau, and the owner killed them by throwing them against a tree. Informants say that dogs were occasionally eaten on Kambara in the past.

A few cats (*pusi*) are kept as pets on each island. The children play with them and carry them around. They are not fed. I saw a wild cat on Wangava and informants claim that there are wild cats on Kambara.

TURTLES

The Kambarans catch young sea turtles, keep them in the house, and later place them in Sauvanaroa, the brackish lake on Wangava. There they grow

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and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a breeding pond for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

Gardening

New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

Garden Produce

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbawisondoi* (many branched); *vula tolu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

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manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); 241
"many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India).

Old Moto of Undu says:

Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The first known variety was *manioke ni India*. It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumea* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so. 241 177

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe recently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi*. The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender. 241

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

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24 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[25] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

24 177 Moto of Undu states:

> In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

24 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

> A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in mosa of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand bef planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

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Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing. 24

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: *kasokaso* (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), *kaumaile* (longest of all yams), *ndamuni* (on Mothe and Kambara), *matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka* (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); *uvi ni Foatuna* (yam of Futuna), *rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu*. The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau, ... The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation." Yam is the [262] staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from elsewhere brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in [262] importance as a food.

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kauai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile*, the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

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241 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: *niu wai* (water coconut) also called *niu ni Tonga* (Tongan coconut), *niu rerenga* (yellow coconut), *niu ndrau* (one *hundred coconuts*), *niu ni mangimangi* (sennit coconut); and *niu leka* (short coconut). The *niu wai* grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few *niu wai*, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. *Niu rerenga* is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the *niu rerenga* is especially white. *Niu ndrau* grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. *Niu ni mangimangi* is considerably longer than [283] any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The *niu leka* tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

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Breadfruit

245 Breadfruit (*uto*) is an important food in southern Lau. The varieties of breadfruit are: *uto ntchina* (true breadfruit, considered the best), *mira-mira, uto yalewa, mbuto,* and *mbale kana*. They differ in size of fruit, smoothness of surface, and shape of leaves.

Most breadfruit trees are found directly in or immediately around the village. On Mothe about 30 acres of breadfruit grove stretch along the foot of a hill, protected on the sea side by a good coconut grove. On Fulanga special care has been taken to grow breadfruit. In the villages, trees are planted wherever there is space. Kambara and Ongea grow little breadfruit.

Part of the breadfruit root is planted. If the planting spot is sandy and exposed to the sun, black or brown soil is brought to cover the root and protect it from the sun. In the village, a newly planted cutting is surrounded by vertical sticks or stones to protect it from chickens and pigs.

Breadfruit is picked off the trees by either men or women by means of a long, forked stick.

On Mothe and Fulanga breadfruit is second to manioc as a food staple whereas on the other islands sweet potato ranks second. Part of the breadfruit crop is fermented and stored.

[77] Moto of Undu says: "When I was a boy we had breadfruit, but my father told me they did not have it when the people of Undu lived at Thakenaloa [an old village site deserted approximately 100 years ago]."

Bananas

Varieties of bananas (*vuntchi*) are: *tchaina* (China, the natives distinguish three types of *tchaina*: long, medium, and short); *waiwai* (large and long, must be cooked a long time); *saivula* (the flesh has the same qualities as *waiwai*, but is yellow in either the ripe or unripe state); *pata* (a good banana either cooked or raw; thin fine leaves make the best cigarette paper, *saluka*); *linga ni marama* (lady finger, short and curved like a slender finger); and *puka* (grown on Namuka). Two other varieties, *vuntchi ni tangane* (boys' banana) and *sese wangga*, are said to have died out.

The *tchaina* is the most common banana, except on Ongea and Fulanga where the *papa* variety ranks first. As a rule, at least one banana tree is found at the side of each house, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. Most bananas on Kambara grow on the slopes of Ndelaioloi and behind Undu near the cliff.

Banana shoots are planted by men. In soil loosened with a stick, a hole is made with a stick, shell, or coconut cup. Formerly the quality of the shoots was determined by throwing them at the hole. If the shoot missed the hole,

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to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots 245
without testing them by this method.

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and 245
hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light 252
they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow.

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots 245
are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into 136
the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them.

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On 249
Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus.

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananigium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articu[illegible]) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villag[illegible] women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated o[illegible]es bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [157]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbatavu.

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PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers. 264

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor. 262

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth. 252 264

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground. 252

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind. [482 313]

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

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258 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

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Steaming

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252

A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick. 354

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata),* banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is

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252 occasionally mixed with the manioc just before it is made into balls. Each ball is wrapped separately in breadfruit, *valevale,* or ti leaves as follows:

If a breadfruit leaf is used, the ball is placed near the base of the leaf. The upper part of the leaf is then bent over the ball and the leaf drawn together to form a bag around the ball. The bag is tied with a strip of pandanus as follows: Loop the pandanus over the thumb of the hand which holds the bag of pudding upright, pass the pandanus back under the thumb below the ball of pudding, wind the pandanus around the ball twice, cut it with the teeth, pull the free end upward through the loop over the thumb, pull the other end down tight and close the loop. This ties the knot. Cut off the extra pandanus with the teeth. If *valevale* leaves are used to wrap the pudding, place two leaves at right angles, in the form of a cross, place ball on the intersection, draw the leaves up over the ball and tie with pandanus as described above. If ti leaves are used, place the ball on a ti leaf folded in half with tip meeting base, draw the leaf tightly around the ball to form a bag and with the teeth pull down a strand from the lower end of the midrib of the ti leaf, pass the strand around the ball twice and knot in the same way.

The bags of pudding are placed in the oven below the sweet potatoes.

Turtle, which is eaten only at a feast, is prepared on Kambara as follows:

The animal, lying on its back, is killed by a blow on the head with a stone. Then the fore and hind flippers are removed with a knife. The turtle is turned over and boiling water is poured onto the back shell. The end of a pointed, chisel-like stick is shoved under the plate closest to the neck. The plate is lifted, hot water poured into the opening, and the stick shoved deeper until the plate loosens. When all the back plates are thus removed, the turtle is placed on its back again and the belly shell is removed in one piece by first cutting around it and then cutting and lifting it off. If the turtle is being prepared for a chief, the cutting around the belly shell starts at the back, otherwise at the side. Next, by starting at the chest and working toward the rear, the meat is taken out. It is placed in a wooden food bowl, and cut into small pieces. Then comes the most important part of the preparations. The leader of the feast selects the portions to be given to each household, the quality of the meat and the size of the portion depending on rank. Cuts from the head of the turtle are for the chief. Each portion is placed in a scorched, double banana leaf, the midrib of which has been trimmed to make it pliable. The banana leaf is pleated into a bag, half a tumbler of water is added, the bag is covered with two *tiavia* leaves, and the whole is tied with a strip of leaf. Each bag is marked with a sign known only to the maker—such as a special knot, an extra leaf, or a mark on the leaf—so that it may be identified later and presented to the proper household. The bags of turtle meat are placed on the *tiavia* leaves covering the hot stones in the earth oven, the largest bag in the center. More leaves are placed over the bags, then over the whole is set the inverted lower shell of the turtle, then another layer of leaves, a layer of old coconut-leaf baskets, and finally earth. The oven is opened after three or four hours. The bones and viscera of the turtle are boiled into soup, if possible in a kerosene tin.

Pork is eaten only at a feast. It is prepared as follows:

The pig's throat is cut with a bamboo knife and the blood allowed to flow freely. The pig is then slung, back down, on a pole and singed over the fire. Next the entrails are removed through a slit in the belly, which is later filled with hot stones wrapped in leaves. The pig is then ready for the oven. If yams are used they are cut in pieces and placed next to the hot stones. The pig is placed, legs down, on top of the yams or other garden produce. The whole is covered with hibiscus leaves and finally with earth. Pigs to be eaten immediately are steamed for about four hours. Pigs to be distributed and taken home are steamed a shorter time. Before being eaten they are cut into pieces and boiled.

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Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [739]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

> Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

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252 *ika vakalolo* is made by boiling fish in coconut cream to which a few small red peppers (*roketc*) have been added.

During the breadfruit season the main meal on Fulanga consists of breadfruit, peeled, cut into pieces, and stewed with shellfish in coconut cream.

In the papaya season a dish called *sepo* is prepared. Peeled, slightly green papayas are boiled in water until soft and grated manioc and grated coconut are added just before serving.

Stone Boiling

I saw the technique of boiling with hot stones used only once in Lau. The method was used at Naivindamu, Fulanga, in the preparation of *nggalu sua*, a pudding of *yambia*, for a wedding feast. *Yambia* is a slightly poisonous tuber, formerly a staple food in Lau. The poison is extracted as follows:

Yambia roots are washed and then grated on sticks wound with sennit. A hoop-shaped stick is sewn to the mouth of a gunny sack. The sack is filled with a mixture of grated *yambia* and water and hung from a wooden tripod over a wooden bowl. The strained liquid, caught in a bowl, is allowed to settle. When the starch has settled at the bottom of the bowl the liquid is poured off, more water is added, allowed to settle and again poured off. The starch is then dried in the sun. If not used immediately it is put into bags of coconut reticulum, again dried in the sun, and finally stored.

The *nggalu sua* was cooked as follows:

About 50 basalt earth-oven stones were heated in an open fire. A large wooden bowl or trough, 2 meters long and 30 cm. deep, was one third filled with *yambia* starch. The bowl was placed near the fire and made secure by placing a log crosswise under one end and driving two stakes into the ground, one on each side and touching the other end of the bowl. The stakes were tied tightly together over the top of the bowl with a tough vine. Fresh water was added to the starch and thoroughly mixed by hand. Then one stone from the fire was dropped into the mixture to test it. Coated with starch, it was shown to the leader of the feast, who decided whether or not more water should be added to the mixture. Then, one by one, all the hot stones were dropped into the bowl while the mixture was stirred vigorously by two boys, each with a straight branch of *moli*, about 2 meters long, from the lower end of which the bark had been removed. The hot stones were taken from the fire with a half coconut shell and a stick, or with a discarded *i yali* (the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf shaped into a sort of paddle), from which a wedge shaped piece had been removed to form tongs. The mixture boiled and thickened into a gelatinous, amber-colored mass. Two boys, dipping their hands frequently into salt water in a bowl to moisten and cool them, removed the stones, one by one, and closed air holes in the mass. The salt water slightly darkened the color of the starch. Finally small handfuls were wrapped together with *ti lolo* (pudding sauce sweetened with ti) in banana leaves, which had been made flexible by shaving the back of the midrib. They were then ready for distribution with the feast.

Sweet Puddings

Sweet puddings (*nggalu*), which accompany every feast, are made with or without a sauce. Sweet sauce is added to puddings made of manioc, breadfruit, taro, or *yambia*. Puddings with a sauce are often served and eaten as soon as they are made, before the earth ovens have been opened and the feast

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distributed. The sauce is sweetened with sugar cane, ti, or imported sugar. Stalks of sugar cane are ground on a sharp piece of coral called *i thoronga* and strained with a hibiscus strainer. The juice is placed in a large pot and stirred over the fire with a paddle-shaped stick called *i yali*, made for the occasion out of the lower end of a coconut-leaf midrib. The resulting caramel mixture is called *salasalaki*. Coconut cream (*lolo*) is added slowly to the *salasalaki* and the whole is boiled. The sauce is called *loloriri*. 252 [412]

To make manioc pudding (*mavu*) roots of the poisonous varieties are first made into *tapioke solo* (p. 153). Roots of nonpoisonous varieties are scraped and boiled. The cooked manioc is placed in a long oblong wooden bowl. Two boys, one sitting at each end of the bowl, hold it between their legs, while two young men, one standing on each side of the bowl, pound the mass with pounders (*i mbutu ni nggalu*) made from the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf. The pounding is done rapidly and in rhythm, first one lifting and lowering his pounder and then the other. Every three or four minutes fresh men replace the pair who are pounding. The two holding the bowl are replaced less frequently. The pounding continues for about 20 minutes. An older man then sprinkles some sauce over the mass and mixes it by hand. Then he takes some of the pudding in each hand and squeezes each handful quickly into three balls (*nggelena* or *nggele ni nggalu*), which fall into one corner of the bowl. When he has about 15 balls he sprinkles some sauce on a scorched, folded banana leaf (on which the midrib has been trimmed), places the balls on the leaf, and adds more sauce. Another man pleats the leaf into a bag and ties it. A bag of pudding is called *i thovo nggalu*. *Mavu* is also made of roasted breadfruit or of boiled or steamed taro.

Puddings without sauce are made of manioc, sweet potato, Tahitian chestnut, banana, taro, and *yambia*. Some pudding recipes follow:

Malimali. Peeled ripe bananas are pounded by hand in a wooden bowl. Dry *yambia* starch and the milk of green coconuts is added. The mass is mixed and divided into portions, each portion is wrapped in a scorched banana leaf, then in breadfruit or ti leaves and steamed.

Vakalolo vunitchi (banana pudding). Coconut cream is added to peeled, ripe, pounded bananas. The mixture is divided into portions, which are wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

Vovo. Green bananas are boiled, peeled, and pounded. Grated coconut is added and the pudding is ready to eat.

Tololo. A mixture is prepared as for *tapioke solo*. Before steaming, coconut cream and grated coconut are added.

Tahitian chestnut pudding. Grated Tahitian chestnuts, grated coconut, and coconut cream are mixed and divided into portions which are wrapped in ti leaves and steamed.

Preserving

Fermented food (*mandrai*) is especially important on Fulanga, where any surplus of food is preserved for times of scarcity. Manioc imported from 251

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251 Mothe, Namuka, or Komo to Fulanga is made into *mandrai*. The two methods of fermenting are soaking in salt water and burying in the ground. The salt water method, used mainly by the men, serves to preserve food for a short time. Baskets of manioc are fastened to stakes in a sheltered spot in the lagoon. When needed the roots are scraped, pounded, mixed with grated coconut, made into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and either steamed or boiled (pl. 2, *B*). *Mandrai* is also made in pits of brackish water. One such pit, called Neikathi, is located at Nggaralevu, south of Undu on Kambara. The pit is about 10 meters deep and the water is reached by means of a wooden ladder. The pit was formerly also used for soaking *wangiri* nuts.

Food may be preserved for a year or more by the burial method described as follows:

A hole (called *alua ni mandrai*), about 1 meter deep and 2 meters in diameter, is dug in the ground. It is lined with three thicknesses of freshly made *mbola*, coconut leaves split from the midrib and plaited. The freshly plaited coconut leaves are placed with split midribs toward the rim of the hole, the leaves radiating toward the center. The first row extends about 30 cm. outside the rim of the hole. Above the plaited coconut leaves is a layer of banana leaves, which have been dried in the sun and from which the inner side of the midrib has been stripped. The food to be preserved is placed on the banana leaves. Such a pit holds about 100 pounds of scraped manioc. Over the food is placed another layer of banana and another of plaited coconut leaves. The whole is weighed down with heavy stones.

Breadfruit and banana are also fermented in this fashion. If preserved food is kept for some time in a *mandrai* pit, the banana and coconut-leaf lining must be changed frequently. One pit is used repeatedly.

Preparation of Bush Food

252 *Wangiri*, the chief food of olden times, is said to have been prepared as follows:

The *wangiri* nuts were first roasted on a bed of coals in order to crack the shells. Next they were soaked in brackish water for at least "four nights." Finally, they were either boiled in pots or steamed in an earth oven. For a hurried meal the nuts were roasted.

Roots of the *yaka (Pueraria thunbergiana)* were steamed in the earth oven or roasted.

The fruit of the *tarai* were strung together on a stick and steamed in the earth oven, then the skin was removed. The *tarai* was also boiled or eaten raw.

The *mbawaki*, *yaumitha*, and *nggalaka* fruit were also steamed. The *yaumitha* was first wrapped in breadfruit or *vanua* leaves. It was also roasted.

Tree grubs (*yavatou*) were wrapped in *vanua* or *vavale* leaves and steamed or boiled. They were frequently eaten raw.

The preparation of greens is described on page 155.

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MEN'S CRAFTS

HOUSE BUILDING

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) 342
used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished.

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site 342
is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials 465
consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, 463
in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food.

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best [335]
share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering.

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in 342
Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built.

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

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342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

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down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or
313 make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To
[431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the
283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task
[555] takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-
[272] leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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chief of crops. When the feast is ready the carpenter is notified and work is suspended. The workers eat the feast at the house site immediately, and, if the feast is a large one, each man takes the remainder of his share home to his family in the evening. After the feast, the work continues until dark. 342

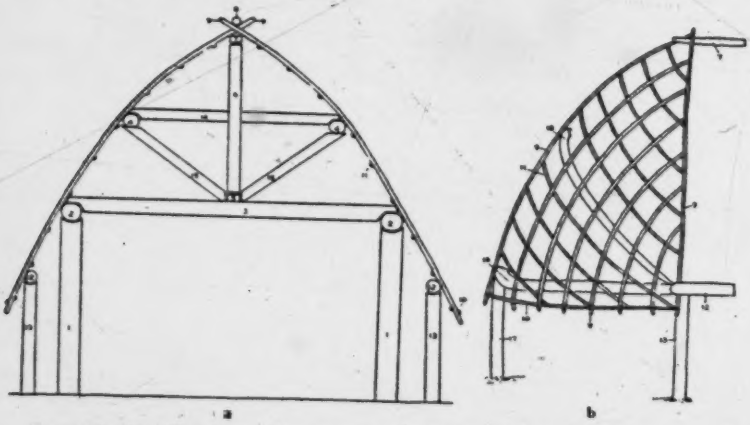

FIGURE 5.—Dwelling house, Tongan type. **a**, middle section, end view: 1, supporting post; 2, tie beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, roof plate; 5, median plate; 6, king post; 7, main ridgepole; 8, upper ridgepole; 9, rafter; 10, suspended purlin; 11, purlin; 12, straight wall plate; 13, wall post; 14, collar beam; 15, diagonal strut. **b**, end section: 16, curved wall plate; 17, end wall post; 18, curved roof plate.

Middle section. On the first day of the actual house building the main framework of the house (pl. 4, *B*; fig. 5, *a*) is erected as follows: First, the supporting posts (*ndurulelevu*) are sunk. There are usually four of these, but very large houses have six or eight. The supporting posts are logs of greenheart, smoothed and rounded. Holes for the posts are dug by loosening the soil with a digging stick and removing it with a coconut cup (*mbilo*) attached to a stick. Coconut-leaf baskets are used to clear away the soil. The posts are sunk so that one third of the length of the post will be buried when the house mound has been built up and the house is finished. Posts for a medium-sized house are 6 meters long; 2 meters below and 4 above the floor of the house. Next, the two tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) of rounded greenheart beams are lifted up with forked sticks and placed on the supporting posts. The tie beam plates rest in sockets prepared for them. The tie beams (*i thoka*), also rounded greenheart beams, are raised in the same way and placed across the tie beam plates. The tie beams are carefully straightened (*vakandondonu*) and fitted to the tie beam plates. A house with four supporting posts usually has three or four tie beams. Larger houses have six or

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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates
284 where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median
552 plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than
[177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

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sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows: 342

First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans. [804]

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates. [804]

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yazu*) is built by the men of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 342 332 342 333

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342 333 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised [482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ozuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of [324] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

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and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths. 342.

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm. [294]

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy. [524]

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. [356]

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342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusivi vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandrazu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sezua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

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373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevutevu* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by [554] ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

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part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

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342 as in the *vale vaka Tonga*). Second, a bundle of three or four pliable rods of *ndongo* or *masamasa* is used in place of the curved wall plate; and the curved roof plate and occasionally the curved purlins are absent. Third, the roof of the rounded end is supported by curved parallel purlins and parallel rafters composed of rough laths like those used in kitchen huts today. Fourth, the thatch is of plaited coconut leaves, not of pandanus; and fifth the house is not raised on a mound. There are three doorways, one at the lower end and one on each side of the house.

High rectangular houses

Old informants say that formerly very high, rectangular houses, called *vale vaka ndawandawa,* were found in Lau. The four supporting posts of such a house, belonging to the chief of Fulanga, are still standing on a mound in Muanaithake village. They are about 8 meters high.

Low rectangular houses

Native agree that the houses of olden times were usually small houses with rectangular ground plan, built on a low foundation mound surrounded by a ring of stones. The mound was not much larger than the ground plan of the house.

MEN'S HOUSES

A house, inhabited temporarily or permanently by men only, is called *mbure* or *mbure ni sa.* Usually each clan has a men's house. Any convenient dwelling house is used, but some villages build permanent men's houses. They do not differ in construction from ordinary dwelling houses.

KITCHEN HUTS

343 The kitchen hut (*vale ni kuro*) is small (about 2 by 3 meters) and not so well built as the dwelling house. It is built like the *vale loiova kathukathu* or like a *vale vaka Tonga* and thatched with coconut leaves. Frequently it consists of a thatched gable roof without walls. The hearth occupies one end of the kitchen. Pots, wooden food bowls, strainers, and graters, as well as tapa board and beaters, are kept in the kitchen.

OVEN SHELTERS

The earth oven shelter (*riri* or *vale ni lovo*) is, as a rule, a thatched, gabled roof without walls. The ridgepole and the two wall plates are supported by forked stakes. Any suitable wood is used. Rough laths of *sitchi* tied with vines, such as *yaumitha* or *tuva,* join the ridgepole and the wall plates. The simple framework is thatched with plaited coconut leaves, tied with vines to the rafters. Some earth oven shelters are simple thatched lean-tos.

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GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. 343
The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter 284
high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quar- 343
ters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves.

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process [504]
of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes.

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built 343
with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, 235
and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched

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343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

233 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boil-
[824] ing a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

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The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A*, *B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

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396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

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A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198 787]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would,

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502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu,* called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau,*
313 or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
[824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close
483 to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out
[412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

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Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon.

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The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it.

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When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes,

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396 which are lashed in the same way. Before proceeding to the third pair of holes the sennit is looped backward and knotted through the sennit carried 284 from the first hole. The holes are calked with coconut fiber plugged in with [401] a wooden wedge and hammer.

Head- and stern-boards (*mua levu* and *mua lailai*) are hewn from solid 396 *mbau vuntchi*. They are fitted over the entire fore-and-aft parts of the hull and are lashed to it in the same way as the washstrakes. The head-board of large canoes is decorated with simple ornamental carving (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).

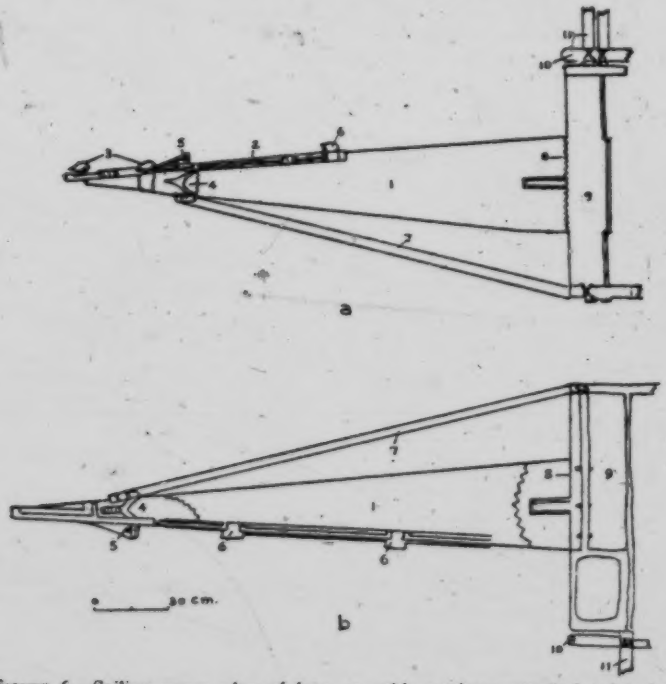

FIGURE 6.—Sailing canoe, plan of bow. **a**, with outrigger attached to starboard; **b**, with outrigger attached to port: 1, head-board; 2, ornamental carving; 3, cowry shells; 4, yard socket; 5, stay hole; 6, guard projections covering horizontal leads; 7, diagonal strut connecting head of hull with lee corner of deck platform; 8, breakwater; 9, deck; 10, stringer; 11, outrigger boom.

Outrigger attachment. The weight, size, and attachment of the float (*thama*) is of utmost importance, for the chief problem in rough weather sailing is to maintain the balance and prevent the float from sinking. The outrigger is attached to the port side of the canoe except in canoes built by

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the *lemaki* carpenters, who attach it to the starboard side. The float consists of a rounded log of light wood with flattened upper surface and pointed ends. It is little more than half the length of the canoe and is attached indirectly to it by means of over-crossed stick connectives (*vatoto*). On Kambara breadfruit wood is preferred for the float, on Ongea *ngandoa* is used. 396

The booms (*i kaso*) of breadfruit wood, run athwart the canoe from the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger toward the float. They rest in squared sockets cut out of the upper edge of the washstrakes and are tied with sennit to the washstrakes through two holes drilled in the washstrakes below each socket. The holes are usually drilled on the same horizontal plane, along one line of the grain. On a few canoes they are on different planes and therefore stronger, for the wood of the washstrake is less likely to split. The three primary booms, longer and thicker than the secondary booms, are placed at each end and in the middle of the washstrakes. They extend a few centimeters beyond the float and are indirectly connected with it. The secondary booms, placed between the primary booms, extend to the outermost stringer and are not connected with the float. The number of secondary booms varies according to the size and strength of the canoe (fig. 7).

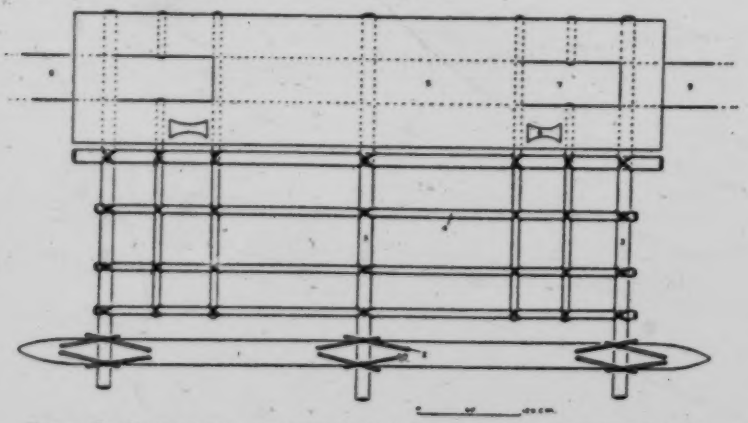

FIGURE 7.—Sailing canoe, outrigger plan: 1, float; 2, stick connective; 3, outrigger boom; 4, stringer; 5, deck; 6, hole for scull; 7, hatch; 8, head-board; 9, stern-board.

The float is attached to the three primary booms by means of six pairs of overcrossed stick connectives, two pairs to each boom. The pointed lower ends of the connectives are hammered into the float. The upper ends are crossed over the booms and lashed together in pairs. To reinforce the attachment on large, well-built canoes secondary stick connectives (*lengge*) run from the float below each primary boom to the outermost stringer.

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396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
[177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than
283] the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

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The head and foot[1]
are tied to two spars, the yard (*vu*, forefather) and the boom (*alewa*, woman). 396
At the tack of the sail the yard is stepped in a socket (*tutu ni vu*) on either [831]
the head or the stern board, and the forked end of the boom is fitted to the yard. The attachments *vu* and *alewa* are phallic symbols.

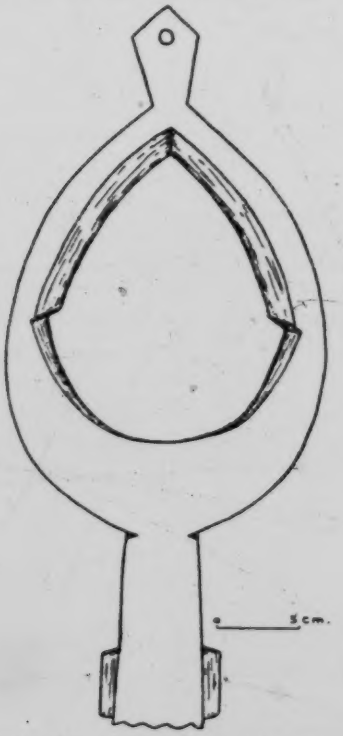

FIGURE 8.—Sailing canoe mast truck from Fulanga.

One or two halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are tied to the yard at a point about two thirds of the distance from tack to peak, and the sheet (*sila*) is attached to the boom at a corresponding point two thirds of the distance from tack to inside of timberlake.

To raise the sail the halyards are drawn over or through the mast-prong or the aperture in the masthead and made fast to a cleat at the foot of the mast. The sheet is twisted around an inner stringer and held by one of the crew. If the wind is fair and constant it may be tied to a stringer. Furling the sail is shown in plate 5, *A*.

[1] [of the sail.—Analyst]

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396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, 620 the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa* 765] *ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

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lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau ana ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

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501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
[354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *evuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
[622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
[731] *tembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

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ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

Woodwork

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son. 415 322 [428 413]

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: **a**, *tanoa ntchina;* **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); **c**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

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clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

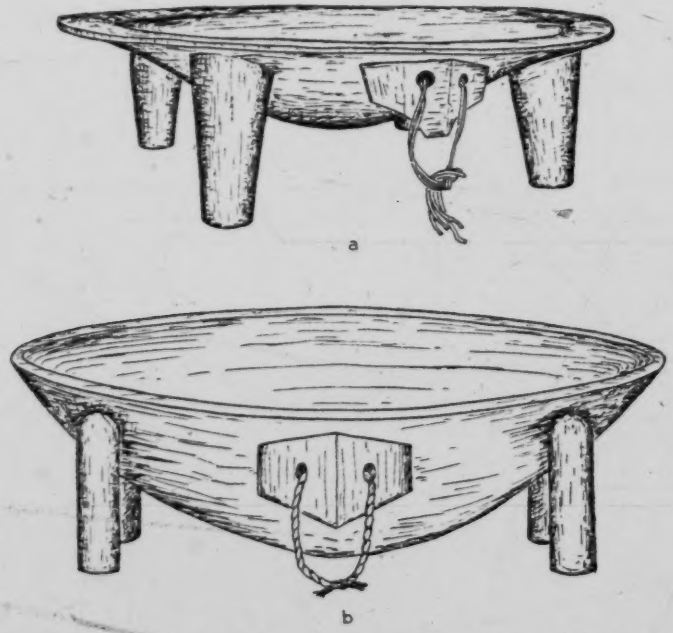

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: **a**, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

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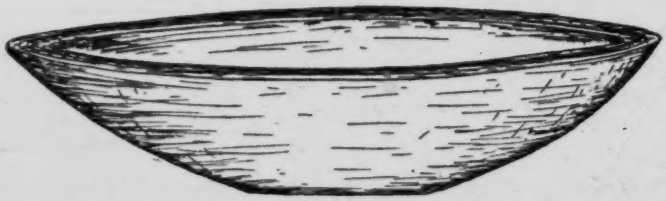
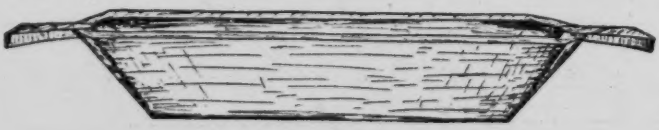


FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau. [177]



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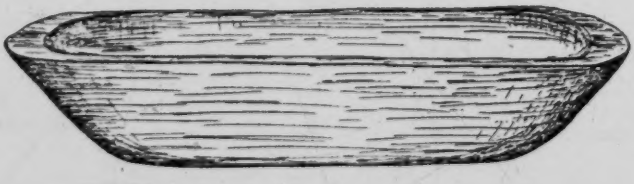

b

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: a, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; b, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

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415 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the
322 corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

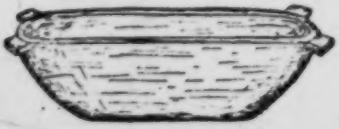

FIGURE 13.—Wooden tub, *i vokatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanai-
322 thake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

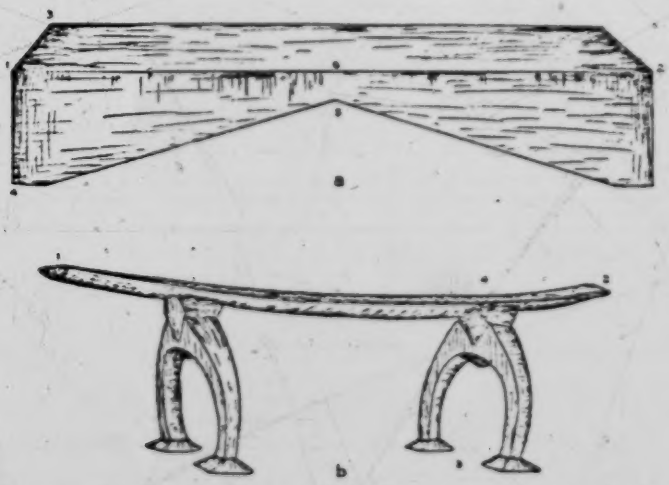

FIGURE 14.—Headrests: a, *tehiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

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and a head piece—fitted together and tied with sennit. Usually this type of headrest is carefully made and highly polished. The natives say that formerly headrests of similar shape were made in one piece and called *sauthoko*. 352 322

The *hahapo* is a Tongan type of headrest (*fafapo* in Tonga) made of a single piece of *mbau* wood (fig. 15 *a*, *b*). It is distinguished by its fine long curves and delicate structure.

Roughly finished blocks of wood (*tehiki* or *tekiteki*) are frequently used as headrests (fig. 14, *a*).

A section of bamboo, about 35 cm. long, with two legs of greenheart attached by means of sennit, is called *kali nduvu*. This type of headrest is imported from Viti Levu, inasmuch as large bamboo does not grow in southern Lau.

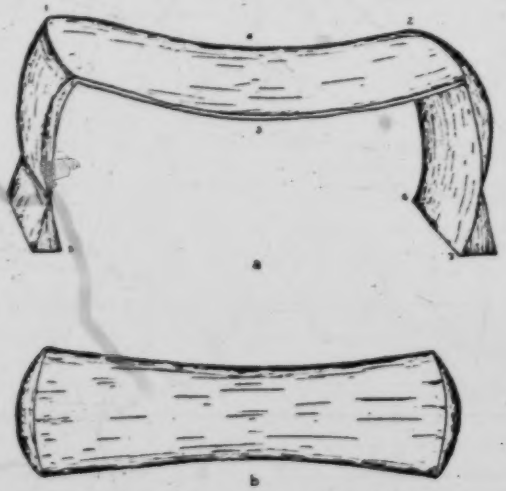

FIGURE 15.—Headrest, *hahapo* type. **a**, side view, 1-2, 30 cm.; 1-3, 9.5 cm.; 3-5, 12.5 cm.; 6-7, 10.5 cm.; 3-4, 7 cm. **b**, view from above.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

An important and very specialized craft in southern Lau is the making of large wooden slit-gongs (*lali*). They are made of a boat-shaped section of greenheart, hollowed out and with an open slot on one side. They are struck on the outside with a pair of wooden beaters. Slit-gongs are made and played in pairs, one large and one small. Two or more pairs are placed at intervals in the village. They are played by youths or men to mark village activities. Each ceremony—such as a funeral procession, the lifting of the 322 534

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322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

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287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 561 [438] Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

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long strip of bark, about 7 cm. wide is then rolled (*vakaveveu*) into a coil (*vakavivi*) inside out. The inner bark (*vanggangga*) is peeled from the outer bark (*kulina*) by separating the two at the lower end with a shell or knife and carefully pulling and cutting them apart, a process called *vothi*. The inner bark is then placed on a piece of bamboo and scraped (*kari*) with a *mulo* shell in order to clean and whiten it. The strips of bark are dried for about a day in the sun, a process called *singani*. In this dried state they may be kept indefinitely, but they keep best if wrapped in *mbekambeka* mats. They are stored on the beams of dwelling houses. 287

The next step is to beat out the bark, a process called *samusamu*. The dried inner bark is soaked (*toni*) in salt water for a day or it is rolled and soaked in fresh water in a wooden bowl (*kumete vakalofau*). It is then called *vue*. The *vue* is taken to a kitchen hut and beaten on a tapa board (*ndundua*) with a tapa mallet (*ike*). The tapa boards on Namuka are composed of *mbolavatu* or *mbuambua* wood; those on Mothe are composed of *tavola, mbuambua,* and *ndawa* wood obtained locally, and of *tavo* or *mbolavatu* wood imported from Fulanga, Ongea, Yangasa, or Namuka. On Kambara the tapa boards are of *yake*. The four-sided mallet of *thau* wood varies in size but not in shape. Two or three sides are incised with four or five deep grooves, the others left smooth. (Tapa board and beater are made in Lau by men.) The bark is beaten with the grooved sides first, then with the smooth side to eradicate watermarks. During the beating process the width of the bark increases to from 60 cm. to 1 meter. The strips are hung in the house to dry or spread out in the sun, the edges weighted with pebbles. The dry strips (*siku*) are now ready to be made into one of the following types of barkcloth: *i sala, masi tutuki, masi kuvui, masi vakarerenga,* or Fijian sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Vitchi*). 287 413

I sala is made of a single strip of one thickness, beaten out thin. The edges are usually cut into a fringe (*tatavu*). This type of tapa is the natural cream color of the inner bark. *I sala* is often soaked in coconut oil before being used. It is worn on ceremonial occasions and was formerly used for turbans worn by chiefs. 287

Masi kuvui (smoked tapa) is made of two strips fitted together into one thickness. It is folded and soaked in coconut oil in a wooden bowl. A wooden tripod is erected over a fire of green sugar-cane and ti leaves. Several pieces of oiled *masi* are placed on the tripod, covered with mats, and smoked to a golden brown color. *Masi kuvui* is occasionally worn at ceremonies.

Masi vakarerenga is made of a strip of *masi* soaked in oil mixed with powdered mangrove root and dried indoors. The resulting burnt orange tapa is used on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, as a covering for the body or as streamers for wreaths.

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287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

(1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandou* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The [824] inner bark of the *kesuvui* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandou* is used.

Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also [438] produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

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from small basins, one for every four or five women, and patted. The long damp piece was then shifted and the whole process repeated several times. The resulting sheet is called *katundrau*. 287

Two joined pieces are called *vesiku*. The next day the *katundrau* was spread on the village ceremonial ground to dry in the sun.

The design for Fijian sheet tapa is a formalized pattern made partly by stencil and partly by rubbing on tablets (p. 199). The surface of the sheet 287 531

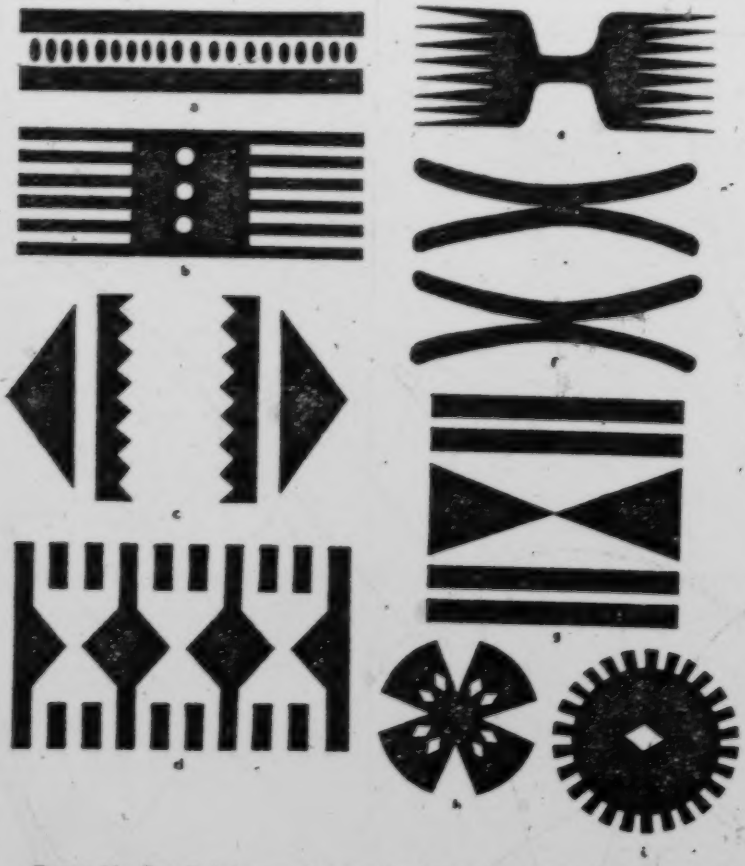

FIGURE 16.—Stencil designs used on tapa: a, *i tranggani* (cut from pandanus leaf); b, *vaka toitchi* (banana leaf); c, *vetau* (pandanus leaf); d, e, *i seru* (banana leaf); f, *ndraundrau nggivi* (banana leaf); g, *vetau nggangga* (banana leaf); h, i, *vutu* (*vutu* leaf).

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287 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along
531 one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth,
531 which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration.
[439] They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

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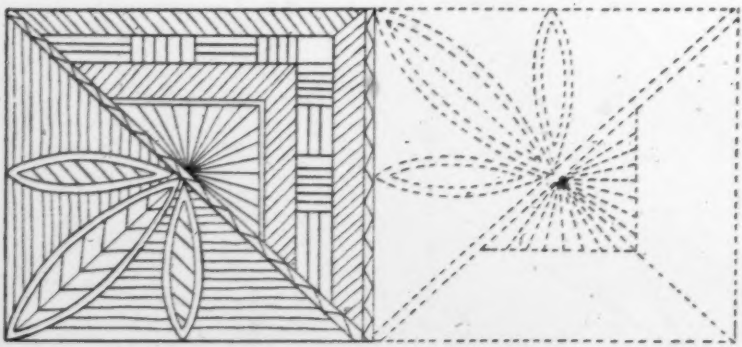

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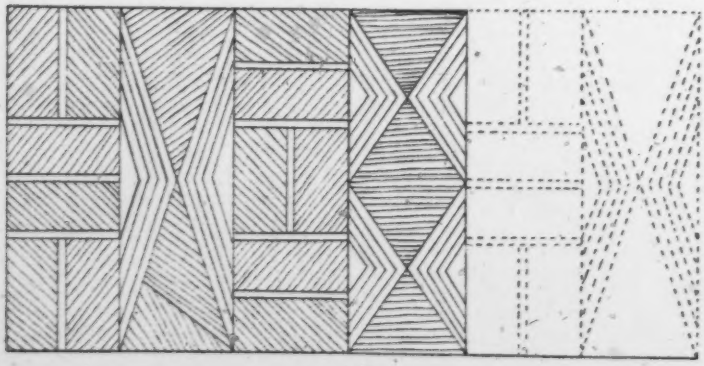

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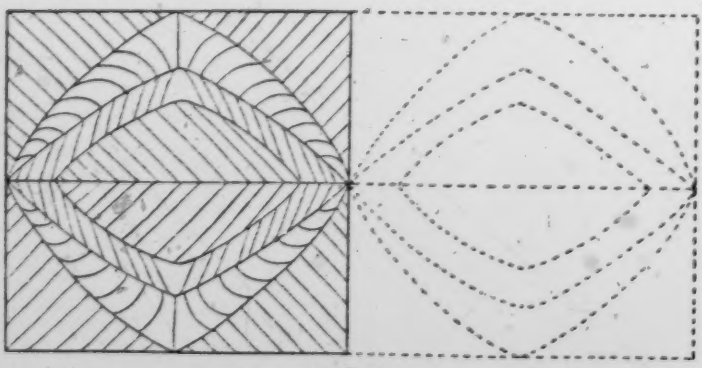

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FIGURE 17.—Tablet (*kupetchi*) designs used to make rubbings on tapa: a, twisted cord sewn with pandanus strips on banana leaf background, 50 cm. long, 23 cm. wide; b, c, midrib of coconut leaflet tied with hibiscus strip onto pandanus leaf, 48 cm. long, 24 cm. wide.

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287 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of
531 Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakataututu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

Mats

PANDANUS-LEAF MATS

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakavevu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.

Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.

The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. [554] The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

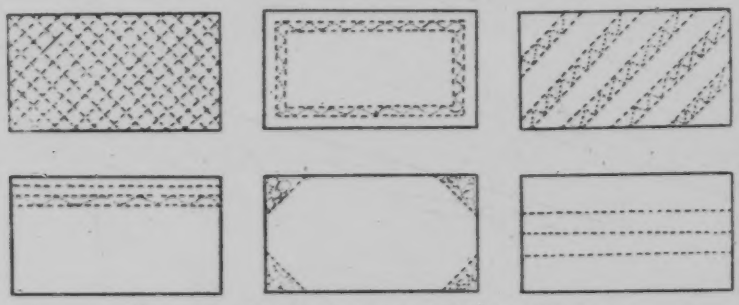

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was
[231] formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Flowers

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

Fruit

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

Bark

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

Leaves

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

Roots

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni iavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by [832] *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

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Netting and Rope

FISHLINES

The process of making fishlines was witnessed only on the island of Fulanga. Fishlines are made only by women in Lau, but men occasionally help to procure from the bush *ronga* bark, from which the lines are made. The bark is stripped from the *ronga* branches in pieces from 2 to 3 meters long and rolled into coils (*pupu*), a process called *thimbini*. The next day the coils are unrolled and the outer bark is stripped off, a process called *kulina*. 283

Figure 19.—Fishline technique. First step in rolling shreds of *ronga* bark into two-ply twist: two strands of two shreds each are held, one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that thumb separates strands.

The inner bark (*lewe ni kulina*) is sunned for several days until it is dry and white, a process called *singani*, and then it is hung indoors until needed. Before shredding the inner bark it is placed in the lagoon and scraped with a *kuku* shell, a process called *kalui*. It is dried in the sun again and then softened and scraped into shreds with a *ndamba* shell. To roll the shred into a two-ply twist, a woman proceeds as follows:

She sits with knees straight and legs crossed left over right in front of her. She places a bundle of shreds in her lap, then takes two strands of two shreds each and holds one end of each strand between thrumb and first finger of the left hand, so that the thumb separates the strands (fig. 19). With the right hand she rolls each strand into a ply on the bare calf of her left leg. One movement away from the body usually suffices. With her right hand, she separates the two plies from her left thumb to the ends. Then she rolls the two plies on her calf into a two-ply twisted cord, with one movement away from her body and another toward it. This completes about 7 cm. of cord. She separates the two plies at the unfinished end of the line and repeats the process until one ply becomes short and thin. Then she adds another shred of bark from the pile in her lap by placing it beside the weak ply and holding the two between thumb and first finger. With her right hand she pulls the new shred toward the unfinished end of the cord until she holds it with her thumb about 3 cm. below the upper end. She turns this upper end down along the second ply (which has not been reinforced) and proceeds. [516]

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283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISH NETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thana* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

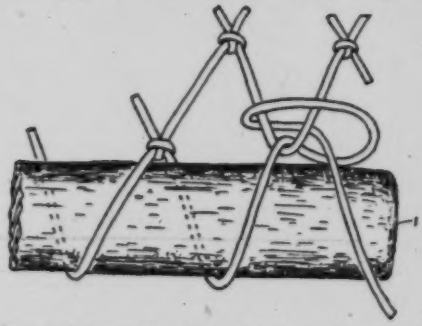

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
[824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreuw*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the pay-
651 ment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

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Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

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Kambara

437 For example, at a recent *solevu* between Muanaithake and Komo (pp. 73-74), held at Fulanga, besides the property for the *solevu*, each Komo man brought property to barter (*vakasombu*) with his Fulangan relatives. He simply placed the gift (*vakasombu*) in the relative's house, saying, "This is your so and so." Later the recipient asked what was wanted as a return gift (*i tala*) and he tried to outdo the other in the quantity and quality of the gift.

One Komo man gave his Fulangan relative as *vakasombu* two baskets of manioc, one basket of bananas, and one basket of breadfruit. The Fulangan man gave as the return gifts four mats, two wooden bowls, and three chickens. The Fulangan man won. Those carrying goods to another island initiate the exchange and usually return with more than they have given.

Interisland Trade

Native Trade Goods

Kambara

438 The chief exports of Kambara are large canoes, wooden bowls (especially kava bowls), mats, some Tongan barkcloth (the foregoing are distributed all over Lau and in Fiji proper), timber for house posts and digging sticks distributed to the volcanic islands, and coconut oil and *vetau* bark for hair dye. The chief imports of the island are tobacco, kava, and food (including yams, sweet yams, taro, and breadfruit) from the volcanic islands and Namuka, basaltic stones from the volcanic islands, barkcloth from Namuka, bamboo and *walaki* baskets from Fiji proper, and perfumes for oil from Lau and Viti Levu. Kambara gets from Wangava turtles, garden produce, and shellfish.

Namuka

The most important export of Namuka is Tongan barkcloth. Most of it is traded to Lakemba in exchange for yams and taro; some is traded to Kambara for mats, kava and food bowls, and occasionally for a small canoe for use within the reef; a small amount finds its way to all the southern Lau islands except Ono (which produces sufficient Tongan barkcloth to supply her own demands). Namuka also exports gongs, which go to Lakemba, Suva, and Kambara and small canoes for lagoon use. Last year seven canoes were sent from Namuka to Lakemba, Matuku, and Moala. Manioc, breadfruit, yams, and bananas are traded to Fulanga and Ongea in return for mats and bowls; yams to Kambara in return for mats and bowls; to Komo and Mothe in return for food; sweet potatoes and watermelons (known as the best in Lau) to Lakemba.

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Kambara

Mothe

Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, *sikethi* for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara. 438

Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra. 439

TRADERS

Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders (p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of 438

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Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The
487 main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occa-
505 sionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tural streams first from the west and later from the east, which moulded the culture of eastern Fiji. Finally Kambara's lack of fertile land and lack of outside contact limited this culture to simple, analytical form. 105

The historic division of Lauan society is clear on Kambara and practically nowhere else in the group. Here is found the answer to Hocart's "dual organization" problem. He states (15, p. 232), "The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached." What appeared on Lakemba as a dual organization is really the opposition of the chief group to the land group on the basis of rank. This two-fold historic *yavusa* division, however, is found only on islands like Lakemba, Mothe, and Kambara where there is a chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*). On islands like Fulanga and Ongea, where the population is composed of the lower class (*yavusa vanua*), it is absent. Moreover, there are at least five historic *yavusa* groups, not just two, in Lau. The only groups which tend to divide into two parts are clans, in that a clan which has grown large frequently splits into two. Clans are frequently composed of two or three subclans and a subclan is usually composed of several households.

According to the available evidence the land people (*kai vanua*) or lower class in Lau are descendants of the earliest inhabitants of the eastern archipelago. They had a simple social organization. The basic social unit was a unilateral kinship and local group called *tokatoka*. Political power was in the hands of the old men and there was little interest in social prestige or pedigrees. The early inhabitants subsisted mainly on jungle produce, fishing and perhaps a little gardening on the volcanic islands and they had a simple technology. They believed in local spirits worshipped with offerings at sacred places called *na sava* (for instance, caves). They had first fruits' ceremonies and probably boys' initiation ceremonies and their rites centered around their religious life. They believed in their local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal and in a local abode of the soul after death. They had no migration tales.

The culture of the aborigines of Lau as described above is Melanesian in type. It is similar to the culture of the low Fijians of western Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Moreover, descendants of the early inhabitants found in greatest numbers on the island of Fulanga tend to be shorter, darker skinned, coarser featured, frizzier haired than the descendants of the immigrants who now form the nobility in Lau. The aborigines were apparently Melanesian in physical type and not Polynesian as assumed by Hocart (15, p. 230). The facts suggest that a Melanesian culture and race similar to that of the low Fijians and the early land people of Lau were once widespread in the Fiji group.

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Kambara

105 About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies and tradition, a group of immigrants from Viti Levu under the leadership of the war hero, Ndaunisai, introduced a highly organized culture into southern Lau. According to the natives they brought "light" (*rarama*) to the "darkness" (*mbuto-mbuto*) of the aborigines. Upon the basic social unit of the early inhabitants they imposed a complicated system of rank by which every clan stood in definite relationship to every other clan. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence clan genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary clan titles depending on a historical division of clans. Clans which descended from the immigrants (who married women of the early inhabitants and acquired land thereby) formed the chiefs' phratry or nobility (*yavusa turanga*). Clans which descended from the early inhabitants formed the land phratry or lower class (*yavusa vanua*). The highest rank was held by the high chief, who was directly descended in the first-born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai.

The ranking system was reflected in a hierarchy of clan ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). At the top stood Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai. The clan ancestor gods were propitiated by hereditary priests (*mbete*) in small god houses (*mbure kalou*). However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestor ghosts as clan deities, the descendants of the aborigines retained their local gods with their local units. The purpose of worship was to obtain mana expressed in the form of social prestige, which became the highest social value. Emphasis was placed on the divinity of the chief, as representative of the most powerful ancestor god on earth, and ceremonial life tended to become secularized and to concentrate around him.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening continued to be the basis for subsistence, production was organized and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists to their courts and extracting heavy tribute from their subjects. The most important specialists were the hereditary carpenters. This group, called the *matai sau* (chiefs' carpenters), claimed descent from the *matai sau* immigrants, who, according to tradition, reached Lau from Viti Levu before the war hero, Ndaunisai. They formed the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai sau*), a small group which ranked relatively high. Later, under Tongan influence, they were superseded by Matai Lemaki, a Samoan, who became the high chief's carpenter, and by his descendants who formed a small group called the *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*yavusa matai lemaki*).

Rivalry between social groups led to strife. Fortifications were built on every island, but gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger, richer islands like Lakemba and Kambara. There arose small chief-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

105

doms, within which the weaker islands stood in tributary relationship to the stronger. Finally Lakemba became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.

The culture brought to Lau by the immigrants from Viti Levu is Polynesian in type and similar to that of the high Fijians of eastern Viti Levu as described by Hocart (14). Furthermore, the immigrants, as evidenced by their descendants, the nobles of Lau, were Polynesian in racial type. From the evidence at hand, therefore, we may definitely assume that the immigrants from Viti Levu were early high Fijians and that the migration into Lau was part of the movement, recorded in the genealogies and traditions of Viti Levu, by which the high Fijians spread their culture and racial strain over eastern Viti Levu, the islands of the Koro Sea, and a large part of Vanua Levu.

The culture complex brought by the early high Fijians into Lau is of general Polynesian type and cannot be classed as western Polynesian as defined by Burrows (3). The facts lead to the inference that the ancestors of the high Fijians were an offshoot of an early Polynesian migration which passed through western Polynesia into central and eastern Polynesia before the development of the distinctly western Polynesian type of culture found in Samoa, Tonga, and adjacent islands.

Polynesian influence from the west began in Lau with Tongan contact in the late prehistoric period and reached its height in the middle of the nineteenth century. Tongan influence is found especially in Lauan social life and technology but its effect was weakened by the penetration of western civilization into the group. The Tongans introduced the western Polynesian concept of divine chieftainship and rank expressed in social ceremonial and in new forms of court etiquette, of kava drinking, and of dancing. Their outstanding contributions to material culture were the western Polynesian oval house type with parallel purlins and technique of pasting tapa into long sheets and decorating them by means of rubbing on designs raised on tablets. Tongan influence is responsible for most of the western Polynesian traits in Lauan culture and also to a great extent for the fact that the Lauans are more Polynesian in racial type than the high Fijians of Fiji proper.

In short, Lauan culture situated at the meeting point of the Melanesian and the Polynesian culture areas is truly marginal. It contains a unique fusion of Melanesian, early Polynesian, and western Polynesian complexes. Partly through historical accident, partly through natural environment, it has been possible to obtain a time prospective on the merging process in Lau. This prospective not only illuminates the Lauan culture itself, but throws light on the culture of the whole Fijian group and contributes toward the understanding of the culture history of Oceania.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass [751] a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every 712 island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mba vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

NAISEVOU

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, pro-

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tected by two outer walls (fig. 21, 1, 3). The walls consist of undressed limestone which supplements the natural protection afforded by the cliff. All four walls are parallel and extend inland from the edge of the precipice. They are well preserved. On the surface of the ground in the fortified areas (fig. 21, 1, 3) were found potsherds, an adz blade of Tridacna, and irregular lines of stones which the natives said marked burials.

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FIGURE 21.—Naisevou fortress site, Kambara. a, sketch map of site which occupies three levels (1, 2, 3), separated by rough limestone defense walls 1-2.60 meters high, 0.30-1 meter wide; 1 and 3 were outer fortified areas, house sites were located in 2. Measurements: 4-5, 37 meters; 6-7, 95 meters; 8-9, 60 meters; 10-11, 55 meters; 12-13, 20 meters; 7-14, 70 meters; 17-14, 32 meters; 15-16, 17 meters. b, profile of site (from west) showing three levels (1, 2, 3) and location of stone defense walls.

NAKOROVUSA

On the ridge about 28 meters above Naisevou is Nakorovusa, surrounded by a wall of undressed limestone. On the west this wall follows the edge of the cliffs, in places reinforcing and supplementing them to a height of about 10 meters. The wall on the south side is about 2 meters high and 65 cm. wide at the top. Much of the ground inside the wall is rocky and broken, but the level land has been made into a manioc garden. Most of the house sites have been destroyed but one site, an oval earth mound about 38 cm. high, faced with large stones, is well preserved. It is 8 meters long and 6 meters wide. The long axis of the platform is perpendicular to the shore line. Potsherds were found on the ground inside and outside of the house sites. Some sherds had incised designs on the outer wall surface or on the flat edge of

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the slightly outward bent rim. A piece of brain coral, apparently used as a grater, was also found.

Ndelaioloi

Another fortress site, Ndelaioloi, is situated southeast of Tokalau village at the summit of Ndelaioloi, the highest hill on Kambara (143.3 meters) and the only one of volcanic formation. The site commands a view of the island of Kambara as well as 17 other islands. It is entirely surrounded by a well-preserved wall of basalt. About two-thirds of the site is used for a garden of yams and manioc; the remainder is overgrown by bush. A few of the house sites which have not been destroyed are roughly rectangular in shape.

Nakaka

North of Lomatchi village on the southern spur of Ndelaioloi is Nakaka. The site is surrounded by a well-preserved wall and is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut, *vala*, and Tahitian chestnut. On the steep hillside each house foundation forms a terrace, the south side built up with stone to 65 cm. to 1 meter high and the remainder of the mound filled in with stones to level the floor. Most of the house sites are elliptical in ground plan but one is square, 5 by 5 meters, with slightly rounded corners. A coconut tree estimated by its rings to be at least 75 years old, is growing in a stone-marked house mound of the Nakaka site.

Nakoro

Located on the edge of the ridge 60 to 75 meters above Nggalinggali is Nakoro, a natural fort. It follows the line of the ridge which forms a cliff wall. A break in this wall to the north of the fortress affords the only approach from the sea. About 4 meters below this break, a limestone wall has been constructed to guard the approach. The site of Nakoro, built up in terraces on the steep inner slope of the ridge, is now used as a garden; but many house foundations are well preserved. Informants say burials were found in some house mounds when they were disturbed for gardening. The skeletons were reburied. A group of five or six house mounds at the south end of the Nakoro series, called Matanaiundu, are said to have been used by the Undu group who were allies of the Nggalinggali people. Matanaiundu is separated from Nakoro by a high point and can be approached either from Nakoro along a razor-backed ledge, which forms the eastern edge of the point, or up a steep path leading from the interior. West of Nakoro and Matanaiundu the cliff drops abruptly from 10 to 25 meters. Here a flat, ovate section of the interior basin which forms the island has been isolated by cliffs. The fortified approach to Nakoro leads also to this plateau which has only one

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other entrance, located at the northwest end and protected by a limestone wall. A path leading into the interior joins the two entrances. It is forked by another path leading to the Sautambu, an isolated burial mound (p. 222) located at the northeast end of the plateau. Between the rocks on both sides of this second path are pits, 2 to 4 meters deep, from which the soil for the house mounds at Nakoro was taken, according to the natives.

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Thaukenaloa

A strong fortress site, Thaukenaloa is situated 75 to 80 meters high on the ridge southwest of Undu. The site is said to have been named after four conspicuous ironwood (*thau*) trees crowning the point which commands a view of the surrounding ocean. Thaukenaloa occupies a steep, narrow slope between the edge of the cliffs and an inland ravine 8 meters deep. The site forms a natural fort, and protecting limestone walls have been built up only at the entrance. The site, which varies in width from 10 to 25 meters and extends about 120 meters along the ridge, is very rocky and somewhat overgrown so that it was difficult to determine to what extent house foundations had been built up. The house sites were formerly supported on the west side by a retaining limestone wall 1.5 meters high. Two foundations, situated on high points, apparently served as look-outs. Thin potsherds and one small Tridacna shell were found at Thaukenaloa.

Ndengei

The strongest fortress site on Wangava was Ndengei, built according to tradition, by Nggileso (table 2). Ndengei is located on the cliffs above Saurai near Wangava's highest point (100 meters). The only approach to the site is by a path leading from the north end of the beach on the northwest side of the island up the narrow, steep ravine to the top of the cliff and down again into a narrow valley surrounded by high inaccessible cliffs. The path up the cliff is protected by a series of three limestone walls. Each wall runs across the narrow ravine, a distance of from 4 to 7 meters. Ruins of the first wall (4 meters long) are located 5 meters above the sandy flat and about 35 meters from it. Its former height cannot now be determined. The second wall, 7 meters long, 3 meters high, 2.5 meters wide at the base, and about 30 cm. wide at the top, is located about 70 meters from the first and 10 meters above it. The third wall is 70 meters from the second and 6 meters above it. It is 6 meters long, 2 meters high, 1.5 meters wide at the base and practically pointed at the top. The natives say that formerly a hamlet was located at the top of the cliff in a level space about 8 meters wide, now covered with thick bush. No house foundations were seen here. The cliff rises rapidly northward to the highest point on the island where a round flat stone marks

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172 a look-out point, according to informants. Here the entire island and sur-
712 rounding ocean can be seen. From the edge of the cliff, the path descends gradually through another rocky ravine. About 150 meters from the edge of the cliff grow wild yams, and 50 meters farther, at the blind end of the ravine are two coconut trees over 100 years old. No definite house foundations were found although many possible sites were examined. Gorges to a depth of 15 meters were common, many affording protection against the rain. It is possible that these were used as shelters.

Korombalavu

The only fortified cave visited was Korombalavu (Long-fortress), also called Koronggara (Cave-fortress), located in the limestone cliffs at the north end of Wangava. The natives say the cave extends to the north coast of the island and opens high in the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu. The inland approach to the cave through a deep, rocky ravine is protected by a series of eight limestone walls. Only the entrance to the cave, which is fortified with limestone walls, was examined. It was filled with flying foxes and dung.

HAMLETS

172 Hamlet (*tokatoka*) sites are located in or near the garden lands on all the inhabited islands. Their names and locations have been discussed (pp. 22-27).

Nawarowaro

Nawarowaro, located in the garden lands of northeast Wangava, is an example of a hamlet site. On this site, which is now used as a garden, many potsherds and shells were seen. The house sites have no mounds but consist of elliptical rings of stones, usually about 8 by 7 meters. Informants say that Nawarowaro was once occupied by the land people of Wangava.

Vakawangga

Vakawangga, a hamlet site which resembles a fortress, is located about 40 meters above Undu in a pocket in the cliffs, midway between the sandy flat and the top of the ridge. The hamlet, situated on a level space about 100 meters long by 30 meters wide, is surrounded by cliffs that rise on the east side about 10 meters and then drop to sea level. The cliffs on the west side rise abruptly 40 meters to the ridge. A path leads from the site southward and joins the path from Undu to Thaukenaloa and the interior. The entrance to the hamlet has been walled with limestone, probably in recent times to pen pigs. No other stone walls were seen. Since the site was overgrown with bush and fruit trees, including coconut trees, it was impossible to examine the house foundations without clearing, but one 5-meter by 6-meter house

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mound was noted. The level platform was built up of limestone with a retaining wall 60 cm. to 1 meter high. Two corners of the walls were practically right angled. House sites seen here were larger and higher than those at Thaukenaloa. 172

Nambakua

Several coast sites, occupied by groups of clans in post-Christian times after the evacuation of the hamlet sites, have been noted (pp. 22-28).

On Wangava, about 30 meters above the northeast coast near Savena Point is Nambakua, an example of this type of site. It is said to be the first Christian village on Wangava. Although the site is used as a garden, several house mounds remain intact. A stone-faced mound with elliptical ground plan, called Vale Levu, is 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 30 cm. high. Two other mounds are 4 meters long, 3 meters wide, and 60 cm. high. A stone-faced mound with circular ground plan is 8 meters in diameter and 45 cm. high. Potsherds were taken from the house sites. A limestone wall 2.3 meters high, which the natives say belonged to Nambakua, is located 40 meters from the coast. It joins and builds up the natural wall of limestone. A second stone wall—2 meters high from the lower (Nambakua) side, 30 cm. wide at the top, and 2 meters wide at the base, also said to belong to Nambakua—reinforces the natural gateway of limestone rock. The path ascends through a break in this wall up the cliff. Both walls appeared to defend a fortress (probably pre-Christian) higher up on the cliff rather than Nambakua, but this could not be located. A few meters above the second wall on the point where the path begins to descend, stands a single upright stone, 1.3 meters high, 25 cm. wide at the top, said to be the seat of the guard (*niandra*). The path toward the interior leads through openings in two more walls, about 50 meters apart, of natural limestone reinforced by built-up stones. Lower and less carefully built than defense walls, these are said to form pigpens.

Burials

Burial Caves

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Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs and parts of canoes are found in many caves in Lau. For example, a famous cave called Noaruarua is located in the interior of west Wangava. It is reputed to be the burial place of Singambongi, who was treacherously murdered by Naialewakalou of Lakemba. Noaruarua consists of a ledge in the limestone wall about 1.3 meters above the ground. The bones of at least three skeletons were seen here. Eight conch shells, partly decomposed and covered with patina, were scattered about the ledge.

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Isolated Burials

172 764 Unique in southern Lau is the Sautambu or chiefs' burial mound near Nggalinggali (p. 219). It is an isolated, truncated cone-shaped burial mound faced with unworked limestones. Built on a steep slope, it measures about 12 meters high from the lower side of the base and 5 meters high from the upper side. A large greenheart tree, about 3.3 meters in diameter, is growing on the flat, circular top of the mound. Here were found four conch shells, a bundle of dry kava, and a withered wreath. The Sautambu is tabu and is carefully avoided by the natives. Some say it is the burial place of Wetasau, Kelei, Mbuatoka, and Tawaketchini (table 2). According to tradition, it was built by a thousand men from Thakaundrove, each of whom contributed a stone and a handful of earth.

Cemeteries

Some informants say that each hamlet had a cemetery (called *mara* or *mbulumbulu*) in pre-Christian times (p. 102). The natives can locate a number of these, as for instance Tuvatuva, said to be situated on a point jutting into the Wangava lake not far from Vanuwai. Rasolo says that burials at Tuvatuva are marked by stone-faced mounds. No hamlet cemeteries were examined.

Isolated House Mounds

172 Isolated house mounds (*yavu*) are rare in southern Lau. West of Nggalinggali on the sandy flat, however, is located Naiviloa, an isolated, circular mound of earth 1 meter high and 8 meters in diameter. It is faced with large slabs of undressed limestone. The flat surface of the mound is covered with beach sand. The natives say that Naiviloa was the house mound of Mbuatoka (table 2). The mound contains two rectangular stone-faced burial mounds. One burial mound is 3.5 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 30 cm. high above the foundation. It is faced with a wall consisting of rectangular blocks of limestone dressed with right-angled corners. The mound surface is flush with the top of the wall and is covered with fresh beach sand. Eight conch shells, symbols of chieftainship, have been placed along the inner side of the east wall. The other burial mound has a ground plan similar to the first but it is faced with a single row of thin slabs of dressed limestone (about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. high, and 8 cm. deep), placed upright, their long axes parallel to the ground. This is reputed to be the grave of Sinula, a grandchild of Mbuatoka.

OTHER SITES

Sacred Places

Sites of sacred places (*na sava*), such as god houses (*mbure kalou*), sacred caves (*nggara kalou*) and sacred stones are found in Lau. Those visited have been described (pp. 108-109, 112-113).

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Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

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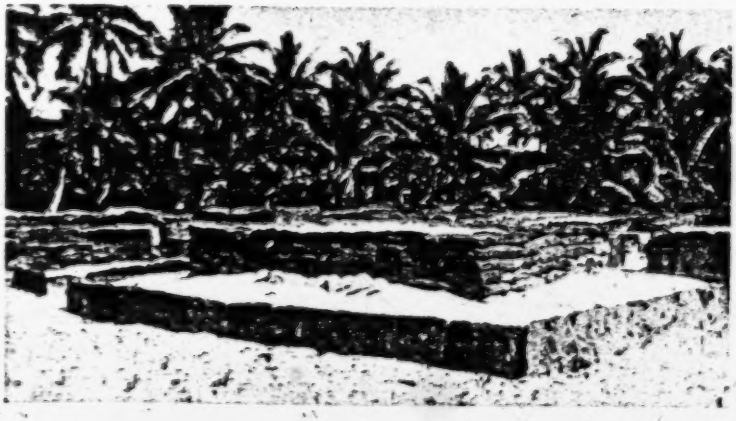

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

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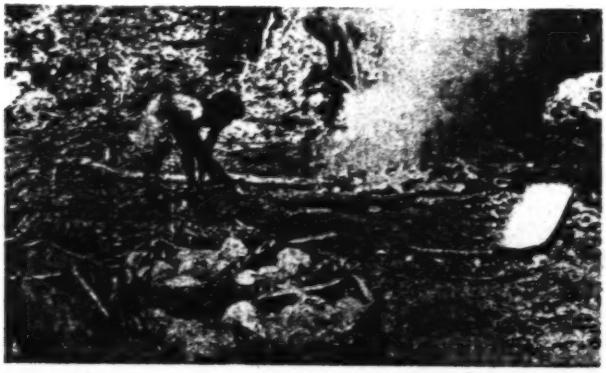

A

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B

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C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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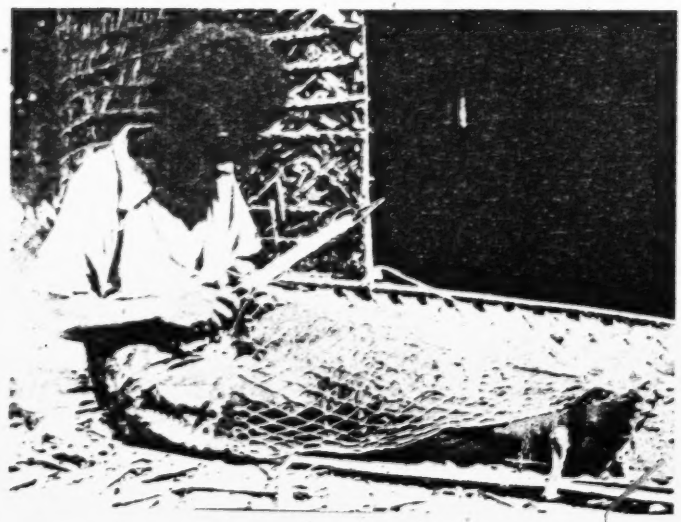

B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

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[End Plate 3]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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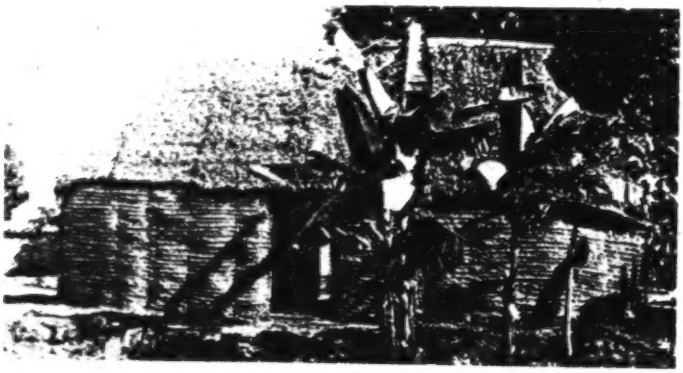

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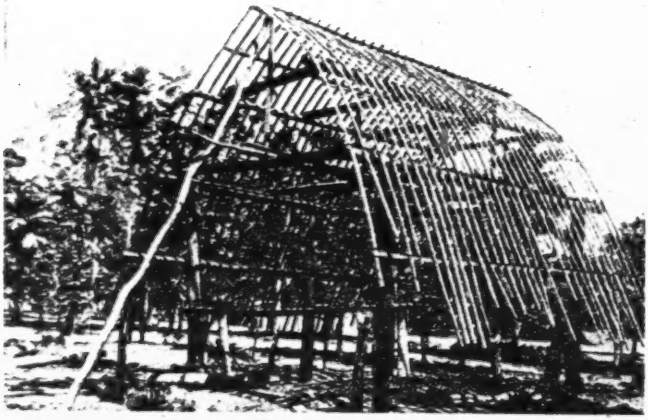

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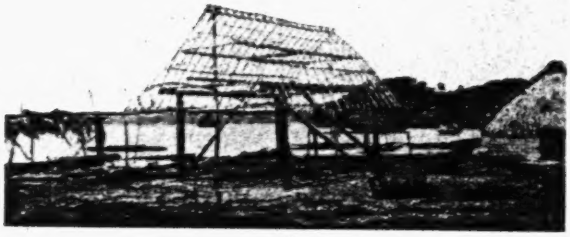

C

A. SMALL DWELLING HOUSE OF TONGAN TYPE, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. B. MIDDLE SECTION OF LARGE DWELLING HOUSE TONGAN TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. C. HOUSE OF THE *VALE LOLOVA KATHUKATHU* TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT NAIVINDAMU, FULANGA (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 4]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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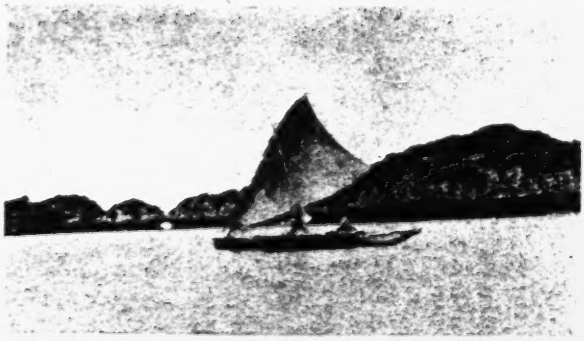

B

A, TWO BOYS FURLING THE MAT SAIL OF AN OUTRIGGER SAILING CANOE. B, SMALL CANOE UNDER SAIL IN ONGEA LAGOON (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 5]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

FIJIAN FRONTIER

By

LAURA THOMPSON

Introduction by

B. MALINOWSKI

STUDIES OF THE PACIFIC NO. 4

AMERICAN COUNCIL
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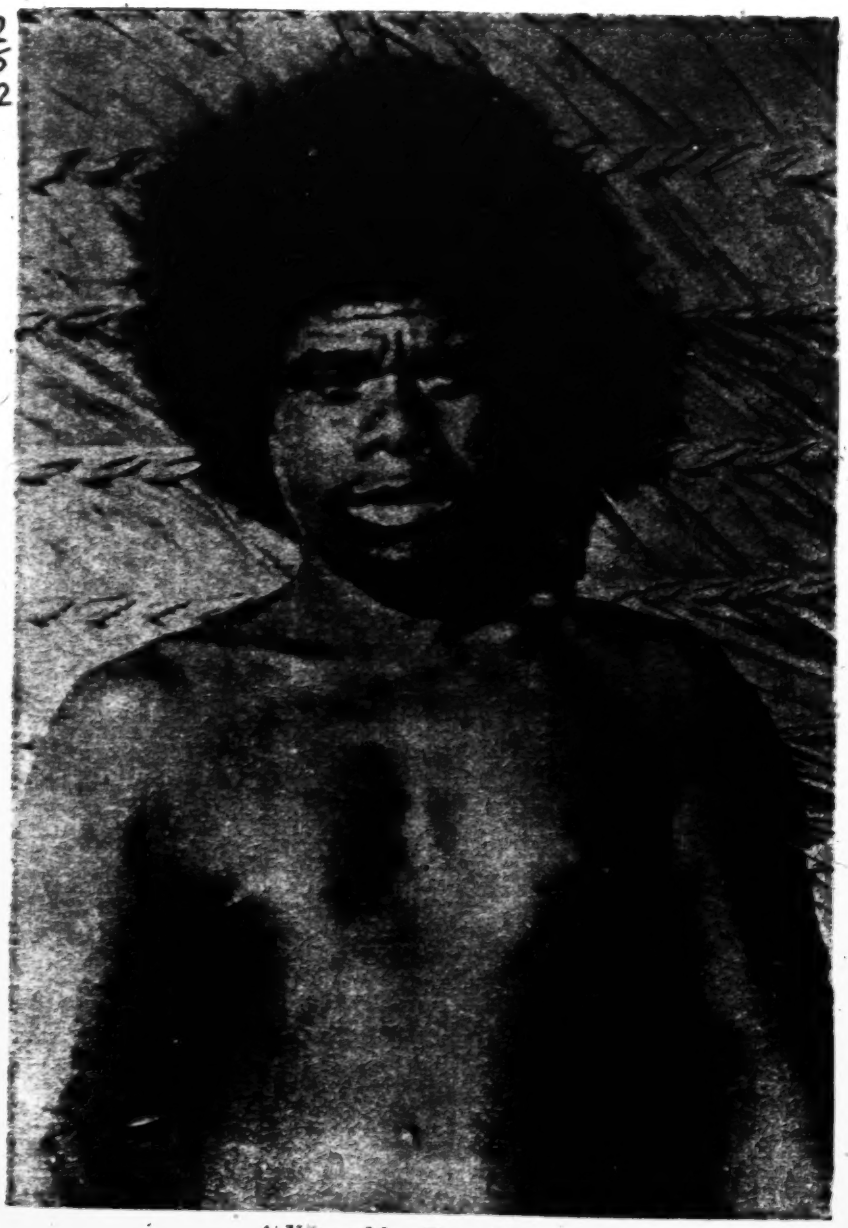

A Young Man From Fulanga

[Facing p. iii]

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Kambara

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To

MAUD B. THOMPSON

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FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central [797] Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji [648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally 177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a 439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

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Kambara

177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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the time when these studies can be of value to the administrator, the educator, and the medical practitioner. Using the results of field research, I have made the following study in the hope that it may be of practical value in helping to cope with some of the problems brought about by the expansion of western civilization. 121

Although the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people, that is people without a written tradition, to western culture throughout the world. Although the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another, they should throw light on the general problem of how culture changes and can be changed. Moreover, the comparison of a number of detailed studies of specific groups of people should lead to a clearer understanding of the processes set in motion by the expansion of western civilization and of the problems of scientific administration.

The material on which this study is based was gathered during nine months of ethnological field work in the Fiji islands in 1933-34, and the data presented in this study apply to this date unless otherwise specified. While in Fiji I learned to know the natives of the eastern islands, their language and their culture by actually living among them in their villages and participating in their daily life. From my headquarters in Tokalau village on Kambara I studied the people of the island and made trips by native canoe, since no other transportation was available, to the neighboring islands of Wangava, Namuka-i-Lau, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. These trips, which varied from 3 to 40 miles each on the open sea, were made in native outrigger canoes with crab claw sails of mat. Whether we skimmed in a stiff gale over the deep sea swells, lay becalmed under the scorching sun, or strained our eyes through the darkening night to hold our course to the faint low silhouette of an island, these canoe voyages were one of the highlights of my sojourn in Lau. 114 123

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122 The field research was made possible by a fellowship from Yale University and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The data were assembled and the manuscript prepared with the help of a grant from the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.[1] To these institutions I am greatly in-
000 debted. I also wish to express my appreciation to the people of Fiji—colonial officials, European residents and natives who gave me every possible aid in this work. I thank especially His Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji, Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs, the Hon. Victor W. T. McGusty, M.D., Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, and Mr. George T. Barker of the Fiji Museum for their kindness and support. I also thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, for identification of native plant names, Dr. Harry S. Ladd and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, former Research Associates of the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands, and Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, for criticism of the manuscript. I am most indebted to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

The Institute of Pacific Relations in supporting the study and undertaking the publication of this report has been moved largely by its interest in the broad question of administration and social and economic development in the dependencies of

113 [1] Facts of interest to the specialist, such as details of social organization, arts and crafts, mythology, and ceremonies, are being published elsewhere. See L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," Bishop Museum, *Bulletin 162* (in press); "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937, translated in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198; "Adzes from the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938; "The Pottery of the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

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Kambara

the Pacific area, a topic which has had an important place for many years in the Institute's international research program. Among the earlier Institute reports in this field may be mentioned *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea,* prepared under the direction of the Hon. F. W. Eggleston for the Victorian Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs; *Modern Samoa* and *Taming Philippine Headhunters,* by Felix and Marie Keesing; *Government of Pacific Dependencies: British Malaya,* by W. J. Hinton; *The Peoples of Hawaii,* by Romanzo Adams; *Native Education,* prepared by the Hon. Hugh Wyndham for the Royal Institute of International Affairs; *French Indo-China,* by Virginia Thompson; *Colonial Policy,* by A. D. A. de Kat Angelino; *Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate,* by Tadao Yanaihara (in press); a number of studies, still in press, on economic development in Indo-China, Netherlands Indies, Korea, the Philippines and New Guinea; a recent memorandum on dependencies of the Pacific area, prepared by Miss Margaret Bryant of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and my own current study of education and administration in Guam. Though the present book is issued under the auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, it should be emphasized that neither the Council nor the Institute as a whole accepts responsibility for statements of fact or opinion expressed in it.

LAURA THOMPSON

Honolulu
June, 1939

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INTRODUCTION

By B. Malinowski

000 WHETHER or not the science of man is going to become a real science depends on three questions: can observation in the field be empirical and precise; is there any chance of discovering laws and general rules in anthropology; is the practical application of anthropological principles possible?

On all three points certain handicaps have developed in field work, theory, and applied anthropology. The preconception that anthropology is "the science of primitive man" has often made the field worker shut his eyes to all that happens under the influence of European culture. The savage is expected to be naked, inclined toward headhunting, unable to read and write, while the sight of a missionary should produce a flow of gastric juices rather than of hymns and prayers.

The propensity to falsify observation in the very act of making it, by shutting the eyes to any encroachments of western civilization, was detrimental to earlier field work. Most of the really serious mistakes, for instance, which I myself committed in the field, between 1914 and 1918, were due to the fact that I wanted my Melanesians to be genuine Melanesians and not at all tainted with western knowledge, belief, or technology.

This bias is largely responsible also for our failure to discover that there are laws and general principles of cultural process. Had anthropology in its empirical work been fully aware that culture change is part of its legitimate business, it would soon have become evident that all primitive cultures are gradually

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being transformed into something which approximates western civilization. The fuller study of this process of transformation again would have revealed that there is a common measure between all human cultures. This is to be found in the existence of basic universally human needs and their satisfaction through fundamentally similar types of organized pursuits and institutions.

It is the search for this common measure which modern anthropology begins to recognize more and more as its main aim. Intuitive schools may still rhapsodize about "specific tribal geniuses", about "the incommensurability of human cultures", and provide each culture with its own colorful descriptive label. Real scientific work is confined to the thorough, consistent, and clear consideration of what all cultures have in common with each other, or why they differ, because of environment, contacts, and level of evolutionary differentiation.

As to the third point, it is clear that as soon as we develop an interest in general laws of cultural process, practical application will follow. The administrator cannot "apply" the hypothesis that the origins of human marriage are to be found in promiscuity or else in a chaste, paradisiacal monogamy à la Adam and Eve. On the other hand, a good knowledge of how primitive politics works, the nature of legal and customary sanctions in land tenure, the marriage contract, or kinship obligations bears directly on administrative work. Not only is such knowledge capable of application, but the modern administrator is rapidly realizing that unless he scientifically knows the human material with which he is dealing, he will not be able to discharge his task properly.

The missionary ought to be interested in the problems of how to transform animism, nature cults, or totemic creeds into higher forms of religion. In order to do that he must be fully acquainted with the foundations of ancestral worship in native family life; with sexual morality and its supernatural

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sanctions; and with the economic implications of primitive magic and religion.

In my opinion Dr. Laura Thompson's *Fijian Frontier* is a genuine sample of scientific anthropology. The author, as every true scientific observer must, keeps her eyes open on everything which exists. She does not vitiate her observation by eliminating one of the most essential elements in her field: the existence and pertinacity of the white man and his camp followers. She realizes that in Kambara we have "a native culture which . . . has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world." This contact is so important, so far-reaching, and so pervading that any field work which would ignore its results would be definitely unscientific. We are indeed told by the author that "the aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration."

In this sentence, which concisely and clearly sums up my argument of the preceding paragraphs, the author has laid down her own methodological charter. In the book she has fully redeemed it.

We are always clearly informed of how an observation was made. We see the natives as they are at present, at times profoundly affected by the new conditions of life, at times clinging to their old beliefs in sorcery and ancestor worship; devoted to their old values and institutions in the ceremonial exchange of the *solevu,* in the right manner of getting married; following those customs, tabus, and principles which had governed their ancestors for centuries.

Such a scientific type of research and presentation allows us to see the Fijian as he was, as he is, and as he will be, much more clearly than if the writer had made her analysis before she had started her observations. It is remarkable how many of the old cultural characteristics still exist. In spite of the

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000 century-and-a-half of contact the Fijian still educates his children by the old method of gradual assimilation, apprenticeship, and domestic homily. In matters economic, the principal interests of the natives are in the ceremonial exchange, in kinship obligations, and in the services which go with chieftainship and rank. The life history of the individual, although affected here and there by Christian rites and morals, shows still the old outline, while some of the phases which have been overtly abandoned are carried on *sub rosa.*

In each chapter we have first a full description of the integral process and the general picture of the native life of today. The author then disentangles the old from the new, the indigenous from the imported, and in each chapter has something to say about the future outlook and the conclusions which missionary, administrator, and teacher might draw from past mistakes and past achievements.

In Fiji, as elsewhere, perhaps the most interesting phase of culture contact is neither the historically old nor yet the recently acquired western elements, but the *tertium quid* of spontaneous, original, creative adaptations to contact and change. Take the excellent chapters on religion and sorcery. Besides the detailed description of the old belief in spirits, totems, and sorcery, besides the outline of missionary efforts, one finds also a full account of such new movements as the "immortality cult", the *luveniwai* or "water baby cult", the messianic and prophetic creeds which, as a rule, are a combination of political, economic, and religious drives and interests. These new religious growths are neither taken over from the old system nor yet borrowed from the Europeans. They are contact developments of an essentially new and original character.

The new adaptations in economics are equally significant. The Europeans by their very advent destroyed some of the old sources of tribal wealth. They introduced instead new crops and opened up new avenues of livelihood. Under the paternal system of British rule in Fiji the government fre-

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quently has to assume the rôle of Providence. When famine strikes the country the necessary food is distributed. Land tenure has been reformed, property titles established, and the production of cash crops encouraged. The Europeans have also forbidden or at least discouraged native economic activities such as soliciting, competitive exchange, the chief's tribute, and the accumulation of useless valuables.

One of the most interesting contributions of the author consists in showing in a clear and objective manner where these administrative activities fail and why they fail. She is in full sympathy with the attitude of the British authorities. She gives them due credit not only for good will but also, on many points, for an intelligent and well-directed purpose. But she makes it quite clear that the main adaptations, the creative phase of change and transition must be achieved by the natives themselves.

The constructive and sympathetic yet outspoken criticism of the present book, such as is found at the end of the fourth chapter, ought to be read by administrator, anthropologist, and economist alike. There is hardly a sentence there which I could not endorse from my experiences in New Guinea or Central Africa, or which does not coincide with the conclusions of such African workers as Dr. A. I. Richards, Dr. M. Hunter, Messrs. Brown and Hutt, Mr. Godfrey Wilson, or Lord Hailey.

And this brings me to the question of how far some of the author's conclusions can be regarded as of universal validity. Dr. Thompson is rather modest in her claims on this score. In her Foreword she cautions that "the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people . . . to western culture." She tells us that "the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another." With this I fully agree, for it is better not to do anything uncritical in science. And yet I think that even

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now a student might take six or seven good monographs on culture change and astonish the scientific world by pointing out the similarities in the process of change and adjustment. Take *Peasant Life in China* by Dr. Hsiao-tung Fei, the monographs on Mexican and Mayan communities by Robert Redfield, *Clash of Cultures and Contact of Races* by G. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, *Anthropology in Action* by Brown and Hutt—books covering Melanesia, Polynesia, Asia, Africa, and parts of America—and you will find an extraordinary convergence in problems, processes, and results.

As regards the political system, for instance, Dr. Thompson's analysis of indirect rule in Fiji, as well as her implied or explicit criticism of some of its features, would be endorsed by an anthropologist like Dr. Lucy Mair, who has studied the Baganda in East Africa, by Miss Margery Perham, who has critically analyzed the principles of indirect rule in Nigeria, or by Dr. Gordon Brown, who has worked among the Hehe in Tanganyika. Indirect rule, often misrepresented as the game of "find the chief or invent him" and misconstrued into a slavish adhesion to tribalism, is in reality a system which, while utilizing the old forces of loyalty and tradition, is yet fully adaptable to prospective needs of a culture in transition. Dr. Thompson points out exactly the same inconsistency in the Fijian system which has been laid bare for Northern Rhodesia by Dr. A. I. Richards. It is not practical to make the native chief an administrative official and yet to prevent tribute being paid to him according to his traditional prerogatives. Some of the religious and magical ideas which were connected with the old system of chieftainship cannot be abolished from one day to another without undermining the principle of authority.

There are in this book a number of general principles which any anthropologist can borrow and apply or test in his own field. The test, I venture to foretell, will as a rule have positive results. I think indeed that most of the principles

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laid down by Dr. Thompson are of universal validity. I am deeply convinced that the motives of ceremonial exchange, of cooperative responsibility, the obligations of kinship and of rank are effective forces which cannot be decreed away on paper without affecting native economy as a whole. "A policy of encouraging creative production and economic self-reliance . . . the production of food and craft articles to be exchanged ceremonially between native groups and islands; the lifting of those regulations which tend to inhibit native economic activity"—all this is sound advice, well formulated and, as the reader of the pages from which I have quoted these isolated statements will see, well argued and documented.

The greatest charm as well as the value of the book is due to the fact that although a strictly scientific, sober account, it is also a real piece of artistic presentation of South Sea native life. The chapters on daily life, the accounts of childhood, of gradual maturation, of love-making and marriage, are among the best contributions to the ethnography of the South Seas. The accounts of marriages, kinship and family life will supply rich material to the psychoanalyst as well as to those interested in the theory of education and of sexual psychology.

Another quality which every specialist will recognize is the comprehensiveness of the account. Economics, education, the juridical ideas and practices, the political system, are all treated fully, clearly, and convincingly. We become well acquainted with the environmental setting of the natives, with their material culture, with the social organization, and the world of their ideas, beliefs, and values. The book can be recommended to everyone who wishes to obtain a real understanding of a South Sea culture; it can be used as an introduction to social science, and last, not least, as an artistic picture of primitive life in one of the most fascinating parts of the world.

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CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy,
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about 4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

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133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

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volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau.

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134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

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stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657]
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

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132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 514 [343] In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach, in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

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Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village 123
headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began 514
preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used.

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neigh- 136
boring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are 513
very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara 136
had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the 713
kekeo, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night ?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo,* the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

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136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times. 262 231

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet. 224 [136] [656] [231]

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp. 222 [262]

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only. 231 262

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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *Vitore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

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302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old 764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have [142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage 585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock 177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy 144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the 302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

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Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the [101]
south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

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197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[facing p. 14]

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291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 312 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 136 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

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302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272 is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276 water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291 waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304 The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197] tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522] jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173] not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

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539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

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stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

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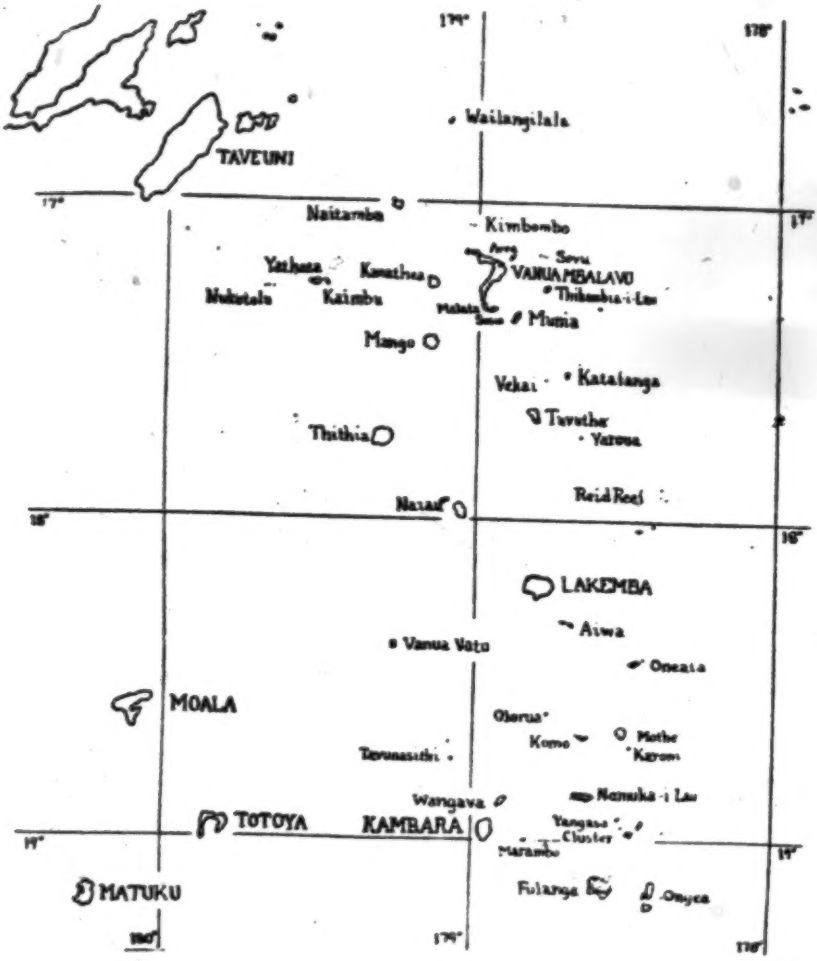

SOUTHERN LAU ISLANDS, FIJI

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social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The 174
group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hard- [172]
wood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today.

10 The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or [614]
bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

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174 these defenses may be seen today. Their main weapons were bows, clubs, and spears. In the course of time they spread in the Lau group and established themselves on the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Mothe, as well as on Kambara.

There was a great deal of rivalry between the leaders of the upper class on the various islands. The influence of Kambara spread until the island held Namuka, Wangava (which was then inhabited), and Komo in tributary relationship, and also included Marambo and Tavunasithi among its possessions. Lakemba, the large fertile island in central Lau, also gained power. Finally, with the help of the Tongans who came to Lau from their homeland 400 miles eastward to build hardwood canoes, Lakemba held all the Lau islands south of Thithia in tributary relationship.

As the power of the chiefs expanded, their sacredness increased. Court etiquette and insignia became formalized and a court phraseology, still used today, developed. The person of the high chief was protected by strict tabus, and death was the penalty for infringement. Social ceremonial became more elaborate, and human sacrifice and cannibalism increased.

Social prestige, based not only on rank but also on personality, became the ultimate value. Rank by birth gave a man standing in society and defined his relations to others, but his success in life depended ultimately on personality. Even a high title, such as the headman of an important clan, did not descend automatically according to the Lauan rule of succession,[11] but was given to the man selected by the clan elders as qualifying not only on the basis of rank but also on the basis of personality.

There were two main channels for acquiring prestige. The first and by far the most important was success in the gruesome petty wars which ravaged the group. A war hero received immediate popular acclaim. He received a high

[611] [11] In Lau a title descends from the first son to his brothers in order of seniority throughout the generation and thence to the first son of the first son. This system is called Polynesian primogeniture.

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status[12] in the community and this status was inherited by his offspring in the form of rank. In time he was elevated to the rank of an ancestor god. The second main channel for acquiring prestige was the giving away of wealth. Although the largest quantities of wealth were accumulated and distributed by the chiefs, anyone could gain social prestige through giving. Since the abolition of warfare due to western influence this method of acquiring prestige has received great emphasis and the overpowering drive for prestige based on distribution of wealth has given the Lauan cultural set-up the competitive, materialistic slant which is so strong today.

Wealth in the chiefdom of Lakemba came mainly from the islands of southern Lau. The sporadic distribution of important natural resources such as hardwood, the paper mulberry, certain fine types of pandanus, rare shellfish, and the sea turtle, combined with the scarcity of good garden land in the limestone islands, were factors which contributed toward the development of craftsmanship and industrial specialization in the southern islands. Based on these supplementary natural resources, a lively inter-island trade developed. The limestone islands which lacked garden land exchanged canoes, woodwork, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil for food from the fertile volcanic islands. These were the most important articles of exchange in Lau. After the coming of the upper class, industry was organized under hereditary specialists, and a high degree of skill developed. When political power was concentrated at Lakemba, products from the southern islands were paid to the high chief as tribute. They found their way through a system of ceremonial exchange to Tonga and to Fiji proper, and the islands of southern Lau became famous throughout the area for the excellence of their craftsmanship.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the first historical records on Lau appeared, Tongan sailors had been

[12] The term "status" is used in this study to designate social position which is acquired and not inherited. The term "rank" is used to designate social position which is inherited.

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174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

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the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

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175 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

177 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship, and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

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CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve, 539
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient fan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands 000
today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands.

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had 871
no very formal system of education. Children learned by [861]
imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by

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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the
593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month,
843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small
571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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843

Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571
in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843
marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's
clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386]
with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302]
present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do
not know why it is done. Four days later the women go
fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast
for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much
joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first
100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community,
a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she
must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the
fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look
upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783]
any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before
being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She
may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse,
nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut
her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she [302]
usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman
is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called
kunekune. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast.
Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the
communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by
the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman
is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These
ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first preg-
nancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth,
both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of
pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which
have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The [424] recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

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mines by touch whether the unborn child is correctly placed. 844
If not she manipulates it by massage into the proper position at the beginning of labor.

In a normal delivery the woman in labor sits with legs apart and knees slightly bent on a flat stone covered with barkcloth. She supports herself by propping her arms against the mat behind her, and she is held from behind by one of the attendant women. The midwife sits in front of her and slowly rubs her abdomen. If the delivery is difficult the 845
woman lies on her back. In cases of prolonged labor a medicine woman known for her skill and success in midwifery is called in from the village or from a neighboring village. She takes charge of the delivery and administers her own brand of medicine.

A difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken tabus on the part of the mother or father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, are sympathetic for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth.

The midwife catches the infant as he emerges. If he is short 844
of breath she blows water from her mouth into his face, or she gives a cup of water to the mother and massages the umbilical cord gently with thumb and index finger. If the mother is faint the midwife gives her "medicine to restore her breath", made according to her private recipe. When the child is breathing regularly the umbilical cord is cut by the mother's mother or the midwife. This was formerly done with a shell or a bamboo knife. The method, introduced by [177]
the government, of cutting the cord with a pair of scissors and tying it with a piece of string, is used occasionally. An old Fulanga woman thinks that the modern method of tying the cord is injurious because the bad blood cannot flow away. As

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844 soon as the child is born the mother is given a second drink of medicine to bring forth the afterbirth. If it does not appear the mother's abdomen is pressed and the cord is pulled.

The newborn infant is held over a bowl of luke warm water and washed by the midwife or the grandmother. He is rubbed with powdered mangrove root. He is wrapped in white barkcloth so that only his face is exposed, and is held by the grandmother until he falls asleep. A child's bed, composed of a pile of baby mats and soft barkcloth, is prepared. Then the infant is placed "on the mat", that is, he is put on the pile.

846 After the delivery, while still sitting on the stone, the mother is washed with fresh water. Then she lies down on a new mat. She is rubbed with powdered mangrove root and covered with a sheet of barkcloth. She does not bathe in the sea for four days and remains quiet from five to ten days. She eats the roasted flesh of ripe coconut. The natives say she must not eat the flesh from the pointed end, however, because that flesh will poke into her stomach and cause pain. She drinks much coconut milk, but the pointed end of the nut must first be taken off, otherwise the baby will vomit. Also she must not eat salt.

853 Until the mother's milk appears the baby is usually fed roasted ripe coconut flesh. The flesh is chewed by the grandmother or the mother and spat into a piece of white barkcloth. The wad is dipped in warm water and given to the infant to suck. Babies are also fed the juice of sugar cane. Warm powdered mangrove root is applied to the breasts of a woman confined for the first time, to facilitate the flow of milk.

844 The afterbirth and cord are wrapped in the piece of barkcloth on which the birth took place, and buried by the husband or the midwife at the threshold of a door of the house. According to an old woman of Kambara, this is to give the child "good breath". A woman of Fulanga said it was so buried to be stepped upon but she did not know why.

000 If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother

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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

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851 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name
553 and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the
602 mother and child are visited by relatives from both the
431 mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the
[554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a
[848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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852 mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives,
431 and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child
602 is bathed in the sea for the first time.
[854]

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately
593 feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 During the nursing period the mother has practically no-
462 thing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls
[162] of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

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the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves 854 462
from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother 854
rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, 853
which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The 862
weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not [157]
observe any child sucking his thumb.

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854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, [857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and 856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the 854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for 603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

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593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

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One 855 informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told [866] that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional 869 complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867 the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867 cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all 157 the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

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867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

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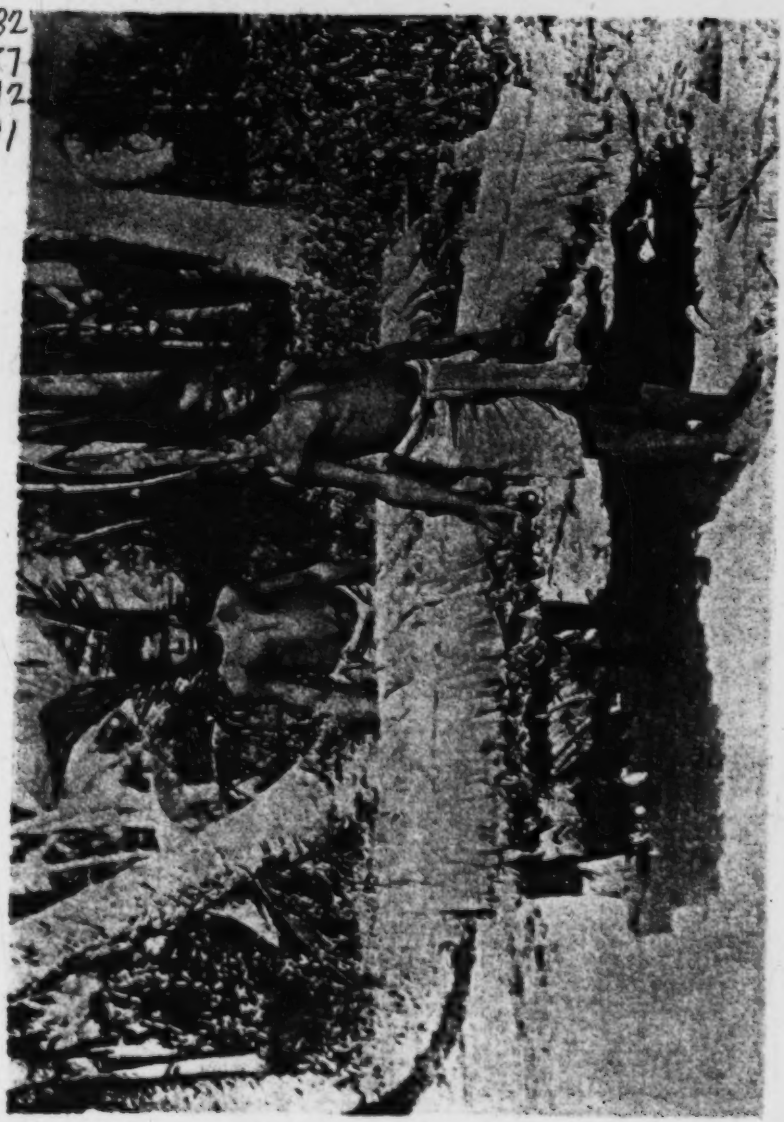

BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[FACING p. 44]

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539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

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858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

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881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

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When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl 857
turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864

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858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara*. He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

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836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

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The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584
mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, bark-cloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212]
Mbauan dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581
man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883
cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

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883 becomes rather pleasant. He is accepted as a man in the
581 community, but he avoids the full responsibility of an adult. Although he sleeps in a men's house he is still a member of his father's household, cultivates his father's lands, and contributes to the daily supply and preparation of food for his father's earth oven. He participates in the ceremonies and games of his age group, spears fish, and sails on trading expeditions. He is sought after by the young women of the community among whom, with the exception of the group tabu to him, he is free to make conquests. The more numerous his affairs the greater he is desired by women. If he should have a
[848] bastard or two, the girl's father will care for the child. When he marries, however, he must accept the responsibilities of an adult; found his own household, work his own garden, and support his family.

A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

584 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father
583 and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

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occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the 584
end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to 583
take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the 585
status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and 614
ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social 554
status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

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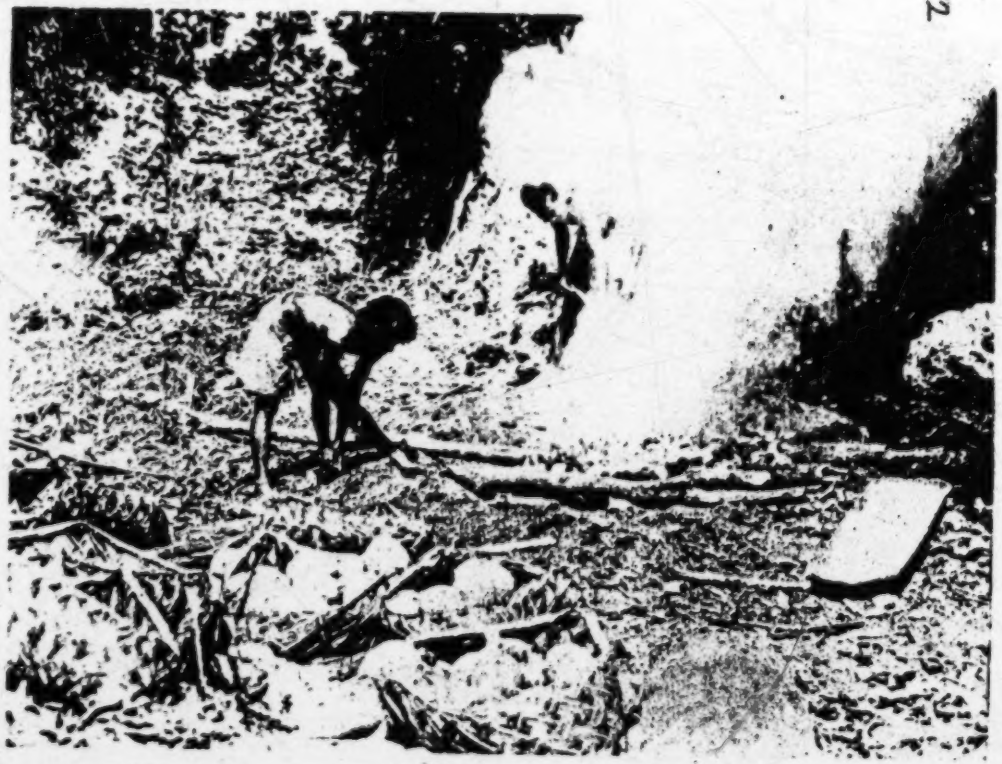

THE WEDDING FEAST

Young men are building a fire to heat the stones in an earth oven pit. Wrapped food will be placed on the hot stones, covered with earth and steamed.

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of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

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554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

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585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central
[614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morindà citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting
[531] them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

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house the bride left her outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and returned in her under-garment, a *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth, to her house. The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times. Afterwards the gifts received by the groom were divided among his relatives. Those received by the bride were sent to her relatives in Vatoa. The young couple received no share of the wedding presents.

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the important task of sharing the wedding feast. Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the headquarters of the groom and that of the bride, and the food was placed on these leaves. It was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. The food was then divided by five youths under the direction of the oldest man of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups and most of the visitors, carrying their shares of the feast, departed for home.

In the evening the near relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's headquarters for the "eating together" feast. This feast symbolizes the marriage. Each side provides one basket of food. The bride and groom are dressed in outer ceremonial garments of barkcloth. The sister of the girl takes one mouthful of food from the girl's basket in her fingers and feeds it to the young man. Then the sister of the man takes one mouthful of food from the man's basket and feeds it to the girl. The baskets of food are exchanged between the inter-marrying clans. The married couple remove their outer barkcloth garments. That worn by the groom is given to the girl's side, while that worn by the girl is given to the groom's side. The "eating together" feast ended the wedding ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Usually, however, after the "eating together" feast a "happy night" is held in the house of the groom. The young people

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VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

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585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

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585 feast which is provided and prepared by the groom's clan on the same day and is eaten by the whole village. This ends the [885] wedding rites. They mark the acceptance of both the young man and the young woman as full adult members of the community.

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CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

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quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which 614
become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial 621
government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked 178
clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle 648
of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

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648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or pro-
648 vinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village head-
622 man (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

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He is the head of the village assembly in which all important 622
affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by 634
the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son 634
of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, 177
the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava.* His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko*,
554 the *mbuli*, and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli*, on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara*. However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank. 634 614 554 159

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20] 644 159 [191] [272] [276] [826]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory 159

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [787] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554
of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622
every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614]
clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602]
the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622
an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622
old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177
sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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622 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds
177 the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social
631 organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must
178 conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

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576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such 648
aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house 692
building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which [625]
consists of over two hundred police officers divided into 696
twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in 554
southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

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696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

BLOOD AND SOIL

Nonggui tau,
Solia nonggu yau.

My friend.
Give me some property.[27]

423 IN LAU the basic landowning unit is the clan. The land is divided into three classes: garden land, village land, and bush. The natives say that according to the pre-Tongan system of tenure in Lau each hamlet owned a part of each class of land. This system is found on the island of Mothe, which is divided into sections shaped like pieces of pie, each containing bush, garden, and village land. Each section was formerly owned and occupied by a hamlet and is still owned by the same group, which is now a clan in one of the two villages of the island. After the Tongan conquest, according to informants, on some islands clan titles were established to the garden and village land only and the bush was considered free. The post-Tongan system is found on the island of Kambara.

423 648 One of the most important policies of the British administration in Fiji has been the protection of native land ownership. Before annexation, white settlers in Fiji had acquired large areas of land (about 414,615 acres) from the native chiefs, but since 1875 practically all sale of native land, except to the government for specific purposes, has been prohibited. Tenure has been granted only by leaseholds, which may extend up to 99 years for agricultural purposes. In 1936 only about one-fifth (863,211 acres) of the total area of the colony (4,523,620 acres) had been alienated by sales and leases.[28]

[27] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 118.
[28] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 70.

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Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed. 423 648 [647]

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31] 423 439 [427]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle. 423

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

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423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423
enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578
and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands 423
has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in [161]
the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423
the modern western economic system. He is economically 464
independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in [167]
southern Lau.

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464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other 461 racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

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working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII. 461 178

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement. 427 471 166

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[23] 423 471

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[23] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

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423 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or
471 not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden
261 paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

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There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

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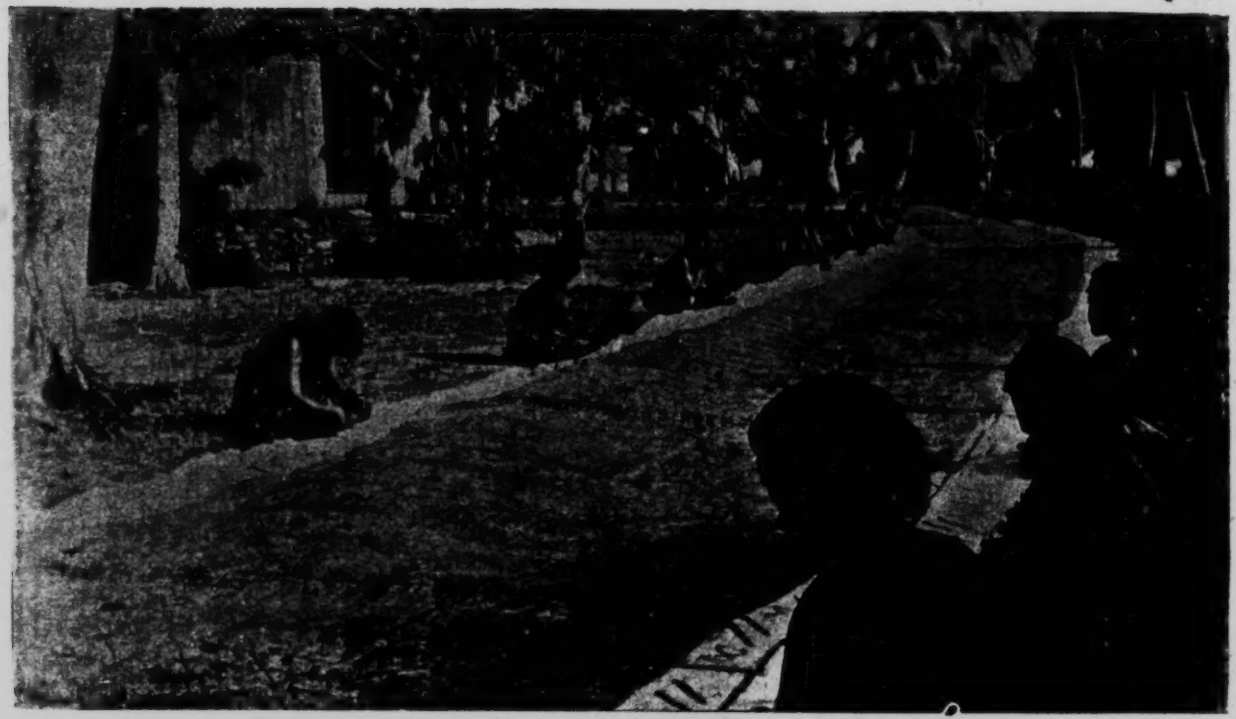

[facing p.84]

DEATH OF THE HIGH CHIEF

The route of the funeral procession is carpeted with long strips of tribute barkcloth and bordered by seated women of high rank.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262]
trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151]
a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and 177
feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. 797
Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, 805
and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each 797
member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life con- 461
flicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was 439
but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of 431
western economy into the group. Another was the introduc- 656
tion of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group. [651]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts. 439 245

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. [651] 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 178 245

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
464 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39] 439 245 [435]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java. [654]

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily 439 178 434

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

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439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type. 245 439

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41] [654]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment. 178 245 439

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world. 178 182

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Fiji*, 1936, pp. 9-10.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vuai levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 ASIDE from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3:Thompson-E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously. 431 178

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment. 554

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable 000

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

000 environment on industry are furnished by the pot-making and trading natives of the small infertile islands of Tubetube and Teste in the same region.[45]

I believe that far more valuable to the culture as a whole and to the individuals within it would be a policy of encouraging creative production and economic self-reliance. By this I do not mean production of copra or other commercially valuable trade goods to be exported, although a certain amount of foreign trade may be beneficial since the natives will probably be more or less in contact with the outside world in the future and will have to become accustomed to it. I mean production of food and craft articles to be exchanged ceremonially between native groups and islands.

How can production and exchange be encouraged? First, by developing the available food resources in order not only to provide for daily necessities but also to accumulate a surplus for storage by the native method of fermentation; second, by stimulating native craftsmanship based on the available natural resources; third, by lifting those regulations which tend to inhibit native economic activity and to discourage healthy ceremonial exchange, and by encouraging inter-island trade especially through ceremonial exchanges between related villages.

Let us first take the problem of food resources. Since practically all the available garden land on the famine islands is in use we cannot hope to increase production by enlarging the area under cultivation unless food plants which will grow on land now forested are imported. An increase in the yield from the limited amount of garden land can be expected, however, by improving methods of cultivation and by stimulating interest in gardening. At present, before planting, the surface of the land is barely scratched with a wooden digging stick or imported hoe, and no fertilizer is used.[46] Even

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

[46] For details concerning gardening technics see "Subsistence" (by B. Tueting) in L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Fulanga

FOOD PRESERVED BY FERMENTATION

Tapioca, which has been allowed to ferment, is being prepared for the earth oven in the Fulanga lagoon.

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[facing p. 100]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or
24/ the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced
226 politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai,* which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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137 grow if they were planted, and even on islands where under the post-Tongan system of land tenure the bush is free, the natives still know and respect ancient clan claims to bush land. Hence wild yams planted by a member of one clan would probably be unmolested by other clans.

136 A very important source of meat now neglected is the wild fowl which abounds in the jungle. Little effort would be required to teach the natives adequate trapping and snaring methods so that this food would be available even without the use of firearms.

231 Another important source of food now neglected is domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. Fulanga, the island with the poorest food resources in Lau, is outstanding for its chicken raising. By means of regular feeding and proper housing in chicken coops, hundreds of chickens are raised for local consumption and for export to other islands in exchange for vegetable food. There is no reason why other famine islands such as Kambara, if sufficiently stimulated and encouraged, cannot follow Fulanga's example in this respect. The main fodder for both chickens and pigs is coconut meat, of which there is an over-production in Lau since the copra slump. Hence there is no problem of fodder for animals reducing the island food supply.

The main consideration in the raising of domestic animals is labor. The consumption of pigs has decreased markedly since the regulation that pigs must be kept outside the village in pens has been enforced. Under present conditions the Lauans lack the energy to feed these domestic animals. A little encouragement in breeding, and the infusion of new life into the economic system by means of ceremonial exchanges involving feasts might supply the necessary stimulus to increase production. Moreover, the government could greatly aid the natives in poultry raising by importing new stock to improve the breeds. This is even more important in regard to pigs than to chickens. The Lauan pigs are of the long

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

231 legged, razor backed Oceanic type which could undoubtedly be improved by the infusion of new blood.

322 335 We have considered some methods by which the available food resources may be developed. Let us turn to native craftsmanship. The crafts for which southern Lau has been famous are canoe building, woodwork, and the making of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil. All these crafts are very much alive in Lau today, but an increase in the quantity and to some extent also the quality of production would not only add zest to the economic life but would greatly benefit the individual craftsman. The famine islands have an exclusive monopoly on woodcrafts dependent on greenheart because this hardwood grows well nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. The making of canoes is particularly important because of the communal effort and series of feasts which mark each step in the process, and also because canoes provide the transportation which makes native inter-island trade possible. The woodcrafts are controlled by hereditary carpenters who have learned their skill from relatives in their hereditary carpenter clans. On Kambara, the main woodcraft island, there are two such carpenter clans (called Matai Lemaki and Matai Sau), each with its own history, traditions, and standards of craftsmanship. These clans are headed by able and intelligent men, Tatchini of Tanggu and Tandu of Undu. If these two master craftsmen would cooperate by urging more youths to learn the craft, by raising the standards of workmanship which have slumped in recent years, and by encouraging pride in individual creation, the woodcrafts on Kambara would be stimulated.

000 However, still more important to the economic life would be the increased production of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil, which are valuable articles of native trade made by the women. The quality of these articles from southern Lau, especially barkcloth, is still high, and they are in demand for every large ceremonial exchange honoring a high chief in Fiji. In recent years the women of Lau have had far less work than

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara.* She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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with supplementary resources gives zest and self-sufficiency to native life. It encourages not only the economic independence and stability of the natives through economic competition, but also their sense of well-being and contentment through breaking the monotony of daily life with travel, feasts, dancing contests, and sociability.

If the above mentioned program were carried out in southern Lau the standard of living, now at subsistence level, might be raised within the natural limits of the environment, and the resulting healthy and independent economic life could serve as a firm basis for the new cultural adjustment.

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Kambara

CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A..
..munduo!

539

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared. 776

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air. 774

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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774 to a depth of half-an-inch from walking barefoot. At sundown, Ravu had not returned, and we were worried, for night descends early in the shadowy tropical jungle. When the last rays of the setting sun still cast a red glow over the village, the forest is already in darkness. We called a few natives together and, armed with lanterns and flashlights, set out to look for him. The searching party, in a long line, followed the narrow path up the steep cliff and into the dense jungle.

We shouted at intervals but there was no response. Finally, from afar we heard a shot. Picking our way in the twilight off the rough path into the primeval forest, we followed the sound. Suddenly we came upon Ravu, his body shaking with fear, his face pale and terrified. When he saw us his expression changed to one of great relief. Finally he was able to tell his story.

For some time in the early afternoon he had looked for pigeons without seeing any. Suddenly he had come upon Wangga, a man from Tanggu. He told Wangga he was searching for fowl, and Wangga said: "I know where there are many. Come with me." So Ravu followed him. They walked a great distance through the pathless jungle and Ravu became very tired. But there were no fowl. Finally they reached cliffs which rim the island and drop abruptly into the sea. Wangga stood on the edge of a sheer precipice and called Ravu to join him, but Ravu was frightened and decided to turn back. His companion returned with him. When they were approaching the spot where they had met, Ravu heard our shouts. He fired a shot into the air and Wangga started to run away. Suddenly the man vanished. Then Ravu realized that it was Wangga's bad soul which had tried to lure him to death over the cliff. Ravu did not recover his composure until the following day.

577 As a motivating force, kindness and humanitarianism are still foreign to the Lauan. This was illustrated forcibly one

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dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan [201]
signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Raramal"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

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Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints 787
himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep 793
and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, 774
and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral 618
gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which 769
was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. 776
Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti 618
Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

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769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

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Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster. 565 773 [825]

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead. 775 565

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba. 797

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[48]

539

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian 797

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 177 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water"). 170 575

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands. 575

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies. 575 776

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each 575 776 782

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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

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against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

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794 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed
668 by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos*, and *mbulis*, in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

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159 medicine and became pregnant. While she was with child
157 she had a vision that her unborn son would be a prophet and free the people of Fiji from foreign domination. She told the child of her dream when he was still young and died shortly after. At a government school in Viti Levu the boy was trained to be a village teacher. He learned a fair amount of English. During his youth he traveled in the Fiji group and also visited New Zealand.

When I knew Tarai he was about 28 years old, lighter skinned and smaller in bone structure and stature than the average Fijian. He looked like a half-caste, and since his father was pure Fijian, his mother must have had some European blood. His face was troubled, but his manner gentle. After many months he told me that as a youth he had begun to be visited in his dreams by his ancestor gods. They promised that if he would live a chaste life for seven years they would gradually reveal to him the truth about his people and give him "mana" to lead them to greatness. They said that Fiji had once been a powerful nation like Great Britain and had ruled the entire Pacific. Fiji was destined to reach these heights again, and if he carried out their instructions he was to be the leader. Tarai resolved to live a life of chastity, but in spite of his firm resolutions he failed again and again. However, the visions continued.

Meanwhile his father had remarried and returned to live on Kambara. He called for his eldest son to come home and help him cultivate his ancestral land, and Tarai returned as village teacher. He settled down and built himself a bachelor house. He was intelligent, industrious, and highly respected on the island, a good gardener and sailor. When I knew him his father was continually urging him to marry, for he had been betrothed for years to his cross cousin. Tarai delayed the wedding, however, and was still sure in his heart that if he carried out the instructions of his ancestors he would become a great leader. At the same time he felt that he

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could not make the effort. After leaving Fiji, I received a letter from Tarai telling of his marriage. He proudly described how his father had killed four pigs, and a great many people had attended the ceremonies.

Some individuals, however, have been able to make an adjustment between the new and the old religions with the minimum of conflict. The life of old Moto of Undu, for instance, is tranquil. Moto was born shortly after Christianity had been introduced to Kambara. His father became a Christian, and Moto grew up to accept the new faith wholeheartedly. However, in spite of the injunction against speaking of the old gods, Moto learned something about them from his father. As he grew older he thought more and more about the changes that had taken place in his lifetime, the old Lauan customs and how they had been altered by the coming of Christianity and the British rule. At about the age of 90, when we knew him, he was able to free himself sufficiently from the mission yoke to tell us what he knew of the old religion. In the course of our discussion one day, he said: "You know, when I was young I thought that the 'way of the devil' (as the old religion is called) was very different from Christianity, but now that I am old I see little difference between them." This statement is significant for it represents one native's carefully thought out conclusions of a lifetime.

Gradually native myths and tales which harmonized the two religions were created and spread through the group. The translation of a version of the creation of man, collected in Viti Levu by Mr. Brewster in 1893, follows:[52]

"Formerly there were two gods, Jehovah and Ndengei (the great snake god of Viti Levu), and at one time they had a dispute. Ndengei said, 'Jehovah, pay obedience to me.' Jehovah replied, 'Ndengei, serve me. Do you not know that I am the supreme Chief and Lord of Heaven?' To this

[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

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539 Ndengei replied, 'What, Jehovah, are you a god?' Then said
177 Jehovah, 'What, Ndengei are you god? What are you a god
773 of? If you are, make man.' Ndengei took earth and moulded and fashioned it into the likeness of a man. Then Jehovah said, 'Tell it to stand up,' and Ndengei said to the earth he had shaped, 'Earth, stand,' but the earthen form remained still and quiet.

"When Ndengei had finished his work he said, 'Jehovah, if thou art a god make man of this earth.' So Jehovah kneaded the earth and formed a man and then a woman. When he had finished fashioning both, Ndengei said, 'Tell them to stand up.' Then Jehovah thought, 'What shall I do to accomplish a living man? I will endow him with a soul and with breath.' So he stooped down and caused his spirit to enter the man first and afterwards the woman, and he breathed into them. Then Ndengei said once more, 'Tell them to stand up.' And Jehovah said to the two earthen forms, 'Stand up,' and they stood up.

"After that Jehovah said, 'Ndengei, what are you god of? If you are a god tell your earthen forms over there to stand up. Today you have seen me create man from earth only.'

"After that the human species multiplied and Jehovah drove Ndengei away. Then Jehovah said to his people, 'It is good that you should build a house, an extremely lofty one whose summit shall reach to heaven, of which it shall be the key and from which life immortal shall be given you.' Then they built the house and each was ordered to furnish it with the requisite articles at which they were skilled. They did so, and gave different names to the things which they gave and thus arose a diversity of languages. Then Jehovah told them to prepare the feast customary upon the completion of a house, and they made one of yams, taro, and plantains, which sprang from the place at which they were. Then said Jehovah to them, 'It is good that each of you should go your way into the world and fill the different lands.' So they went forth,

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each taking yams, taro, and plantains, and some named themselves after the particular kind of yams they took, and some from the taro, and others after the plantains, each after the things they took with them when they were sent forth by the spirit (thus accounting for their plant totems), and the place from whence they departed was called Paradise. Then each dwelt in the land at which they arrived, and they settled down and multiplied . . . The common people arrived first and the chiefs followed later on."

Viewing the change in retrospect we see that the missionaries brought to Lau a foreign world view, which differed from their own mainly in its emphasis on the significance of the spiritual life of the individual soul in the next world. The Lauans were opportunists interested in obtaining "mana" expressed in prestige in this world. Success meant honor to their clan and eventual deification. The "mana" concept of the Lauans provided the bridge between the two outlooks on life. By rejection of their own ancestral gods and acceptance of a foreign God as a "mana" giver, they believed they could more effectively attain their ends. The innovation produced profound changes in their culture, especially in the social structure. Most important of these was perhaps the shift in emphasis from clan rank based on supernatural sanctions, to individual status based on social sanctions.

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CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vakasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding,
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

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755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824] [53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia ginnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

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her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the 753
husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59]

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health 755
if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be 774
captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely.

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal 754
swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery [753]

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757 278
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

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753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 Before the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

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stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63] 161 164 731

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64] 168 744

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65] 165 744

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows: [162]

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

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744 874 759 The expansion of the European medical staff in Fiji began in the late nineties, and today the Fiji medical service consists of sixteen medical officers under the control of the director of medical service. Their work in native health and sanitation control is assisted and supplemented in the country districts by sanitary inspectors, nurses, and by native medical practitioners trained at the central medical school in Suva. The former Fiji medical school founded in 1883 was replaced in 1928 by the central medical school which receives native medical students from Fiji as well as various island groups in the South Pacific. After successfully completing a four-year course[66] the students receive diplomas as native medical practitioners. These modern native doctors are attached to provincial hospitals and receiving stations. They have a high social prestige among the natives, and by interpreting modern hygiene and medical practices to their own people they bridge the wide gap between native custom and western science.

742 Medical work in Fiji has been greatly aided by the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, which has contributed funds both for the erection of hospitals and a training school and for experimental research in the control of infectious diseases.

744 Administrative health and medical work among the natives may be divided into three main phases: the control of infectious diseases, sanitation and housing, and child welfare.

The natives have developed some immunity against measles, whooping cough, and chicken pox which, however, still raise the infant mortality rate. Since 1911, lepers have been segre-
[743] gated on the island of Makongai which receives patients also from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook, Gilbert and Ellice islands. A systematic campaign against yaws, especially during 1929-31, and hookworm, especially since 1922, control of epidemic dysentery and the treatment of ankylostomiasis have had marked results. Today, of infectious

[66] The curriculum includes chemistry, physics, biology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, surgery, midwifery, and child care.

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Today, of infectious

diseases, dysentery, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis take the highest death toll. 744 [165]

Great efforts have been made to improve the sanitation and housing in the native villages. Attention is placed especially on purification of the water supply and on soil sanitation through the installation of latrines. The village headman is responsible for the enforcement of regulations dealing with sanitation, and the building and spacing of sleeping and kitchen houses.

TABLE 1. INFANT MORTALITY AMONG FIJIANS 165

Year	Under 1 month	1 month to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Total
1929	111	379	281	771
1930	125	500	549	1,174
1931	107	267	251	625
1932	90	236	140	466
1933	88	244	174	506
1934	99	368	290	757
1935	99	462	358	919
1936	98	424	514	1,036

(Annual Reports, Fiji.)

One of the most important native health measures is the child welfare service initiated by the government in 1927. It has spread gradually through the colony until child welfare committees consisting of native mothers have been established in nearly every Fijian village. They are instructed in child care by the child welfare worker in charge of the district.[67] The child welfare service is laying a foundation for a higher standard of infant and maternal care. The results of the work can only be seen over a considerable period of time, since they may be counteracted by epidemics such as those of whooping cough, dysentery, and measles, which have increased the infant mortality in the last few years (see Table 1). 746

[67] Four trained European nurses and fourteen native nurses are engaged in this work. They are aided by district medical officers and native medical practitioners.

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TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

Island	Village	1921 Total population	1921 Male	1921 Female	1921 No. of houses	1921 Average number of occupants per house	1936 Total population	1936 Male	1936 Female	1936 No. of houses	1936 Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.

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744 Having reviewed the medical and health work being done in the colony and its effect upon the native population as a whole, let us turn to the specific region of southern Lau. These islands are perhaps the most isolated in all Fiji, and as we have seen are far from the nearest native medical practitioner, nurse, or hospital. The natives, therefore, have never had constant medical attention from doctors trained in modern medicine, and depend upon their native system of therapeutics for their daily needs. However, the government's systematic campaign for the improvement of native health has had a marked effect upon the natives of southern Lau. Since epidemics of infectious diseases have a tendency to spread throughout the colony their control has naturally reduced the death rate in the southern islands. Furthermore, medical officers visit each island at least once every year or two. They have organized the women into child welfare committees and instructed them in modern methods of child care. They inspect village sanitation and housing, and instruct the natives in hygiene and the village headmen in their duties as health administrators. However, housing conditions have not kept up with the population increase in Lau. The six islands studied show an average of 4.04 persons per sleeping house in 1921 and an average of 5.10 persons per sleeping house in 1936 (see Table 2), which is less, however, than the general average of 6.31 persons per sleeping house for the natives of the whole Fiji group in 1936.[68]

161 The population of the six islands studied in southern Lau has increased during the 15 year inter-census period (1921-35) at the rate of 154.99 per 1,000 (Table 2) as against 155.97 per 1,000 for Fijians in general.[69]

When we study the vital statistics in detail we note a great variation in rate of increase between the six islands. For Kambara the increase rate per 1,000 is 92, for Fulanga 258,

[68] Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.
[69] *Ibid.*

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161 for Ongea 40, for Namuka 245, and for Mothe 95. Thus Fulanga and Namuka have relatively a very high rate of increase, and Mothe, Kambara, and Ongea a low rate. Even though the figures with which we are dealing are small and there is a probability of error in census reports among people who are still to a great extent pre-literate, such a wide variation has significance. All have been equally exposed to the government health campaign. Hence there must be other important factors contributing to the rate of population growth.

Besides direct health measures, other factors which may contribute toward social stability and population growth, such as the lack of inter-island warfare, the system of indirect rule, and peasant proprietorship apply fairly equally to all the islands. Other obvious factors which suggest themselves, such as the adequacy of the garden land, the loss of population by migration, disproportionate number of females to males in the population, and influence of the Tongans, fail to explain these differences. For instance, of Fulanga and Namuka, the two islands having by far the greatest increase in population, Fulanga has the least soil and garden produce of all the limestone islands, and Namuka has the most soil and enough food in excess of her needs to trade with the famine group. Moreover, of the other three islands, each of which shows a relatively small increase, Mothe has plenty of garden land and food, whereas Kambara and Ongea lack both. As far as migration is concerned, Fulanga, according to the genealogies, gains practically no inhabitants through inter-island marriage, for Fulangans on account of their low social standing are not sought in marriage by natives of other islands, and when such marriages do occur the couple usually does not settle on Fulanga but seeks better land on the island of the non-Fulangan spouse. Namuka on the other hand, because of her rich soil, gains inhabitants by marriage from all the famine islands. Of the islands having a disproportionately low increase, Mothe gains by marriage while Ongea and

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Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the in- 161
clination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make [464]
excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and
more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any
of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all
the islands show a disproportionately large number of females [162]
to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly
balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong
on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain
the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase 161
we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several 182
traits in common which are absent in the other three islands.
The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern
Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity.
Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than
the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently
the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and
maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands,
according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging
to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging
to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and
lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the
nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently
belong to the lower class. However, at least two other im-
portant factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of
increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on
Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other
islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in
the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but
also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

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161 have been in closer contact with influences from the outside
182 world. Old tabus have broken down to a great extent on both islands and the morale is relatively low. The inhabitants are inclined to be self-pitying and to have lost a great deal of their energy. Moreover, these two islands are centers of the upper class and the conflict between the island chiefs and the colonial administration is reflected in unrest and political wrangling. These factors have probably played a rôle in retarding the rate of population growth.

It is clear from the above that any attempt to explain the increase of population of Fiji must take into account a complicated set of interacting factors, each of which contributes to the picture as a whole. From the analysis of population increase in southern Lau it seems fair to assume that, in this area at least, a factor of great importance in population growth is the presence of a spiritual force—a will to survive or zest for life—which grows out of a healthy and socially adjusted communal life. Here the greatest increase in population is found on islands least disturbed, not only by external influences but also by internal political jealousies.

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CHAPTER VII

ZEST FOR LIFE

LEARNING TO LIVE

A kena laya sa vakaonggo,
Sa ndrau na kena votu.

This is like its bud (or calyx)
Its result will appear a hundred fold.[71]

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THE FIJIANS, like most pre-literate people, had no very formal system of education before the coming of the missionaries. The Wesleyan Methodists, however, shortly after their arrival in Lakemba, began educational activities among the natives. They reduced the native language to written form and translated the New Testament. They introduced a system of village schools in which reading and writing the vernacular, arithmetic, and religion were taught by village pastors. Such schools were established at each mission station and increased with the spread of the gospel in the group. After having passed through the village schools, a few selected youths were trained to become pastor-teachers by a three years' course in a mission district school.

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About twenty years after the arrival of the missionaries a central pastor-teacher's training institute was established at Mataisuva on Viti Levu. It was later moved, and finally settled at Ndavuilevu near Suva. Since 1908 this site has become a mission educational center which, besides the original pastor-teachers' training institute, includes a more advanced teachers' training institute, a theological institute, a technical school for Fijian boys, and a primary practice teaching school. The technical school offers training in handiwork, such as carpentry and printing. To fill the need for agricultural training, the mission established at Navuso an agricultural

[71] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 111.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau
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school which provides a course in farming and dairying for young Fijian men. A mission farm school and technical workshop were established at Nailanga, and a farm school at Lautoka. All these institutions except the farm school at Lautoka are still carrying on their activities among the natives, and village schools established by the mission are now found in almost every native village.

For seventy years after the arrival of the first missionaries in Fiji native education was completely in their hands. The main rôle was played by the Wesleyan Methodists, but part was also taken by the Roman Catholics and the Seventh Day Adventists.[72] Since 1916, however, the colonial government has taken increasing responsibility for education of the natives in Fiji. In that year a superintendent of schools was appointed, and a board of education was established. The administration assumed greater control over native education as a result of the recommendations of the educational commission of 1926. A department of education was established and the board of education reconstituted.[73]

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The government assists the educational activities of the missionaries by contributing grants-in-aid to selected elementary schools which conform to their requirements in regard to the teaching of the English language. In 1936, such grants-in-aid, amounting to £8,767, were paid to 123 schools, with an attendance total of 8,783. The standards in these assisted schools vary, but in most of them the following subjects besides English are taught: arithmetic, history, geography, agriculture, hygiene, and manual work. In 1936 there were 117 unassisted elementary village schools for natives with an enrollment of 5,104. The curriculum in these schools is similar to that of the assisted schools except that English is usually absent.

[72] *Annual Reports of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1932, 1933, 1934; C. W. Mann, *Education in Fiji*, pp. 23-28, Melbourne, 1935.

[73] The department of education consists of the director of education, the assistant director of education, and inspectors appointed by the governor. The board of education consists of the director of education and eight others appointed by the governor. (*Annual Report of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1936, p. 1.)

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Instruction is given in the vernacular by village pastors or untrained teachers. They are not paid a regular salary but receive remuneration in the form of assistance from their pupils in garden work. The government also subsidizes two mission schools for training native men teachers, one for native women teachers, and the Navuso agricultural school.[74] 872 648

Besides assisting the mission educational activities, the government maintains six elementary boarding schools, called provincial schools, in various parts of the colony, and one advanced elementary school to prepare gifted pupils for admission to government service, teachers' training schools and the central medical school. It also supports one teachers' training institution for native male teachers (at Natambua), and the central medical school at Suva. [874]

The total number of natives reported in school in 1936 was 15,569, of whom 8,972 were boys and 6,597 girls. The Government spent about £24,000 on the education of the natives, excluding funds for the central medical school.[75] Moreover, young Fijians are trained through the agricultural department of the central agricultural station to be field assistants; through the police department at the training school in Suva to be recruits; and through the public works department in boat building, engineering, boiler making, electric work, and motor repairing. 871 648

A limited amount of adult education for natives near government centers is provided through broadcasts of news and lectures in the vernacular and music for native listeners; through the organization of native women's guilds to teach mat plaiting, sewing and home making; and through small agricultural demonstration farms. These activities benefit the natives of outlying districts such as southern Lau only indirectly.

[74] *Annual Report of the Department of Education*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 2, 9.
[75] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 45.

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The agricultural demonstration farms are a recent experiment in the development of scientific agriculture among the natives. They aim to become native agricultural centers where methods of growing crops useful to native economy will be demonstrated; the services and advice of native field assistants will be available; seeds, planting material and small livestock will be distributed; and native produce will be collected for organized marketing when necessary. They also aim to serve as training centers where native farmers may settle. During 1936 five such centers were established in various parts of Fiji, and negotiations were made to start four more. The project will take some years to attain full development.[76]

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In an earlier chapter we followed the development of the Kambaran child from birth through childhood, initiation, and marriage into full-fledged adulthood. We saw how through imitation and experiment he learned to take his place in the community. He learned to live by actual participation in the life of the group. Through a long circular route western educators have finally arrived at the conclusion that the ideal type of education is that which enables the child to learn to live by these very methods. Hence it is clear that the most effective and efficient educational system for the natives is one which recognizes and utilizes the methods of inducting the child into group life already functioning in village life. According to modern standards, the ideal type of education for the Fijian would be controlled acceleration, extension, and elaboration of the learning process as it takes place in native village life today.

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But what are to be the aims of this process? Granted that no matter what methods are used education should prepare a child for life, let us look at the type of life that can be reasonably expected for a Fijian child growing up today. We have seen in previous chapters that most natives, though they frequently leave their homes in youth to work on plantations,

[76] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, p. 15.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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finally settle down in their own villages as peasant proprietors and work a piece of their own or their clan's ancestral land. Here they live on their ancestral land near the sacred places which symbolize the source of their power—the sacred clan "mana" of their living and dead ancestors. Their right to the land is protected by the colonial government, and hence they are assured the opportunity of earning a livelihood without competing seriously with other races. They can, by working their land, raise enough produce to cover their needs. Moreover, we have seen that under the present conditions in Fiji the natives fit into the picture best as peasant proprietors. It seems reasonable, therefore, that the aim of the system of native education in Fiji at present should be the preparation of native boys and girls for adult life in their own native villages.

To carry out this aim, the educational system must be based on an understanding of the fundamental pyschological set of the natives. It must recognize the fact that education in a culture such as the Fijian is desired mainly as a means for increasing social prestige, and it can take advantage of this to build up interest and initiative in creative production on the part of both men and women, that is, in the cultivation of the soil, in craftsmanship, and in ceremonial exchange. It must utilize not only their own methods of learning but also their own values and work rhythms to further refine the technics of living best suited to the particular needs of the people and limitations of environment.

Inasmuch as learning is an individual process with great individual variation and tends to emphasize individual achievement, such an educational system would necessarily emphasize status rather than rank in the social group—a move away from the old clan communism toward individualization. Hence by emphasizing personality it would automatically help to bridge the gap between the old native communal system and the new individualism, but at the same time would tend

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000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na sokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

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because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health.

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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NEW SERIES

VOL. 40 APRIL–JUNE, 1938 No. 2

THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

131 THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The 134 southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of ex- 137 change. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil 539 grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

648 Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

114 [1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pp 1-180 not processed]

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000 121 fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

127 Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. [172] Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

174 The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokorollulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

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headman and from these groups have descended the patrilineal sibs of the yavusa vanua (land group) in Lau today. Political power was in the hands of the old men.[13] The land people had little interest in pedigrees[14] and chieftainship was absent. Their traditions contain no reference to warfare and there was apparently little rivalry between groups or individuals.

The land people believed in a great spiritual being or mana-giver, the kalou.[15] Each hamlet had also its own spiritual being, called kalou vu. The names of most of these hamlet dieties have been lost but those recorded are spirits rather than ghosts.[16] The dieties were worshipped by "priests"[17] in sacred places[18] such as caves. They were propitiated with offerings in times of trouble, such as hurricane or drought.[19] The land people had first fruits' and probably boys' initiation[20] rites. Their ceremonies centered in their religious life.

The early inhabitants of each island believed that they originated locally from some natural object such as a tree or an animal which was their vu (forefather). For instance, the people of Kambara believed that they originated from the ngingia tree.[21] There is only one ngingia tree on Kambara.[22] It is located near the beach north of Undu village, which is com-

[13] The title turanga which (according to A. M. Hocart, Man, No. 80, 1913) formerly meant "old man" and now means "noble, senior, father, old man," may have been applied to these old men. A form of gerontocracy is found in parts of Viti Levu.

[14] The land people remember not more than five generations of their sib genealogies.

[15] Information concerning the great kalou was derived from Moto of Undu. He was the oldest inhabitant on Kambara and a member of the land group. He says he was born shortly after Christianity was introduced to the island.

[16] The following kalou vu of the land people were obtained from informants of this group: Mberawalaki (Nangara sib, Kambara), Tutumatua (Matasoata sib, Kambara), Iri Mbuli (Tonganiuthi sib, Kambara), Nainggilo (Nggilo sib, Fulanga), Rongoua (Nasava sib, Fulanga). Informants say that the above kalou vu are spirits, not ghosts.

[17] The "priest" was a sort of possessional shaman. Organized priesthood was apparently absent.

[18] Called na sava like Nggara Kalou, a sacred cave on Kambara, and Kalou, a sacred stone at Toka, Fulanga. I do not know whether the land people had mbure kalou (houses of the gods; see footnote 43) in Period 1, but they had them when the missionaries came, according to informants and to the archaeology.

[19] According to native informants of the land people.

[20] According to Moto, the land people had a secret society called Nanga. Lorimer Fison (*The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosures of Wainimala, Fiji*, Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 14, pp. 14-30, 1884) describes the Nanga of western Viti Levu as a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was the induction of the men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular enclosure, and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits, circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and the distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. Such enclosures were not seen in Lau.

[21] Informant, Moto of Undu. [22] According to native informants.

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174 posed of sibs descending from the early inhabitants of the island. Men of Undu still offer food and kava here in times of distress. According to the natives, the ceremony was last performed in 1929 when a severe drought threatened the food supply on the island. The wanggawangga ni vu (shrine of the forefather) of Kambara is the red shark, called by the title tui natakala or simply ratu. The red shark is the guardian of the land people, and it is still strictly tabu for a descendant of this group to kill, harm, or eat the red shark, or to defend himself against it. The shark is still propitiated with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea. Its appearance is considered to be a good omen. The land people of Fulanga believed that they originated from a hen, those of Mothe from an ivi[22] tree, and those of Namuka from a white dog.

The early inhabitants believed in a local abode of the soul after death. The traditional abode of the ghosts of the Kambara land people is Nggara Levu (great cave),[24] a burial cave located near the ngingia tree. The natives say that when a Kambara man died his soul went with a hissing sound to this cave. There is a story that from Nggara Levu the soul went to a high, roof-shaped rock on the reef of the island. The dead of the land people were buried in caves.

The early inhabitants subsisted chiefly by fishing and collecting tubers, fruits, and nuts from the bush.[25] Gardens were much smaller than they are today. Manioc[26] and sweet potato,[27] the main garden products today,[28] found their way into Lau during historic times.

Little definite information was obtained about the technology of the early inhabitants. Probably they lived in caves[29] and in small huts. We found no evidence of pottery or the tapa craft before Period 2.

---

[22] *Inocarpus edulis*, Forst.

[24] Also called Nggara-ni-mate (cave of the dead).

[25] On Kambara the chief food besides fish was the wangiri (unidentified) nut, which was preserved by fermentation in salt water. Other bush foods were probably the ivi (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.), ndawa (*Pometia pinnata* Forst.), aumitha (*Malaisia scandens* Lour. Pl.), mbawaki (unidentified), and wild yam. On Fulanga the chief food was yambia (*Tacca pinnatifida* Forst.).

[26] Forms of the cultivated manihot. [27] *Ipomoea batatas*.

[28] Uvi (yam, *Dioscorea sp.*) and ndalo (taro, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott) do not grow well on the southern islands. We do not know whether the land people of the fertile volcanic islands (where these tubers grow today) raised them in Period 1, but the number of varieties of each in Lau indicate that the plants have not been introduced recently. (See C. H. Wright, *A List of Fijian Plant Names*, Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, Fiji, No. 10, Suva, 1918.) Kawai (sweet yam, a form of *Dioscorea sp.*), was probably cultivated.

[29] According to informants. We found adz blades, fire holes, shell heaps, potsherds, house-posts, and canoe hulls in caves which they said had been inhabited.

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PERIOD 2

About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies of high ranking sibs, a group of warrior immigrants arrived in Lau. The folklore says that these people came from Nakauvandra in northeast Viti Levu, the largest island of the Fiji group. Nakauvandra is the traditional home of Ndengei,[20] the great ancestral god of Fiji. The immigrants worshipped Ndengei as their first forefather. They were led by the warrior hero, Ndaunisai, who came with his brothers in two large double canoes. Ndaunisai landed on Kambara Island. From here the immigrants spread through southern and central Lau and established themselves as the dominant social group. Although the newcomers were warriors, settlement was not necessarily by force. They were accepted as bringing rarama (light) to the inhabitants who had been living in mbutombuto (darkness).[21] 174 173

Upon the basic sib unit of the early inhabitants, the immigrants imposed a complicated system of rank, by which every sib stood in definite relationship to every other sib. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence sib genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary sib titles[22] depending on an historical division of sibs. Sibs descended from the immigrants formed the yavusa turanga (chief group). Sibs descended from the early inhabitants formed the yavusa vanua (land group). 174

The highest rank was held by the high chief, Tui Naiau,[23] who was directly descended in the first born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai. The high chief was sacred. His person was protected by many tabus and to break one of these meant death. He was surrounded by strict etiquette and elaborate ceremonial. The head of the chief, his headrest, and his comb were tabu. The head of the pig and the sea turtle were reserved for him. He was addressed by a special phraseology.[24] His birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and death were celebrated by all his

---

[20] For further information concerning Ndengei see: Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. 3, p. 83; A. B. Brewster *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 81–82, 85.

[21] According to informants.

[22] Such as mata ni vanua (eye or face of the land), the chief's herald; ndau ni nggoli (master fisherman); vaka vanua (chief of crops). Sib titles are held by the sib headman.

[23] For a legend concerning the first Tui Naiau see: G. M. Hennings, *The Murder of the First Tui Naiau* (Transactions, Fijian Society, 1917), pp. 33–37.

[24] This phraseology was in the Mbauan dialect. See Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), Vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

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174 people with ceremonial presentations of tribute, formal dances,[35] and kava[36] drinking customs with carefully prescribed rituals and precedence.[37] He had one chief wife and many secondary wives.[38] At his death some of these were strangled.[39] The chiefly ceremonial pattern was duplicated less ostentatiously for other members of the group, depending on rank and wealth.

The ranking system was interrelated with a hierarchy of sib ancestor gods called kalou vu. At the top of the hierarchy stood Ndaunisai and his ancestors. The position of each god was determined by his mana, expressed by success in warfare while on earth and by success of his living descendants. In other words, his rank was determined by his pre-mortem and post-mortem prestige.

The stress on rank and its supplement in ancestor worship threw the emphasis in religion from the spiritual "high god" concept of the early inhabitants to the sib ancestor gods of the newcomers.[40] However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestral gods as sib dieties, the descendants of the early inhabitants retained their sib gods as well as their sib units.

The ancestor god of each sib was embodied in a species of animal or plant which was sacred to the sib. Although much knowledge of sib totems has been lost, at least half of the thirty-seven sibs studied possessed three totems: a species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. The totems were propitiated with ceremonial offerings of food and kava. Each species had a title and its generic name was tabu to members of other sibs in the presence of the owners. The Vuanikathu sib on Kambara, which traces its genealogy ten generations directly to Ndaunisai, owns the mavinda[41] tree, the ongo fish, and the kaisevou bird.[42] Even today the mavinda trees of

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[35] Called meke, especially war dances for men and sitting dances for women.

[36] Yanggona (*Piper methysticum* Forst.).

[37] According to the so called Fijian custom, which is characterized by great formality, hand clapping, and kava meke singing. The old men told Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141) that the true Fijian mode was characterized by the grating of the root on a piece of fine coral.

[38] Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–33) states that the chief had from ten to fifty or one hundred wives.

[39] As described by informants, by Wilkes (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 98–100), and by Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 200–201).

[40] The interest of the early population, expressed in their mystical outlook on life and [184] religious ritual, was focused on the inner content of life, while that of the immigrants, expressed in the rank system, ancestor worship, and social ceremonial, was focused on outer form. Even today the land people are less restricted in daily life by formalities and jealousy than the chief group. They seem to be more modest and liberal and to have more sense of humor than members of the chief group.

[41] *Erythrospermum polyandrum* Oliver.

[42] Information concerning the Vuanikathu sib totems was obtained from the sib headman. It is tabu for other members of the sib to discuss them.

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the island are cared for by the sib and their fragrant flowers may not be picked. It is tabu for members of the sib to catch or eat the ongo fish. Kaisevou birds, caught by sib members, are rubbed with perfumed oil and released. The ancestor god and his totems were propitiated for mana in order to enhance the social prestige of the sib, the highest social value of the immigrants. They were worshipped by hereditary priests in small temples called mbure kalou.[43] Frequently the priests used their power to enhance the power of the chiefs.[44] 174

When a man from the immigrant group died, his soul went to Nai Thimbathimba, a jumping-off place on or near each island. Nai Thimbathimba usually faced the west or northwest. In this direction lies Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu, one of the two large islands of Fiji. From Nai Thimbathimba the soul was ferried by canoe to Nai Thombothombo. Members of the yavusa turanga (chief group) today are not aware that the early inhabitants had a local abode of the dead. They believe that the land people also go after death to Nai Thombothombo, but whereas ghosts of the chief group board a hardwood or chiefly canoe, those of the land group journey by a softwood or inferior one into eternity.[45]

The immigrants married women of the land people[46] and since these

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[43] House of the god. According to statements and drawings in historical sources, to archaeological sites, and to native informants, the mbure kalou in Lau consisted of a small, oval or rectangular building with a disproportionately high, thatched, gabled roof. The building was raised on a foundation mound, usually oval or round. Fragant plants grew around it and still grow on the old sites, and ceremonial and other weapons were kept in it. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86; J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London, 1853), p. 168; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 215, 222–23.

[44] On account of his direct contact with the ancestor gods, the priest had considerable power. He presented offerings from the people to the gods before a raid and in times of trouble. He was possessed by the kalou vu. This information was obtained from many informants and checked by the sources. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 86–90, 209; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 223–37; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925–26, p. 30.

[45] This is a general belief in Lau. It is also found in Fiji proper. The belief that souls of the departed go to Nai Thombothombo on Vanua Levu was reported in the nineteenth century from other parts of Fiji, and these reports state that from here the soul was believed to go to Nakauvandra, the abode of Ndengei, the great ancestor god in northeast Viti Levu (Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 85; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 225). It is probable that this belief of a return of the soul to Nakauvandra, the land of origin, also formerly existed among the immigrants of Lau.

[46] Today the two groups are mixed physically. However, since the immigrants founded their own sibs and the land people kept theirs, the two groups have maintained their identity through patrilineal descent. Moreover, in spite of the intermarriage between them, the natives claim to be able to see to which group a man belongs by his bearing, manners, and physical

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174 brought land as dowry,[47] the immigrants also became land holders. During the last two generations land has not been transferred from sib to sib.[48] Cross-cousin marriage[49] is the rule. Sibs of the land people still own most of the land, including the larger part of the fertile patches.[50] They take more interest in their gardens than the immigrants, but the latter are by far the better sailors and are also expert fish spearers.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening[51] continued to furnish the basis for subsistence, production was organized under the immigrants and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists, particularly carpenters[52] and fishermen, to their courts and extracting heavy tribute in the form of trade articles from their subjects. Lau became known in Tonga and Fiji for the quality of her materials and workmanship.[53] A lively interisland trade grew up between the coral limestone islands and those of volcanic formation. The fertile volcanic islands exchanged food for manufactured articles such as canoes, woodwork, tapa, and mats from the infertile islands, since the former lacked the natural resources and specialized skills necessary for these crafts.

In the latter part of Period 2 the Levuka people,[54] a group of sailors and potters, were expelled from Mbau. Some of them fled to Levuka, Lakemba, which became a pottery-making center. The Levuka women traveled through the southern islands and made pots wherever they could find potter's clay[55] and a market. They used the lump technic.[56]

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features (see footnote 81). Most villages today are composed of sibs from both groups but tend to be predominantly (80–20%) either one or the other. A few villages are composed of sibs from the land group only. No villages composed entirely of sibs from the chief group were found.

[47] The land was called sovisovi ni ndraundrau (place to collect leaves), for the women are responsible for collecting edible green leaves daily.

[48] These statements were checked by the genealogies and the distribution of garden land. [49] In the classificatory sense. [50] Checked by plans of garden land.

[51] A digging stick was used. Garden tools are described by Williams (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 63–64). [52] See footnote 89.

[53] Extracts from Cook (p. 115), Wilson (p. 210), and Bellinghausen (pp. 231–32) in G. C. Henderson, *The Discoverers of the Fiji Islands* (London, 1933).

[54] For information concerning the Levuka group see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61, 63, 175; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 133–34; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925, p. 24; Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 18–19. [55] I.e. on Kambara and Oneate.

[56] According to Levuka women who have witnessed the process. The art is now lost. Formerly cooking was done by the men, either by steaming in the earth oven, by roasting, or by stone boiling. After the introduction of pottery the women took over a share of the cooking. Daily the men secured, prepared, and steamed the garden produce while the women gathered, prepared, and boiled the fish, jungle greens, and coconut cream mixture, which is part of the daily diet. Food was frequently cooked twice a day in pots instead of once in the earth oven. (See Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 139.)

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Rivalry between the high ranking social groups led to strife, and fortifications were built on every island.[57] Natural defences, situated on the edge of coral limestone plateaux or at the summit of volcanic hills, were reinforced by stone walls or by a series of ramparts of earth, surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds and often by a moat. Inside the walls were houses used only in times of danger by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets. Clubs, spears, bows, and slings were the principal weapons.[58] 174

Gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger ones.[59] There arose small chiefdoms like Kambara, which held Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and perhaps at one time Fulanga, in tributary relationship. Finally Kambara was absorbed by Lakemba, which became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.[60]

PERIODS 3 AND 4

The periods of Tongan and European influence, which overlap historically, will be discussed in one section because it is impossible to understand one without the other. 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders began to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer.[61] At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu, and Somosomo, Mathuata, and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms

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[57] The following fortresses were examined: on Kambara—Nakorovusa, Naisevou, Nakoroyangai, Nakaka, Nakoro, Matai-Undu, Thaukenaloa; on Wangava—Ndengei, Korombalavu, Nambakua; on Mothe—Ndelaimakotu, Ndelaimothe; on Fulanga—Nauluvatu, Tchinambua.

[58] For the fortifications of the chief's village on Lakemba see Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For general information concerning fortifications and arms see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 78–81; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–59, 76; extracts from Cook (p. 108), Bligh (pp. 163–64), and Wilson (p. 210) in Henderson, *op. cit.*

[59] There were three grades of dependency between groups: mbatchi, nggali, and kaisi. The mbatchi included those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; the nggali included conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce; and the kaisi included defeated groups reduced to slavery.

[60] The tributary relationships in southern Lau cannot be reconstructed in detail with the available evidence until the islands came under the supremacy of Lakemba.

[61] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Berthold Seemann, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* (London, 1862), p. 405; *Journal of William Lockerby, 1808–09* (Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, No. 52, 1925), p. ix.

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175 and western military tactics into Fiji.[62] This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power.[63] Larger war forces were used, and cannibalism and human sacrifice increased. Thus it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau to become dominant in Fiji in the first half of the century.[64]

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans into Fiji. Contact of the Fiji islands with Tonga[65] began before the eighteenth century. The missionary Williams[66] states that the recollection of the first voyage from Tonga was lost more than a hundred years before his time. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans,[67] mainly on account of the hardwood of southern Lau. They remained months and even years in Lau while they built large double canoes, far superior to their own.[68] They also visited Mbua for sandalwood,[69] which they used to perfume their oil, and Taveuni for red paroquet[70] feathers, which they traded to Samoa for decorating fine mats.[71] They gave in return Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs. They also paid in services, such as the loan of their women and help in warfare.[72] Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Fijian chiefs in order to learn it.[73] In return for services in warfare the Tongan warriors were given land occasionally, and colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.[74]

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[62] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 62; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 457 footnote; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3. [63] Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 272. [64] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61–65.

[65] The voyage to Tonga took two to four days (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 3). [66] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

[67] The Tongans were more daring sailors than the Lauans, who seldom ventured with their canoes out of sight of land. However, they did accompany the Tongans to Tonga occasionally (William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, 2nd ed., London, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 263–64). Cook met Fijians at Tongatabu on his third voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

[68] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 167; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–40; Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 265. The Tongans learned a great deal about canoe building from the Lauans (*ibid.*, Vol. Vol. 2, p. 263). [69] Yasi (*Santalum yasi* Seem.).

[70] Kula (*Coriphilus solitarius* Latham), Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[71] Samoan fine mats and kilts were ornamented with red paroquet feathers usually obtained from Fiji (T. R. Hiroa, *Samoan Material Culture*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 75, 1930, pp. 256, 281).

[72] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 45, 94; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241.

[73] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 66–70, 307.

[74] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 45. The greatest migration of Tongans was to Lakemba and the neighboring islands (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 4–5). Calvert states that Lakemba

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By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan chief, Maafu,[75] to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He secured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. Traders also helped him by extending credit to be repaid by the conquered in coconut oil, bêche-de-mer, and tortoise shell.[76] He was first to use canon on canoes in Fiji.[77] By the clever policy[78] of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, and as a last resort Thakombau,[79] the high chief of Mbau, applied to Great Britain for help. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.[80] 175

Tongan influence in Fiji reached a peak just before British annexation. Its effect upon the culture was weakened by the growth of western influence so that it was never thoroughly assimilated. It was strongest in Lau, especially on Lakemba, the residence of the chief. The Lauans are

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had three Tongan settlements (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 15). Informants on Kambara said that a Tongan settlement was located at Naimarai on the beach near Vunisinu between Ndaku and Nggalinggali. Here they built their double canoes from Kambaran wood. The hull was placed over a trench dug in the ground. The workers stood in the trench, which was examined. For other Tongan settlements in Fiji see G. C. Henderson, *Fiji and the Fijians, 1835–1856* (Sydney, 1931), p. 51.

[75] Concerning Maafu see Seeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–55; Basil Thomson, *The Fijians* (London, 1908), p. 53.

[76] Seeman, *op. cit.*, p. 252. [77] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 53 footnote.

[78] First used at Lomaloma, Vanua Mbalavu, a large island in northern Lau (Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–43).

[79] Thakombau was not only troubled by the Tongans but also blamed for outrages against life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded $45,000 indemnity. In 1858 Thakombau negotiated with the British consul in Fiji for cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land on condition that the debt to America be paid (Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 246). The end of the war between the Fijians and the Tongans really came in 1861, however, when Commodore Seymour drew up an agreement between the chiefs concerning Mathuata (Vanua Levu) in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade (*ibid.*, pp. 269–73).

[80] Smythe, sent by Great Britain to investigate the annexation question, recommended acceptance of Fiji for three reasons: (1) as a station for mail lines; (2) as a potential cotton source; (3) as a means of acquiring security in the Pacific (Mrs W. J. Smythe, *Ten Months in Fiji*, 1864, p. 205). Thakombau was given a pension of £1500 per year. He died in 1882 (Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

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175 taller than the inhabitants of the rest of Fiji. They have markedly lighter skins, less negroid features, and many individuals have wavy hair.[81]

The main influence of the Tongans on Lauan culture[82] has been in the social life and in technology. The Tongan concept of divine chieftainship and rank, expressed in social ceremonial, elaborated that of the Lauans. The whale's tooth won exceptional significance.[83] It became the object of greatest ceremonial and economic value in Lau, a means by which wealth could be condensed, exchanged, and preserved, a symbol of social prestige.[84]

Women, especially those of rank, began to play a role in social life. The rank of a chief was reckoned no longer exclusively through his father, but also through his mother.[85] Women participated not only in the ceremonial preparation and serving of the kava root, but also in drinking it.[86] The chastity of girls of rank was emphasized, and chiefs' daughters were

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[81] Tongan mixture alone, however, does not seem to account for the strong Polynesian strain in Lau, most apparent in the chief group. Even today members of the land group are usually smaller, darker, more frizzy-haired and coarser featured than the descendants of the immigrants. This is most striking on islands such as Fulanga where the population is composed largely of land people.

[82] Less canibalism, widow strangling, and burying alive were found in Lau than in Fiji proper. Henderson (*op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32) attributes this fact to Tongan influence.

[83] Jackson, who was two years in Fiji about 1840 and who learned the language, said he was always told that the tambua ndamu (red whales' teeth) were introduced to Fiji by Tongans. They were substituted for yanggona (kava) in ceremonies and called tambua, as kava had previously been called when presented ceremonially. Jackson estimated that there were twenty times as many white as red whales' teeth in Fiji. Frequent oiling and handling turned the teeth red. Whales' teeth, especially red ones, held the highest value in ceremonial exchange, and life and death depended upon them (Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 439). Also Williams and Calvert (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 94; Vol. 2, p. 5) state that the Tongans brought whales' teeth to Fiji. Hocart (Man, No. 96, 1914) states that a whale's tooth is called kava in the tauvu presentation ceremony of the Dhakaundrove, Vanua Levu, and evidently kava formerly was the offering.

[84] Mariner (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 302) states that it was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth, but this is not true today.

[85] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 32.

[86] Hocart states that the Fijian mode of ceremonial kava drinking at state occasions was discontinued under the rule of Maafu (who died in 1881) but it was restored later under the fourth Lord of Naiau (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 63). The Tongan method is less formal than the Fijian. In the former the kava root was formerly chewed by youths (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141). A four-legged Tongan type of bowl is used. There is less hand clapping and no kava mekes are sung. In Lakemba the Tongan method, described by Hocart (*op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 60–63), is used on important occasions. The Fijian kava ceremony is used in the wading ceremony and at the installation of chiefs (*ibid.*, p. 63). In southern Lau the modified Fijian ceremony is used on all formal occasions. Since chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government, the root is either pounded with a stone hammer on a flat slab or with an iron bar pestle in a wooden mortar.

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isolated, fattened, and forbidden the sin in preparation for marriage.[87] Perhaps it is also through Tongan influence that Lauan women do not work in the fields, whereas in other parts of Fiji they are responsible for a large part of the gardening. 175

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, probably also came into Lau from Tonga. It is an exotic belief, unrelated to the beliefs of either the early inhabitants or the immigrants, but similar to a concept found in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.[88]

Tongan carpenters,[89] sent to Lau to build canoes, had a marked effect on Lauan technology. Not only did the canoe and all woodcrafts gain in importance, but the oval Tongan house was introduced and pushed out the old Lauan form.[90] The oval house was raised on an earth mound and the height of the mound reflected the rank of the owner.[91] With the increased importance of woodcrafts, the prestige of professional carpenters was enhanced.

Another Lauan technic greatly influenced by the Tongans was tapa making. The Tongan rubbing method[92] was introduced and combined with the Fijian stencil method.[93] The women of Mothe and Namuka formed

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[87] A custom still practised on Kandavu Island.

[88] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 99, 101–102; E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales* (Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 8, Honolulu, 1924), pp. 153–80.

[89] During Period 2 a group of carpenter sibs called Matai Sau monopolized the carpentry craft. According to the Lauan lore, the founder of this group, Rokola, came from northeast Viti Levu to Lau before Ndaunisai. Rokola is known in Viti Levu as the god of the carpenters (Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 249). Each chief had a number of the Matai Sau attached to his retinue, but gradually the chiefs began to employ Tongan carpenters, who competed seriously with the Lauan group. Finally a group of carpenters called Matai Lemaki became established as the high chief's carpenters. This group traces its pedigree to Lemaki who, according to his descendants, came from Samoa through Tonga to Lakemba.

[90] The change was in process when Bligh saw Ngau Island in the Koro Sea west of Lau, on his second voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 164).

[91] Today the height of the house mound depends not only on rank but also on wealth and energy.

[92] Used to make ngatu vaka Tonga (Tongan tapa). Strips of barkcloth, up to about seventy-five meters long, are rubbed with Lauan rust-brown dyes over raised geometric or naturalistic designs called kupetchi. Some of the kupetchi now being used were made in Tonga. Others were made on Lakemba, Ono, and Vanua Mbalavu (islands where Tongan influence has been strong). They are rare and highly valued.

[93] The result is called ngatu vaka vitchi (Fijian tapa). A large, rectangular sheet of fine tapa is decorated, partly by the Tongan rubbing method, partly by the Fijian stencil method. Geometric design units are used for stenciling. Only a few women know how to make ngatu vaka vitchi, which calls for originality and is the most valued tapa in Fiji. It is made well on Matuku and Lakemba (see Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 65–67).

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175 guilds, according to the Tongan pattern, in order to supply the demand for Lauan barkcloth. Quite likely the naturalistic designs found in Lau and not in Fiji proper are the result of influence from Tonga, where naturalistic designs prevail.

The Tongan chiefs stimulated the production of perfumed oil by exacting large quantities as tribute from the southern islands.[94] To meet the demand, coconut plantations were systematically planted and these served later as a basis for the copra trade.

Turning to European influence, we find that the Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries.[95] They came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga and established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They brought Tongan teachers with them[96] and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans.[97] During the first fifteen years the Lakemba mission made slow headway along the Lauans, but finally in 1849 the high chief of Lau was converted[98] and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Chapels in charge of native missionaries were built on each island and Sunday was introduced as a day of rest, prayer, and feasts. From the beginning the missionaries waged a death struggle against the houses of the gods, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, cave burial, and the tattooing of women.[99] In this undertaking they were aided by the colonial government. Warfare soon ceased in the group. The people were forbidden to live in hamlets in the interior of the islands and they moved to new villages along the coast.

Christianity had a great influence on the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native dieties were said to be devils and the word tevoro (devil) was introduced to the culture.[100] So Christianity compensated for the loss of a hierarchy of old gods with a hierarchy of new devils. For some time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared

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[94] Southern Lau is known for its perfumed coconut oil, prized also in Tonga. To cope with the increased production, large wooden bowls called papasia were used. A few of these may still be seen in Lau.

[95] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 5–8; Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32.

[96] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 12. Six years before the arrival of the first missionaries two Tahitian teachers were sent from Tonga to Lakemba. They were persecuted there and later settled on Oneate (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 9 footnote).

[97] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 10–12. [98] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 138.

[99] The missionaries, however, tried to uphold the system of chiefly tribute (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 75). [100] Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 185.

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to have more mana. But the old gods were still feared and secretly propitiated, and the natives were tormented by a conflict of loyalties. Gradually, as the natives adapted western ideas to their own, lotu (the gospel taught by the missionaries) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. 175

The immediate result of mission influence, however, was the undermining of the ancestor cult, the basis of the social system. In spite of the efforts of the government and the mission to uphold it, the institution of chieftainship was weakened. Its inner structure depended on the ancestor cult and its outer form was determined by the rank system. Although the government officials tried to appoint local chiefs as their representatives, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was to split the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs between the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries. So there arose a secret society called luve ni wai, which was forbidden by the government. The members of this organization secured a guardian spirit with whose help they predicted the future, discovered new medicines, and originated new dance forms. Many individuals tried in this way to regain their lost prestige.

Under British rule the Mbauan dialect became the official language. Missionaries and officials used it in communicating with the natives, so that today we find spoken in Lau a mixture of the Lauan and Mbauan dialects with a few additional Tongan words.[101] In time schools were started on most islands under native masters, who taught the children to read and write Mbauan. Teachers were trained not only in mission schools but also in a recently established government training school on Viti Levu. An attempt was made to introduce a few simple methods of hygiene, particularly regarding child birth and care.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export product of the Fiji group. As the industry grew, the coconut acreage was increased and the Lauan plantations, which had supplied tribute to the Tongan chief, began to be used commercially. In exchange for copra the Lauans received tobacco,[102] cloth, soap, tinned beef,

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[101] Hocart (*op. cit.*, p. 231) has pointed out that Polynesian words which are distinctly non-Tongan occur in the Lauan dialect. These words may be due to contact with the immigrants from the west in Period 2, but the point cannot be determined without examination of the linguistic evidence.

[102] Tobacco smoking was introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 161).

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 rice, tea, and oil. As they acquired a taste for European trade goods, they began to neglect their other economic pursuits such as fishing, gardening, canoe building, and interisland trade. Men, women, and children worked on the plantations belonging to their sibs. There followed a period of prosperity which lasted until the copra slump after the World War.

Then the copra trade in Lau ended abruptly. Communication with the outside world was cut, and the natives found themselves no longer in a position to secure many trade goods upon which they had become dependent.

PERIOD 5

A new period began. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts began to flourish, trade between the islands revived, and the whole daily routine resembled olden days. The hereditary master fisherman, whose title is determined by rank, regained control of the communal fishing. The first fruits of the harvest were again presented, but now to the old chief and the native colonial official jointly,[103] while in the first and second periods they had been offered to the gods and in the third to the chiefs. Large, single sailing canoes, with improved rigging due to western influence, have replaced the cutter but the double canoe has disappeared. Wooden bowls are made in large quantities but with less skill than in olden days. The tapa and mat making industries are again flourishing and native rope, fish lines, and fish nets are replacing imported articles.

Now the natives have regained most of their old economic independence. A few articles are still imported. Metal axes and bush knives have become quite indispensable, and it would be very difficult for the Lauans to give up trade cloth and cooking pots. Today axes, bush knives, cooking pots, and trade cloth form practically the only economic ties which link southern Lau with the outside world.

British political control is being adjusted more and more to the old order, high ranking families are receiving more attention, and a new pattern of social values is in process of formation.

As far as religion is concerned, the outer forms of Christianity have been incorporated into the native ceremonial life, but the inner conflict, caused by the weakening of the ancestor cult, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. This conflict tends to sap vitality from the culture. It is to a great extent responsible for the restlessness of the natives, in spite of their growing economic and social stability.

Reviewing the culture history of Lau we find:

178 The first great merging was of a simple, indigenous Melanesian type of culture with a highly organized, intrusive Micronesian-Polynesian

[103] Witnessed in Tokalau, Kambara.

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type.[104] The intrusion consisted of one movement (probably extending over a relatively short period of time) and was carried by a group of immigrants from the west, who settled permanently in Lau. The process of adaptation of the two cultures was relatively undisturbed for several generations. The organization pattern of the immigrants gradually affected nearly every phase of the indigenous culture and in time the typical Lauan configuration emerged. The two cultures were sufficiently similar so that a fusion, based on common traits, could take place and sufficiently different so that the result was a new configuration. With the blending of the intrusive culture with the indigenous one, the essential outlines of Lauan culture were set. 178

The next strong influence in Lauan culture came from Tonga in the east. Tongan elements were introduced into Lau by individuals or by small groups of traders, carpenters, adventurers, and warriors, many of whom later returned to Tonga. The two cultures, namely, the strongly Polynesianized Lauan and the adjacent Polynesian Tongan, were of the same general type, and the result of contact was an elaboration of the social ceremonial and technology of Lau. Tongan influence was checked by European penetration before it had been thoroughly assimilated; it affected the outer form but not the inner constellation of Lauan culture.

The last great intrusion of exotic elements into Lau, namely European civilization, was brought by missionaries, political officers, and traders. Contact with such a totally dissimilar culture weakened the inner structure of the Lauan configuration. For this the new religion was especially responsible. Changes appeared first in the religious, then the social, and finally the economic life. The cultural equilibrium was seriously disturbed but a breakdown was averted by the sudden isolation of the islands resulting from a change in economic conditions in Europe and America. This forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for readjustment toward the creation of a new balance.

HONOLULU, T.H.

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[104] Hocart (Man, No. 43, 1915) states that the island of Viti Levu may be divided by a natural barrier of mountains into two culture areas, the western and the eastern. In the western area he found a culture which he briefly characterizes by the following traits: simple social organization, petty chiefs, the Nanga secret society, the square house, the favorite number 5, and barkcloth made in the interior by men. This culture he calls Low Fijian. In the eastern area he found what he calls the High Fijian culture. It is characterized by elaborate social organization, great sacred chiefs, the oblong house, the favorite number 4, barkcloth made by women on the coast, and canoes. This two-fold, geographical picture of the culture of Viti Levu corresponds in general to the historical picture of the first two periods in Lau. 184

[pp 198-end, not processed]

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
[134 241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

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133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geolog-
[438] ical types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's-eye pepper (*rokele*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

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While we lack the data to describe these two types of biotics, we do know 13
that their development in Lau has been influenced and limited by the following major factors.[9] First, rocks are of only two types: impervious volcanic and soluble limestones. Second, most of the islands are small, isolated, and closely surrounded by open sea at least 100 fathoms deep. They are separated from the main Fiji group to the northwest by a distance of some 200 miles and from Tonga to the southeast by some 400 miles. Third, located mainly between 17 and 19 degrees[10] south latitude and in the vicinity of 179 degrees west longitude, the Lau group has a tropical climate, the mean annual temperature being estimated at about 73 degrees Fahrenheit, the humidity range from about 70 to 90 per cent. Fourth, the islands lie in the belt of the southeast trade winds which prevail during the cool, dry season from April to November. This condition is strongly reflected in reef and island contours and in rock type distributions. During the remainder of the year, the warm, wet season, the southwest monsoon blows intermittently, especially from January to March when hurricanes may be expected. Fifth, practically all of the annual precipitation, which averages about 80 inches, falls during the wet season, much of it in the form of torrential downpours which erode basins and caverns in the limestone islands, and valleys in the volcanics. Sixth, the basic ecological balances of each island developed in the absence of large land animals, including man.[11]

By the time that the first men arrived in Lau in comparatively recent 13
times, the delicately balanced, natural ecological arrangements, characteristic 167
of southern Lau, had attained their basic patterns. The advent of man meant much more than the intrusion of a single species, namely *Homo sapiens*, as had been the case when many ocean- or air-borne species found their way to these islands. The advent of man meant the intrusion into the group of a whole complex of exotic species of both fauna and flora carried by man during his migration by canoe eastward into the Pacific basin. Culture-historical evidence in southern Lau[12] suggests that these included the pig, the dog, and the fowl, as well as various food plants such as yam, breadfruit and banana. Man brought, furthermore, various stone and shell tools such as adzes, gouges, awls and pounders with which he could somewhat alter the face of nature; various skills, such as fire-making, horticulture, stone-cutting, house-building,

[9] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Bryan, 1948; Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[10] Vatoa and Ono-i-Lau lie farther to the south, and accordingly have a slightly cooler climate.

[11] According to Bryan (MSS.): "Except for birds and insects there is a poverty of native 136
animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was the rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green *vokai*. Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large 'coconut' crab and hermit crabs, were present in quantity."

[12] Thompson, 1938.

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basketry and mat-plaiting; and he brought the sailing canoe with which he traveled between the islands and connected their heretofore disparate ecological arrangements.

Not much is known of these first human inhabitants of Lau but, on the basis of internal evidence in the present-day culture and of archeological findings,[13] we infer that they settled on the larger islands and formed small clan hamlets in the bush. On the limestone islands the aborigines subsisted chiefly on jungle fruits, edible green leaves from the bush, fish, pigs and fowl, while on the volcanics this basic diet was supplemented with such garden produce as yams.

After the first men arrived, a new ecological arrangement seems to have gradually taken form on the basis of the old; and recently introduced species of flora and fauna, including *Homo sapiens*, became a part of the total balance. The culture of the first human inhabitants of Lau indicates that, on the foundations of attitudes and behavior patterns which they had brought with them into Lau, the aborigines developed a culture which integrated the human group with the other species of the natural community in environmental context and which symbolically explained, validated and supported the group's way of life.[14] What the effect of the aborigines was on the environment we do not know. It has been suggested, however, that man's cultivation of the volcanic islands has been responsible to some degree for the fact that much of their flora has degenerated to rank grasslands and other low growth. The limestone localities, on the other hand, apparently were and still are less affected by man's presence. The soil is less fertile and less responsive to cultivation of food plants by means of technology available to the natives, while the low, dense, scrubby forest, its tangle of underbrush, together with the rough, pitted terrain, help to discourage change through human activity.[15]

The next major event in the culture history of the area was the conquest of the aborigines, apparently about fifteen generations ago, by a small band of warriors reputed to have come from northwest Viti Levu in west Fiji. Marrying aboriginal women who brought them parcels of land, the conquerors settled on the more fertile islands and founded new clans. The newcomers were very different in skills, interests and values from the aborigines. They were a raiding, fishing people who preferred to sail and gather their food from the sea rather than to till the soil. The conquerors, moreover, were fascinated

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[13] Thompson, 1938, 1940b.

[14] In time apparently the migration of their ancestors from the west was forgotten and the aborigines of Lau came to believe that they had originated locally in some natural phenomenon, such as a tree or an animal. The people of each island also had a species of bird and a species of fish which was sacred to them, and they believed in a local abode of the dead. Their deity was apparently a great, pervasive, spiritual power believed to be the source of all *mana* and was worshiped at sacred places such as caves, trees or stones.

[15] Bryan, 1948.

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by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[16] 13 174

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions. 13 146 262

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[16] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

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13 146 262 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 262 264 462 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 264 462 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

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in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored 261] against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184 tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

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13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
431 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
438 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
431 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
438 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

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sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

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L
13 the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing
431 Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions
438 which do actually tend to function toward just this end.
168 For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was
L reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The
[161] population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

B Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis
121 may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

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and human groups in a mutually interdependent and balanced web of life. And whereas formerly each island had formed an independent natural community, the new eco-cultural arrangement, including man, extended over several islands, and related a number of heretofore disparate communities.

Certain ecologically significant structures of the human culture which developed in this extended island community were analyzed, namely the system of production and distribution in relation to population controls. Its foundation in the self-selected, balanced diet of the human group was noted. The findings suggest that, although certain of its activities may be harmful to the whole arrangement, the human group has tended to organize and integrate its habits of feeling, thought, and behavior systematically with the world of nature in such a way as to play a basically *positive* and *logical* role in the multi-dimensional process of attaining and maintaining a balanced, healthy adjustment of the whole community. The findings also suggest that its major economic institutions are basically accommodative and co-operative, with competitive attitudes and arrangements serving as an essential dynamic toward its self-maintenance and toward the development of a high standard of production and a high degree of creativity.

It is well known that isolated natural communities tend in time, by processes of symbiosis, accommodation and competition, to develop a delicately balanced, ecological organization wherein the various species of flora and fauna attain a mutually advantageous adjustment within the total environment. Ordinarily we think of the process mainly in terms of plants and animals in relation to the geological structure, climate, soil, water supply and other features of the physical environment. However, a broad-gauged analysis of the available data from this remote, relatively isolated community (where geological and ecological processes have proceeded for millennia relatively undisturbed and where cultural processes have operated for centuries with little interference from without) suggests that all of life is involved in a self-regulating web of relationships, human groups as well as so-called lower animals and plants. Seen as a whole, a natural community actually consists of its total population—plants, animals and human beings—in a complex, mutually interdependent relationship in environmental context.

The analysis indicates, however, that the dynamic, total ecological structure of a community emerges only if processes whose time-span is relatively long are taken into account. But such long-phase processes tend to escape the attention of scientists for many reasons, including the limitations of most frames of reference currently in vogue; the habit of observing only short-phase processes; the habit of concentrating on one dimension of the nature or culture process and even on one limited aspect of that one dimension; and the habit of working independently rather than as part of a multiple-discipline, co-operative group.

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121 Our data suggest further that, once firmly established and embodied in the symbol system, the attitudes and the habits of a human community, a balanced, functional, eco-cultural structure tends to endure if the human community is not wiped out or severed from its natural setting. The data also suggest that such an eco-cultural community structure is the living core of relationships which the human group, either consciously or unconsciously, tries in multiple ways to perpetuate. An understanding of this core may be expected to throw light on the problem of so-called "cultural resistance," or
L a people's acceptance or rejection of certain extraneous patterns of belief,
121 thought and behavior. For example, in Lau the community has tended to
182 reject foreign patterns of feeling, thought and behavior which interfere with, or break down, its basic eco-cultural structure, regardless of the regulations or the penalties involved. It would seem that to the extent the Lauans have been unsuccessful in their resistance to harmful interference with their group life processes, the intentional or forced introduction of nonfunctional patterns or the prohibition of functional ones has tended to throw off balance the community's whole eco-cultural structure and has operated directly against its well-being. The implications that these findings have for the problem of prediction in social science are manifold.

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121 Finally, the findings point up the practical significance of the eco-cultural approach and suggest that an understanding of a community's long-time, dynamic pattern of relationships is basic to the formulation of adequate norms or standards for the advancement of community welfare and for the development of community-oriented government administration.[22] Accordingly, the significant problem regarding community welfare and the conservation of resources does not emerge simply as the question of how human health and institutions may be improved, or of how topsoil may be saved, or watersheds, and forest land protected, or organic species preserved from extinction, important though each of these aspects may be. The significant problem of community welfare emerges as a matter of using and adapting local beliefs, attitudes, habits and institutions, supplemented where necessary by appropriate new ones, to the end that human groups, through natural eco-cultural processes, may foster the development and maintenance of a balanced, healthy *total* community—plants and animals, as well as human groups.

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THE PROBLEM OF "TOTEMISM" IN SOUTHERN LAU

A Reply to A. Capell and R. H. Lester

By Laura Thompson

114 AFTER having spent several years on the historical analysis of the intricate social system of southern Lau, presented in *Southern Lau, Fiji, An Ethnography*,[1] I was interested to find several of my basic findings under attack by A. Capell and R. H. Lester in the pages of this journal.[2] Curiously enough an examination of each point mentioned by my critics revealed that my findings, far from being at variance with their own general conclusions, actually substantiated them.

Capell and Lester admit the similarity in general conclusions between my work and their own.[3] Indeed, they state that but for one or two points for which "no evidence has been collected elsewhere," I "might well have been summarizing their paper."[4] And my critics add that their own study "was actually drafted in full before the authors saw *Southern Lau*."[5] Apparently they also did not read my two earlier articles presenting the same conclusions, that is, "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe),"[6] and "The Culture History of the Lau Islands, Fiji,"[7] although the latter is listed in the bibliography of *Southern Lau*.

Capell and Lester's documentation of my conclusions regarding the culture history of Fiji has in itself theoretical significance which they do not mention in their paper but which should be noted for their bearing on the development of ethnological method. The fact that two independent investigations of an intricate problem in historical reconstruction—(1) an earlier one using the method of historical reconstruction through internal evidence intensively on a small marginal area in the extreme south-eastern part of the Fiji group, and (2) a later one based primarily on the findings of the Native Land Commission[8] and on linguistic data and working from west Fiji across the whole group but omitting the extreme south-east—have arrived at almost identical conclusions (so much so that those of the earlier work are

[1] Bishop Museum Bulletin 162, 1940.

[2] "Local Divisions and Movements in Fiji," *Oceania*, Vols. XI, XII, 1941. Due to war conditions these volumes did not reach Washington until 1946.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 45.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[6] *Archiv. für Anthropologie*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp. 140-53, 1937.

[7] *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XL, No. 2, pp. 181-97, 1938.

[8] It is important to note that the writer's field work in Lau was done before the southern islands were surveyed by the Native Land Commission.

[p. 211] [pp 1-210 not processed]

114 quoted as conclusions for the later)[9] has important theoretical implications. It documents the inference that the method of historical reconstruction through the use of internal evidence, critically applied to a small, judiciously selected area (that is, five islands of southern Lau), may yield valid generalizations for a much larger area (that is, the Fiji Islands as a whole). Examples of independent verification of hypotheses growing out of such intensive, localized studies take on added significance when the possibilities of extending this same method for purposes of extrapolation and prediction are considered.

It would indeed be strange if verifiable general conclusions on such a complicated problem as the culture history of Fiji could be reached on the basis of careless field work or faulty analysis. Yet that is the criticism which Capell and Lester make of *Southern Lau*, both by direct statement and by innuendo. After taking me to task on my findings regarding totemism, they state: "In a number of other points noted . . . Laura Thompson's work is at variance with the findings of the N.L.C. [Native Land Commission] on such *easily ascertainable matters* [italics mine] as groupings of *yavusa*, *matanggali*, etc., but as this paper is not a critique of her book the notes need not be given in full here. The only point is that *inaccuracy* [italics mine] in such matters suggests that more difficult inquiries may have *gone astray* [italics mine] also."[10]

To a professional anthropologist this is serious criticism couched in strong language. And since it appears in a reputable professional journal, it necessitates a reply. But due to the complicated nature of the problem under consideration, to answer such inclusive and in large part undocumented criticism, it will be necessary to discuss each major point mentioned by my critics in relation to my general conclusions. However, the discussion has its advantages since, besides clarifying the record, it helps to define more precisely some of the problems awaiting investigation in the Fijian area and reveals (1) certain kinds of inaccuracies which students working in the Fiji area should guard against in using the reports of the Native Land Commission; (2) certain pitfalls into which they may fall as a result of preoccupation with words and formulas rather than meanings, relationships, and background phenomena in general; and (3) the fact that looseness of thinking and even of expression may underlie the quibbling over words and formulas in which scientists occasionally indulge.

Evaluation of Field Data Presented in Southern Lau

Before considering detailed points, however, it should be noted that, after almost a century of mission influence and sixty years of British rule, the indigenous social system and especially the old region of southern Lau presented the most challenging and difficult problem encountered by the ethnologist in the field. This is stated

[9] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 45-46.

[10] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, footnote 34, p. 29.

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clearly in the introduction to *Southern Lau*.[11] Most of the old religion has been lost. 114 The fragmentary account presented in *Southern Lau*[12] was obtained thirteen years ago, mainly from aged informants. It is unlikely that any one of these informants is still living and with them will have perished the main reservoirs of knowledge concerning the most esoteric aspects of the culture. But aside from matters of religion, to state casually that matters such as social groupings are " easily ascertainable " reveals a superficial knowledge of the area, an inference regarding my critics which is amply borne out by a critical appraisal of certain other statements they make regarding southern Lau, as will presently be demonstrated.

Actually, to get a clear picture of the functioning social system of the area it was 114 necessary to make a detailed historical analysis of the social organization in each of 126 the eleven villages on the five inhabited islands surveyed. By a detailed analysis I mean, for example, that genealogies for the 1,500 inhabitants of the five islands were recorded in the field, each as far back as the memory of the natives extended, namely from four to twelve generations, a formidable task in itself. Sketch maps were made of each village and whenever possible kinship groups revealed by the genealogies were related exactly to their localities of residence in each village. This analysis revealed the main social groups, including the thirty-seven clans existent at the time of the field work together with the historical development and rank of each. Patterns regarding marriage, residence, descent and succession were worked out by counting each individual case from four to twelve generations back, and variations on the patterns thus established were calculated on a numerically exact percentage basis. Thus my description of the social system of southern Lau is based, not on a formula worked out by means of research in adjacent areas, nor on generalizations from selected cases, nor on the statements of a few informants, but on *exact numerical calculations* which included every one of the 1,500 residents of the five islands and their genealogies recorded as far back as the memory of the living extended.[13]

The method which I employed in analysing the social system of southern Lau will be recognized as an extension of the genealogical method developed by W. H. R. Rivers[14] in recording the social structure of Melanesia. It is difficult to imagine how a more numerically exact empirical method could be found to analyse an Oceanian social system nor how such an analysis, if systematically carried out, could go " far astray " on the major social groups (both kinship and geographical) and their interrelationships. I therefore submit that there is a high degree of probability that the functioning social system including the major social groups in historical perspective described in *Southern Lau* is correct.

[11] P. 5.

[12] Pp. 105-19.

[13] With the exception of the abstract of the chief's phratry (*Southern Lau*, Table 2) and the village plan of Tokalau (*Southern Lau*, Fig. 3 and Table 1), the genealogies and village plans recorded in the field were not included in *Southern Lau*, due to lack of space, but they are available in manuscript form.

[14] *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

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114 Capell and Lester state that they have omitted most of the data from this area in their study of Fiji as a whole " largely because the older beliefs and practices have been so overlaid by modern ideas . . . that certainty is difficult to reach."[15] It is interesting to note, however, that the only material from southern Lau they do attempt to treat at length, namely that on totemism, is unquestionably the least reliable because practically all of the old religion has been lost.

It is important to emphasize also that, whereas we can be fairly sure of the social system in the area, there is some disagreement regarding the *native terminology* used to designate the various functioning social groups. And since Capell and Lester's investigations are based to a considerable extent on linguistic analysis, rather than on painstaking systematic study of functioning structures and their historical interrelationships, it is easy to see how their preoccupation with words (for example, *yavusa*, *matanggali* and *itokatoka*) and with *a priori* formal definitions have apparently blinded them to the all-important functioning groups to which the words are actually applied by the natives themselves in the context of the local culture.

This point is well illustrated by Capell and Lester's treatment of the problem of totemism in southern Lau.[16] Their loose, uncritical use of the term " totemism " which they do not define, apparently closes their eyes to the occurrence of " totemic " phenomena not specifically labelled as such, as will be shown. In *Southern Lau* I purposely limited the use of the term " totemism " to true totemism (including a belief in descent from the totem) as defined and accepted by most anthropologists. I avoided the use of the term in describing " totemic " phenomena which did not include such belief. Actually, I found traces of what appears to be two " totemic " *systems in southern Lau : (1) true totems among the land people,*[17] *and (2)* a trilogy of linked " totems " among the " Nakauvandra people."[18] These will be discussed in due course. But because I did not label the latter " totemism " it was overlooked by my critics who went so far as to state that in *Southern Lau* " . . . there is no mention of the trilogy of totems that would be expected in an area whose civilization is based on that of the Nakauvandra people."[19]

Incidentally, the latter statement contains still another factual misrepresentation. A careful analysis of all the available data shows that the civilization of southern Lau is based not on " that of the Nakauvandra people " but rather on a blend of three cultures, namely that of the land people, the " Nakauvandra people " and the

[15] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 33.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

[17] Described in *Southern Lau* on pp. 105-106.

[18] Described in *Southern Lau* on pp. 109-111. In this paper I use the term " Nakauvandra people " to refer to the members of clans which trace descent from Ndaunisai, in order to conform with Capell and Lester's terminology.

[19] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 28. Actually in an earlier article I do use the word to describe the trilogy of linked " totems " associated in southern Lau with clans. See " Culture History of the Southern Lau Islands," *op. cit.*, p. 186.

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Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai s�u*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

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615 The people of the "Nakauvandra" clans in southern Lau trace their ancestry back nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai, as shown in the genealogical abstract in *Southern Lau*.[23] Ndaunisai, according to tradition, came to Kambara from Nakauvandra in north-east Viti Levu. The history of the spread of the "Nakauvandra people" in southern Lau, as worked out on the basis of genealogies, legends and the statements of informants, is recorded in *Southern Lau*.[24] Of the eleven villages studied, clans belonging definitely to the "Nakauvandra people" were found only in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara island and Nasau on Mothe island. According to tradition and to the genealogies, the people of the "Nakauvandra" clans believe they have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai.

The people of the land clans of southern Lau believe themselves to have descended from the earliest known inhabitants of the area. Hence I have called them the "aborigines." My critics object several times to my use of the term "aborigines" on the ground that since the land people have a Melanesian culture also they are immigrants into the area. But according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, the word "aborigine" means "one of the earliest known inhabitants of a country; one of the native race." As far as can be determined on the basis of the available evidence, the land people have descended from the first settlers in the area of which any trace has been found either in the archæology, myth, tradition or the living culture (including the social organization). Therefore they conform to the dictionary definition of the word "aborigines" and until evidence is found of an earlier population, I shall continue to use the term in referring to the land people of Lau.

By population estimates the people of the land group made up at least 80% of the residents of most villages studied and 100% of several (that is, Nawatchia, Korotoku, Muanaira and Naivindamu). They are most numerous on Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, the very islands concerning which the Native Land Commission's lists on "totemism," as published by Capell and Lester,[25] are incomplete (that is, Fulanga) or omitted entirely (that is, Namuka). The people of the land clans were not interested in their clan genealogies which in not a single case were traced back farther than four to six generations. In contrast to the "Nakauvandra" group, the land people as a whole do not trace their origin to a single traditional human ancestor (*vu*), but they claim that the land group of each island formerly believed that they originated in a particular tree or animal which was the ancestor (*vu*) of the group. For example, land people in Kambara formerly believed they originated from a *ngingia* tree; those of Fulanga from a hen, those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree. The aborigines of Namuka, now extinct, were said to have originated from a white dog.[26] Moreover, the land people of each island mentioned above

[23] Table 2.

[24] *Southern Lau*, pp. 38-39.

[25] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 28.

[26] *Southern Lau*, pp. 32, 105-106.

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claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths. The sacred fish of the Kambara land people, the *nggio ndamundamu*, had the title of Tui Natakala or Ratu and was called the *wanggawangga ni vu*. That of Namuka had the title of Wangga Namuka and was called the *ika na vanua*. The land people of Kambara and Mothe also had a species of bird which was treated with respect. That of Kambara was the *toa kula* (red rooster) and had the title of Kula. 615

Turning to the other three historical phratries in southern Lau, we find that the *matai sau* in 1933-34 included three clans (that is, Saumua clan of Undu village on Kambara, Nggalitoka clan of Nawatchia village on Namuka, and Nasava clan of Muanaithake village on Fulanga), believed to have descended from a common ancestor god, namely Rokola. The *matai sau* hereditary carpenters were believed to have come to Kambara in search of the greenheart, a valuable hardwood which grows there, from north-east Viti Levu before the "Nakauvandra people." The *matai sau* founded the lineage which became the Saumua clan of Undu and from there the *matai sau* group spread to Fulanga.[27] Although the *matai sau* lineages traced their pedigrees only six or seven generations, the group recognized a common ancestor god and a common human ancestor with the title of Matai Sau. No information was obtained regarding "totemic" beliefs associated with the *matai sau* as a group.

One of the thirty-seven clans (namely, Matai Lemaki of Nggalinggali village on Kambara island) traced its pedigree to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who was reputed to have come to Lau from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the "Nakauvandra" group was well established in Lau. Therefore I classed the Matai Lemaki as a separate phratry. The clan headman held the hereditary clan title of Matai Lemaki, the title of its common ancestor. Regarding "totemic" beliefs, the group followed the usual pattern for a clan in southern Lau, to be discussed presently.

The members of two clans studied (that is, Vandravandra of Muanaithake village on Fulanga island and Tawalo of Naithulaianga on Ongea island) were known as *kai wai* (sea people). Because of their probable affiliation with an historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau and fled eastward, settling in Lomai Viti, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji, I classed the *kai wai* clans as a separate phratry.[28] Each *kai wai* clan holds the title of *ndau ni nggoli* (master fisherman) of the island on which it is located. No traces of phratry "totemic" beliefs were found among the *kai wai*.

Having surveyed briefly the main outlines of the social system as it functioned on the five islands studied, we now have a background for consideration of some specific problems raised by Capell and Lester, namely the problems of "totemism," *yavusa* and *matanggali* in southern Lau.

[27] For details, see *ibid.*, p. 23.

[28] For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

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The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau

621 A study of the "totemic" phenomena presented in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the group: (1) a "totemic" system associated with island groups, and (2) a "totemic" system associated with clan groups. Although the data on each system are fragmentary and inconclusive, there is some evidence that they form a pattern which may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Totemic" phenomena associated with island groups.

On four out of the five islands studied (namely Kambara, Namuka, Mothe and Fulanga) the land people apparently formerly believed that they originated in some local natural phenomenon, either a tree or an animal. The land people of the island believed that they were the descendants of their particular tree or animal. The totemic ancestor of the land people of Kambara, namely the *ngingia* tree, even bore the title of Vu (ancestor) and the people were called *vuaningingia* (fruit of the *ngingia*). Similarly the land people of each of the islands mentioned above also claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths and those of Kambara and Mothe had a species of bird. No evidence was found of island exogamy associated with the island totemism of the land people. On the contrary, island endogamy was strongest on the islands peopled by land clans.[29]

614 (2) "Totemic" phenomena associated with clan groups.

At least half of the thirty-seven clans studied possessed three "totems": species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. These were called *ithavutchi*. Thus it appears from the data in *Southern Lau* that the "trilogy of linked totems," considered by Capell and Lester[30] to be "normal" in Fiji, is associated in this area with some clans. No evidence was found of belief in descent from the clan "totem." Since clans in Lau are exogamous, this type of "totemism" is associated with exogamy.

Two clans belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group, namely Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau village on Kambara island and Mbutonokoro clan of Nasau village on Mothe island, also had a war cry and war gods. Regarding their *wanggawangga ni kalou-vu* I have no information.

The inference that there were formerly two systems of "totemic" beliefs in southern Lau, one associated with the land people, the other with the "Nakauvandra people," which derives some support from my data, fits in well with the general conclusions regarding the culture history of the area stated above.

It should be added that there is a certain resemblance between the "totemic" phenomena associated with the land people of southern Lau and those described

[29] *Southern Lau*, p. 54.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

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by Epeli Rokowangga. This is noted by Capell and Lester, who quote Rokowangga as follows: "Our ancestors also said, 'We Fijians originated from animals . . .; some again, we originated from fish, and some again, we originate from stones and some different kinds of trees.'[21] But Capell and Lester add that Rokowangga "missed the point" because as a Methodist minister he continued, "Are they perchance right? Never!" Far from being dismissed, however, these data as well as those from southern Lau should be weighed and investigated impartially. It is patently unscientific, merely because they do not fit into a preconceived formula, to try to establish "a bias" against them, as Capell and Lester specifically state they are attempting to do.[22] Indeed the very fact that they do not fit indicates that also the formula should be investigated. Obviously, if all data which do not fit into a preconceived scheme are arbitrarily ruled out, the possibility of the discovery of new knowledge is eliminated.

The Yavusa Problem in Southern Lau

In considering the problem of "totemism" in southern Lau there remains yet to be discussed the discrepancy between my data and those of the Native Land Commission, listed by Capell and Lester "as a corrective" to mine, as follows[23]:

Island.	*Yavusa.*	*Wanggawangga.*	Tree.	Fish.	*Manumanu.*
Kambara	Nakoro	man	*ngingia*	shark	heron and gull
	Namburavi	snake	*ngingia* and *ivi*	shark	heron and rat
	Vuaningingia	black heron	*ngingia*	shark	black heron and gull
	Nukuleka	banded sea-snake	casuarina sp.	*sangga*	*lawendua* and *laiseni* birds
Fulanga	Muanaira:	shark	*nggaikula*	*kawanggo*	*nggawenngawekula*
	Naivindamu	*kuthu*	*mbau*	*tunggandra:*	owl
	Ongea	?	ironwood	mullet	*kaisevau*
Mothe	Ndelaimakotu	man	*thau*	*sara*	*ndilio*

This brings us to a consideration of the *yavusa* problem.

First, it should be noted that under the heading *yavusa* the Native Land Commission lists for Kambara island (1) Nakoro which, according to my informants, is the ceremonial name of Nggalinggali village[24]; (2) Numburavi, the ceremonial name of Lomatchi village[25]; (3) Vuaningingia, the title of the land people of Kambara whose origin is reputed to be at Undu village[26]; and (4) Nukuleka, the ceremonial

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Southern Lau*, p. 22.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 22. I have spelled the word Numbaravi.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 105. Raviravibalavu is the ceremonial name of Undu village. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

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614 name of Tokalau village.[37] For Fulanga are listed as *yavusa* (1) Muanaira, the name of one of the three existent Fulanga villages; (2) Naivindamu, the name of another of the villages; and (3) Ongea, the name by which Naithulaianga village on Ongea island is known. Omitted from the Fulanga list, according to Capell and Lester, is Fulanga *yavusa*, which accounts for the third village of the island, namely Muanaithake. The only *yavusa* on Mothe listed is Ndelaimakotu, the name of the archæological fortress site formerly occupied by the Mothe people.[38] Namuka island does not appear on the list.

From the above it appears that the functioning social groups to which the Native Land Commission's *yavusa* for southern Lau correspond are *village* groups, the most obvious of all the social groups in the area. This inference fits every case listed, even Mothe if, as I infer, the two historically distinct but at present contiguous villages of Mothe, namely Nasau and Korotolu, have been listed as one unit by the Native Land Commission.

[114] Let us now examine Capell's definition of a *yavusa* in the *New Fijian Dictionary*. A *yavusa*, according to this source, is "the largest kinship and social division of Fijian society, consisting of the descendants of one originator (*vu*), and recognizing one *kalou-vu* (originating spirit or god, normally the father of the *vu*), and one set of totems and war-cry."

Testing by this definition each *yavusa* listed for southern Lau by the Native Land Commission, we find that:

Nakoro (that is, Nggalinggali village), made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Tanggu and Naivotavota), one land clan (Nanggara) and one *matai lemaki* clan (Matai Lemaki), consists of the descendants of three originators rather than one. To wit, the two "Nakauvandra" clans trace their pedigrees back to Ndaunisai, the land clan claims a local origin near Undu, and the *matai lemaki* clan traces its pedigree back to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter. We conclude that Nakoro does not fulfil the first condition of a *yavusa* laid down by the *New Fijian Dictionary* definition, namely that of consisting of the descendants of a common originator.

The same argument holds for Nukuleka (that is, Tokalau village), which is made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola) and one land clan (Katoka). It also holds for Ndelaimakotu if, as I surmise, the Native Land Commission's Ndelaimakotu grouping includes the two contiguous Mothe villages. Taken together these are made up of one "Nakauvandra" clan (Mbutonikoro) and five land clans (Nasau, Kamali, Vangariki, Banganduku and Nggali).

Turning to the villages made up of clans which are not affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," we find that the Vuaningingia (that is, Undu village) group is composed entirely of land clans with the exception of the Matai Sau. The land people of Undu believe themselves descended from the aborigines of Lau but

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

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are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting 614
entirely of land clans) in this respect.

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to " Nakauvandra " but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other 614
hand, three of the five phratries (namely, " Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata 615
Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the " Nakauvandra " phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five " Nakauvandra " clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry.

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki ; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu ; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji ; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the 114
term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we 614
assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-* 615
wangga, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the 621
requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of " totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village

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114 groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira
614 and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants,
615 and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent
621 from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

114 The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

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regarding the culture history of the area. One explanation is that the word had different connotations among the land people and among the "Nakauvandra" people and that the confusion created by this situation has persisted down to the present. The other and more plausible explanation is that the term was introduced into southern Lau by the "Nakauvandra people" along with certain changes in the social structure. But in the blending of the two complexes, that of the land people and that of the immigrants, its original meaning was confused or lost. The latter explanation fits into Capell and Lester's hypothesis regarding the origin of the term.[40]

The Matanggali Group in Southern Lau

Since my critics also questioned my use of the term *matanggali*, a word is inserted here in regard to it. I used the term *matanggali* to designate a clan, namely a "unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal."[41] It is used thus by the natives and by Hocart,[42] and I submit that of all the social groups in southern Lau with the exception of the village, the *matanggali* is the most clear cut and the least open to question.

Theoretically a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site (*itokatoka*) and a few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. After the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets moved to the coast and united into villages, often retaining their local unity in the village. Hence many clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. As the clan group expanded, it divided into sub-clans, the senior branch being called *itokatoka*, the junior ones *mbatchi ni iovo*, or else all the sub-clans were simply called *mbatchi ni lovo*.

Thus the *matanggali* division in southern Lau conforms to a marked degree to Capell's definition of the word in the *New Fijian Dictionary*: "Matanggali: 'the primary social division in Fiji, larger than the *itokatoka* and smaller than the *yavusa*. It appears to have sprung from the subdivisions of naturally increasing families, the sons of an original ancestor being the heads of the resulting matanggali.'"

Summary

The argument advanced in this paper may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a high degree of probability that the main outlines of the functioning social system (including the major social groups in historical perspective) described in *Southern Lau* are correct. There is some disagreement, however, regarding the native terminology used to designate the various functioning social groups.

2. An examination of the data on "totemic" phenomena described in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the area, an earlier one affiliated with the land people and a later one introduced by the "Nakauvandra people."

[40] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 314 ff.
[41] *Southern Lau*, p. 35.
[42] "Lau Islands, Fiji," *Bishop Museum Bulletin* 62, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

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114 3. There is no clear-cut division in the social system of southern Lau which corresponds to the *yavusa* group as defined by Capell in the *New Fijian Dictionary*, but the phratry seems to come nearest to it. Apparently the Native Land Commission has superimposed its own formula on the area without regard for the actual functioning social structures.

4. The clan division in the area is relatively clear-cut and conforms to a marked degree to Capell's dictionary definition of the term *matanggali*.

[174] 5. A detailed examination of the points enumerated above leads to the conclusion that considered separately and as a whole they substantiate the hypothesis first suggested by the writer in 1936 and again in 1938 and 1941 that, viewed historically, there are three basic cultural strata in Lau: an early one which is primarily Melanesian in type, a second one which is " general Polynesian " in type and affiliated with the " Nakauvandra people," and a third one which is " western Polynesian " in type and affiliated with the Tongan immigrants. The major premises of this hypothesis have now been corroborated independently by the work of Capell and Lester.

6. The findings to date suggest that on the extreme south-eastern margin of Fiji, namely in southern Lau, especially on the island of Fulanga, may still be found a functioning culture (perhaps the only one left in Fiji) which in many respects resembles that of the early Melanesians of Viti Levu. The opportunity which it offers the researcher to gain first-hand insight into this complicated problem should not be underestimated.

LAURA THOMPSON.

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ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D., Honolulu.

439 During the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
824 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
322 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for
439 the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
174 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

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396
439 the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

177 The use of hardwood and the high development of
322 carpentry account for the large number and range in size
412 of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

324 Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, [172] hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands [438] such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

324 The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-
412 section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

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the bevel and the front sides of the edge. It is then straight and wide. The unmodified bevel is narrow transversely. It is slightly convex longitudinally. The surfaces of adzes of this type are convex, and angular margins are absent. Specimens of the circular type have been pecked and ground, and some have been polished. The butt-surfaces of some adzes have been slightly reduced by pecking to give security to the haft, but not sufficiently to form a tang.

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Variations. Adzes of the circular type vary greatly in size. A small adze (fig. 2) found with skeletal material in a cave on Ongea illustrates the small variety. An adze found in the same cave shows a clearly-developed shoulder (fig. 3). This is the only example of a definite shoulder in the collection.

Elliptical Type

Flat adzes with elliptical cross-section have been grouped as the elliptical type. (See Pl. A, 2 and fig. 4). They are the most numerous in the collection. Adzes of this type narrow markedly from the edge, which is wide and slightly curved, to the rounded or flattened pole. The surfaces are convex, the front surface being more curved than the back on most of the elliptical adzes. They are entirely ground and many are polished. Some have been resharpened by grinding on both sides of the bit. On one specimen the whole back surface of the butt and part of the front surface have been slightly reduced by pecking for greater security of the haft.

Variations. An adze found below the surface at the village site of Nggali, Mothe island (Pl. A, 3 and fig. 5) illustrates large, flat adzes of the elliptical type. Both back and front surfaces of this variety are flattened. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the rectangular types. A roughly finished adze from Moutonikoro garden, Fulanga, (fig. 6) illustrates another variety of the elliptical type. This adze shows a tendency toward plane surfaces and angular margins. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the trapezoidal types. The back and side surfaces of the butt have been reduced by chipping to facilitate hafting.

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TRAPEZOIDAL TYPE

324 412 Long narrow adzes with symmetrical, trapezoidal cross-section form the trapezoidal type. (See Pl. A, 4 and fig. 7). This type has four definite surfaces which form angular margins. The front and back surfaces are roughly parallel, the back being wider than the front. On some adzes the back surface is slightly convex transversely. The front surface of this type narrows from edge to pole, thus it is triangular in form. The back surface is widest at the chin and narrows slightly towards the pole. The edge is sharp and straight. The bevel is slightly convex and forms a definite angle with the blade. Adzes of this type have been chipped and ground.

Variations. Adzes of the trapezoidal type vary in size. A small adze found at the mouth of a cave on Namuka measures 117 mm. long and 37 mm. at greatest width. An adze from Fulanga, with narrow, plane front surface, back deeply arched transversely, and flattened ovate cross-section, is a variation on the trapezoidal type, (See fig. 8). The exact form of this adze cannot be determined, because the front and bevel surfaces have been reground. The adze has been made roughly by the chipping-technique and the surfaces have been ground.

RECTANGULAR TYPE

Flat adzes with rectangular cross-section are classed as the rectangular type (See Pl. A, 5 and fig. 9). Front and back surfaces of these adzes are plane and of almost equal width, although the back is slightly wider. The side surfaces are slightly convex transversely. The edge is wide and straight. The bevel is plane with definite chin. The pole is flattened. Most adzes of this type are chipped, ground, and polished. One specimen shows evidence of pecking and subsequent grinding. It is unpolished.

Variations. An adze from Vatoa (Pl. A, 6 and fig. 10) illustrates the large thick variety of the rectangular type.

SHELL ADZES

321 412 There are several shell adzes in the collection. These adzes show a tendency toward angular margins and quadrangular form. One shell adze from Nasau village site,

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Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12). 321 412

GOUGES

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs. 324 412

COMPARISONS

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining thirds may be classed as western-Polynesian. 171 324 412

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

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Samoa,[5] Rotuma, Tokelau,[6] Futuna,[7] and Uvea,[8] but are absent in the small collection from Fiji proper.

Hence besides the specialization in carpentry, the position of the Lau islands on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia adds interest to a study of the cutting-implements. This marginal position is clearly reflected in the local types of adzes.

[5]See Peter Buck, "Samoan Material Culture," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 75, Honolulu, 1930, Plate 36 C (type 3, rectangular); Plate 37 B and figure 196 (type 6, triangular).

[6]Gordon Macgregor, "Ethnology of Tokelau," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 146, figure 24, 1937.

[7]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Futuna," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 138, Plate 5, A and C, 1936.

[8]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Uvea," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 145, figure 3, 1937.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate A. Adzes from the Lau islands.

1. Adze (C7283) circular type, found in a cave with skeletal material, Ongea island; composed of basalt; blade ground, butt pecked; fusiform narrows toward flattened, pecked poll, and toward slightly curved, narrow edge: back view showing bevel. Weight 24 ozs. 324 412
2. Adze (C7462) elliptical type, found on the surface, Embalailai garden near Muanaira, Fulanga; composed of basalt, ground and polished; truncate triangular form: back view showing flattened surface with plane bevel. Weight 9 ozs.
3. Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat, found 5 centimeters below the surface at Nggali village site, Mothe; composed of basalt, ground: back view showing flattened surface similar in form to front. Weight 26 ozs.
4. Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, from Vatoa, composed of basalt, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front. Weight 7 ozs.
5. Adze (C7293) rectangular type from Ongea, composed of basalt, chipped, ground and polished: a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat. Weight 6 ozs.
6. Adze (C7289) rectangular type large, thick, from Vatoa; composed of basalt, pecked and slightly ground: back view showing plane surface. Weight 81 ozs.
7. Adze (C7433) of shell, from Nasau village site, Namuka; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, with edges narrowing toward flattened poll. Weight 4 ozs. 321 412
8. Adze (C7456) of shell, found 18 centimeters below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front less convex than b, back. Weigth 1 oz.
9. Gouge (C7454) resembling adzes of the circular type, found 18 centimeters below the surface at Mbutonikoro, Fulanga; composed of basalt pecked and ground, fusiform with convex surfaces, narrow edge, and flattened poll; back view showing concave bevel, length 140 millimetres; depth 34 millimetres; cross section circular. Weight 10 ozs. 324 412

Figures (one-third actual size) by Edward Y. Hosaka.

Fig. 1—Adze (C7283) circular type: a, front; b, back; c, side showing similarity of profiles; d, cross-section circular, flattening toward edge.

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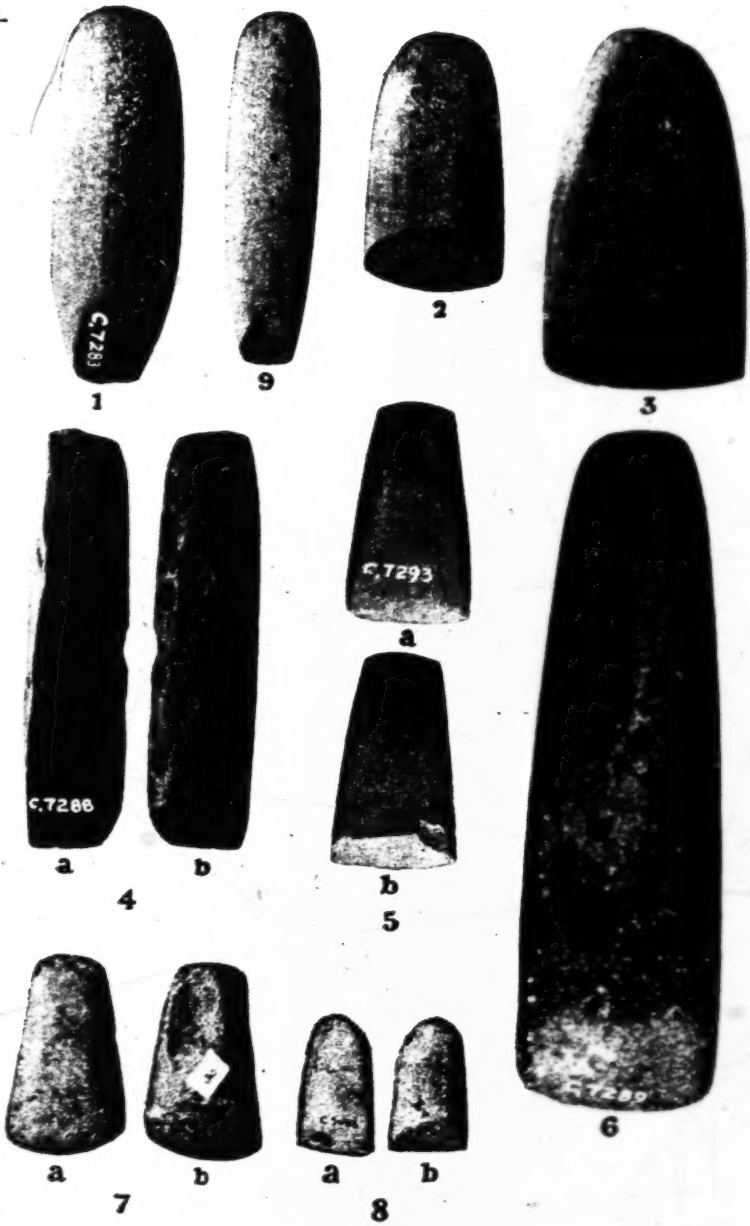

[321]

PLATE A.

[facing p. 104]

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Fig. 2—Adze (C7286) circular type, small: a, front, well ground and polished, pecked above edge and at poll, front edge ground from resharpening; b, back, ground and polished, flattened; c, side shows edge almost equibeveled from resharpening; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 3—Adze (C7287) circular type: a, front slopes from shoulder to edge and to poll; b, back flattened; c, side showing definite shoulder and chin; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 4—Adze (C7462) elliptical type, truncate triangular form: a, front convex transversely and longitudinally with wide curved edge; b, back flattened with plane bevel; c, side convex; d, cross-section roughly elliptical.

Fig. 5—Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat: a, front; b, back flattened and similar in form; c, sides also flattened with tendency toward angular margins; d, cross-section elliptical with tendency toward rectangular form.

Fig. 6—Adze (C7478) elliptical type, large: a, front, surface ground, slightly convex transversely; b, back blade ground, butt reduced by chipping, surface flattened transversely; c, side surface chipped, reduced toward poll; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical showing slight tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 7—Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front; c, side chipped and polished with definite chin; d, section symmetrically trapezoidal with front and back surfaces roughly parallel.

Fig. 8—Adze (B7925) trapezoidal variation: a, front narrow plane surface which has been reground and polished; b, back convex transversely, polished; c, side showing definite chin and reground bevel; d, cross-section flattened ovate.

Fig. 9—Adze (C7293) rectangular type, a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat; c, side flattened, definite chin; d, cross-section rectangular.

Fig. 10—Adze (C7289) rectangular type, large: a, front plane; b, back plane; c, sides slightly convex; b, cross-section subrectangular.

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Fig. 11—Adze (C7433) shell: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, wide edge narrowing toward flattened poll; c, side showing thin profile; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 12—Adze (C7456) shell: a, front less convex than b, back; c. sides; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

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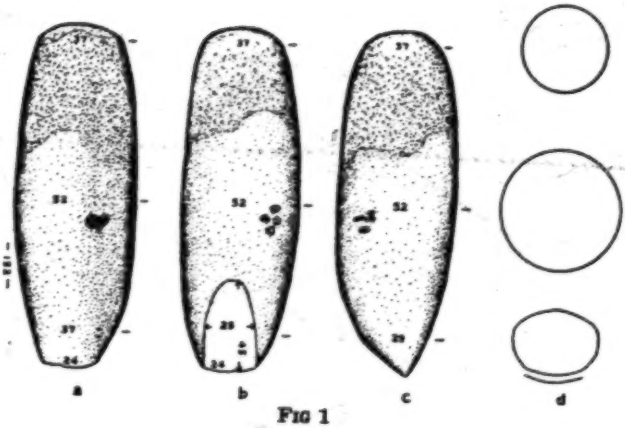

FIG 1

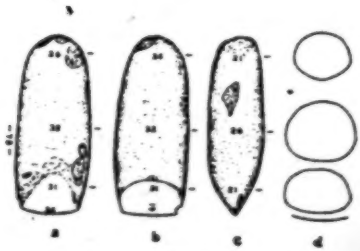

FIG 2

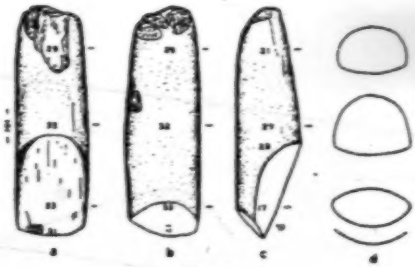

FIG 3

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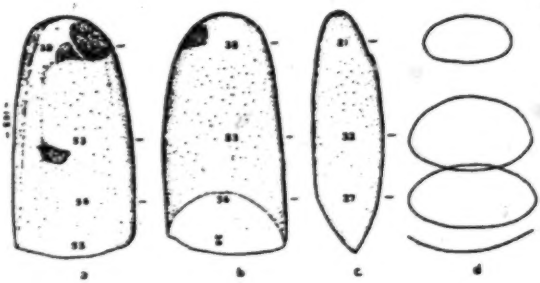

FIG 4

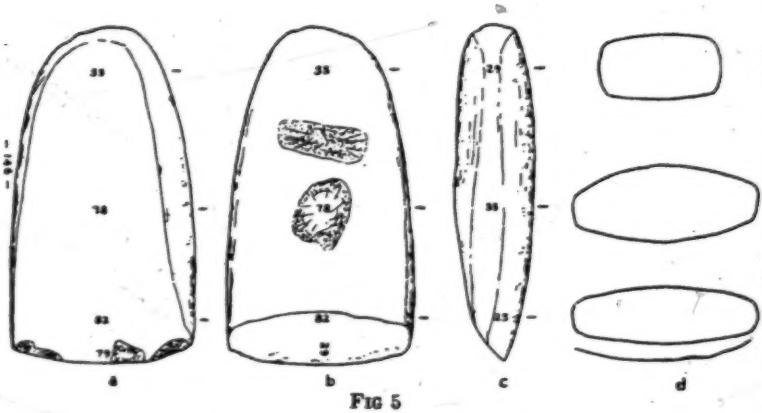

FIG 5

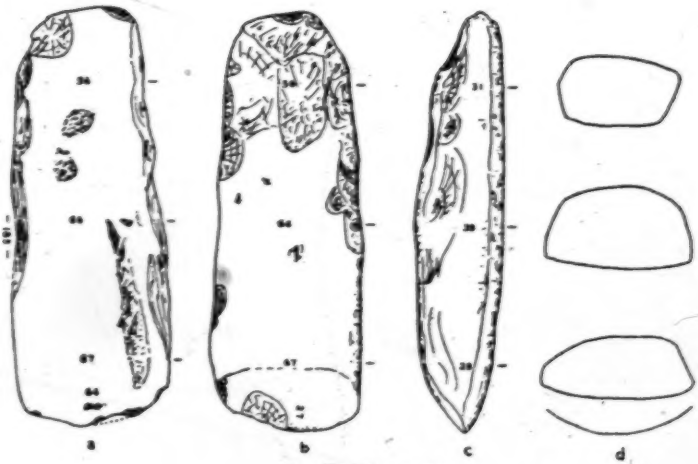

FIG 6

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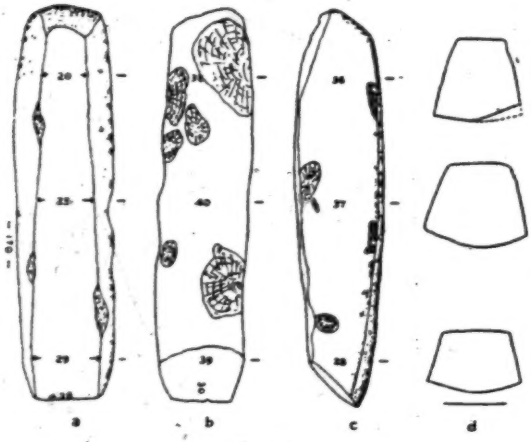

FIG 7

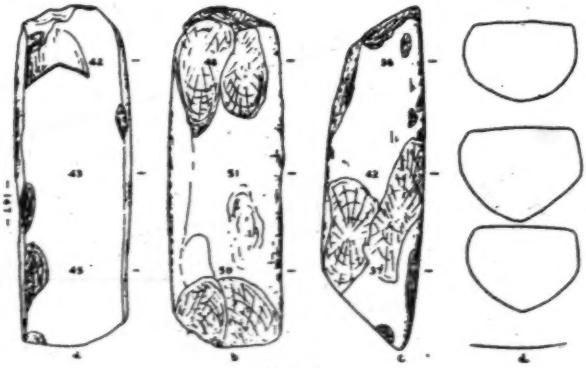

FIG 8

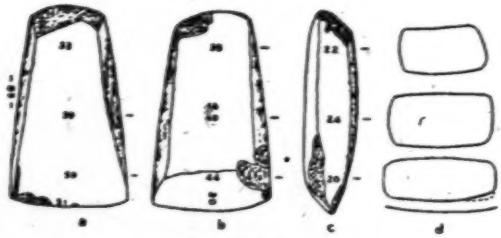

FIG 9

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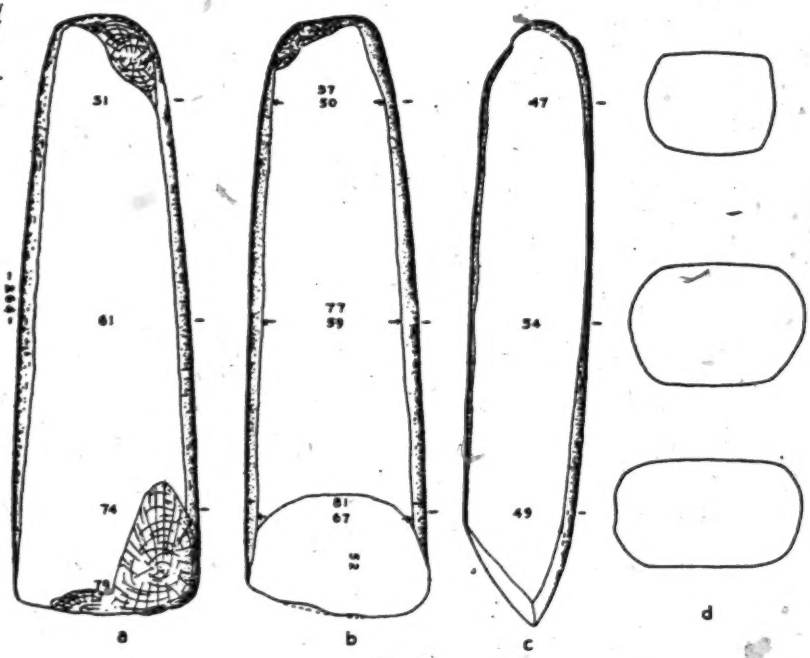

FIG 10

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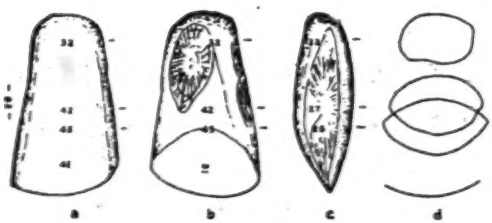

FIG 11

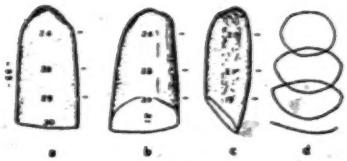

FIG 12

[pp 109-end, not processed]

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[Title Page]

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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day,
177 and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in
large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified
172 village—*(koro)* sites.

323 The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with
little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse
531 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired.
172 The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

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Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

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Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from 323
the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets 463
(kato mbolambola) by young women to the village. Black 317
sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, [482]
Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To
make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed
thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, 323
sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of [824]
makandre-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for 323
trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their 438
men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived 323
in the village for which they were making pots. The clay 463
was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi 438
near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried
it in baskets to the village where the women were working. [482]

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323 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up,
463 lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots
were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large
438 cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various
[531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and
[435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

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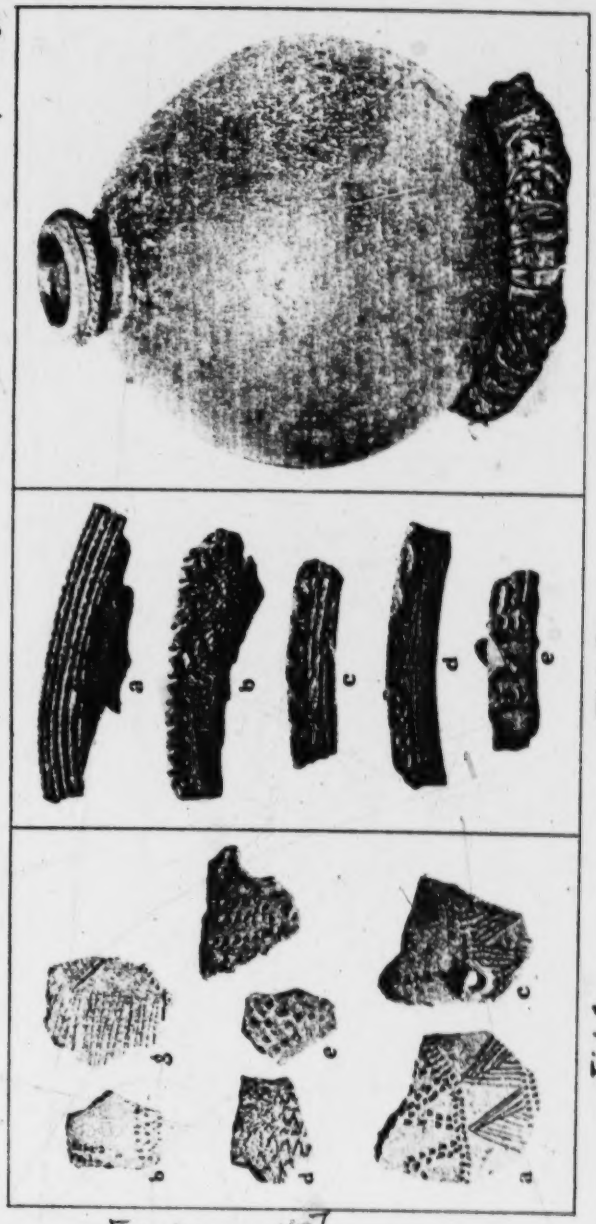

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

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FIGURES.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

Plate A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OOO

Preliminary Report on the Lau Group, Fiji.

Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

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37. Yathata ~~and Katoba~~
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40. Vatu Vara.

Plates. (50 photographs.)

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 287 824 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

133 islets and rocks a characteristic "mushroom" shape. The surface,
[137] even on the small low islands,[1] is densely covered with forest, and is comparatively moist. The indentations are choaked with mangrove swamps. The highland is marginal with the center a flat or basin.

133 In contrast to this, the islands of volcanic material are
137 smoother with rounded ridges and peaks. The beaches are predominately sandy with small areas of dark basalt at the points. The slopes above the everpresent fringe of coconut palms and cosmopolitan littoral trees are generally grassy with low scrub and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees. Although the slopes are dry there is usually a small stream in each valley. The highest elevation is in general toward the center. This summit may bear a tuft of trees, if of sufficient elevation (and also when not cleared off by the natives), but these are simply lowland species which have crept up the valleys.

133 Most of the larger islands, however, are a mixture of limestone and volcanic material. This typically takes the form of a ring of limestone hills enclosing a basin of volcanic material. Vanua Mbalavu is made up of a chain of volcanic hills tapering off into limestone at both ends. On some of the islands, such as Katafanga, the transition between the two is as sharp as if cut by a knife.

Plant Life.

137 The vegetation depends primarily on the geological formation. All the limestone islands and the limestone portions of the mixed islands support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and ~~small~~ tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of Piper (wangawa), bird's eye pepper (rokete), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxurience alone depends upon the size ~~of the~~ and elevation of the island. There is an interesting rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island, with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the

[1] [i.e. limestone islands--analyst]

137 splendid forests of Kambara, Laggo, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as Hernandia peltata, Tournefortia argentea, and a Ficus with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. Pandanus and Casuarina appear early in the scale.

The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, Eulalia japonica, called "nasau" or "ngasau" by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about half a dozen widespread species of shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina. The dominant littoral species are: dilo (Calophyllum inophyllum), vutu (Barringtonia speciosa), evu (Tournefortia argentea), evuevu (Hernandia peltata), nawanawa (Cordia subcordata), tatang-gaa (Acacia lauriflora), veveddu (Scaevola koenigii), tavola (Terminalia littoralis), drala (Erythrina indica), etc. Besides these there are the usual Pandanus, numerous vines, and groves of coconut palms.

About 390 species of plants were collected in the outlying islands of Fiji, 233 being from Lau. This collection represents the majority of the common plants of the region.

Animal Life

136 Except for birds and insects there is a povety of animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was a rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green "vokai". Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large "coconut" crab and hermit crabs were present in quantity. The insect life will form the subject of a separate report, when the extensive collection has been mounted and identified.

136 A careful record of the bird life on each of the islands was kept by Mr. Jose' G. Correia, the assistant Ornathologist. According to his notes the principal birds throughout the Lau Group are as follows:

Land Birds		Water Birds
Large Hawk		Herons, blue and white.
Small Hawk		Heron, small gray.
Pigeon, common Suva		Tern, white
Pigeon, common Samoan		Tern, sooty
Pigeon, black		Plover, Golden
Doves, common		Tatler
Dove, yellow		Lesser Frigate
Dove, ground		Platus Booby
Gallinule		Booby, red-footed
Parraquit		Turnstone, ruddy
Brown-eye		Tropic-bird, yellow bill
Shrike		
Warbler		
Broadbill		
Honey-eater	Barn owl	
Swallow	Duck (Teal)	
Swift	Wild chicken.	
Fantail, gray		
Fantail, brown		
Kingfisher		
Yellow-eye		
Yellow-belly		
Flycatcher, sooty		
Red cap		
Rail		
Cuckoo		

133 Most of the islands are surrounded by a barrier reef, which in many cases extends several miles off shore. The majority of the islands also have fringing reefs. There are also a number of reefs, some of which completely enclose lagoons, containing no elevated land. These supply the marine biologist with a rich collecting ground. But no opportunity was allowed on this hasty land survey to study marine life.

128 In the following summary of the individual islands, the subjects will be discussed in the following order:- 1, location, 2, dimensions. 3, topography and surface, 4, harbors, anchorages and landing places, 5, water, 6, special notes on vegetation and fauna, 7, inhabitants, 8, cultivation and other occupations, 9, historic, 10, prehistoric.

A sketch map, corrected in the field, is furnished of each island.

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, except that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

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SUMMARY OF W. G. FOYE'S GEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON LAU.

(Proc.American Acad.Arts & Sciences, 54:1, pp.43-44, 1918.)

133

1. The Lau islands are underlain by volcanics. formed during the second period of andesite eruptivity, then maturely eroded, and finally submerged.
2. During long submergence, coralliferous limestones were laid down unconformably on these volcanic rocks.
3. A later uplift elevated the coralliferous limestones above sea-level.
4. During a later basaltic period of volcanic eruptivity, olivine andesites or basalts intruded the elevated limestones.
5. With succeeding erosion a large amount of the elevated limestones disappeared, largely owing to atmospheric solution.
6. Most of the islands show a recent submergence.

According as the various islands have passed through all, or only a part, of these stages, the Lau islands may be classified as follows:-

I. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted and intruded or covered by volcanic rocks of the second period.
  A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesite hills of the first period were covered by limestone.
    1. Islands with limestone partly or wholly eroded from the summits of the andesite. VANUA MBALAVU, SUSUI.
    2. Islands with volcanic rocks of the first period still covered with limestone. KAMBARA.
  B. Islands whose tops were never covered by limestone. KANDAVU.
II. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted but not affected by the second period of volcanic eruptivity.
  A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesitic hills were covered with limestone.
    1. Islands with limestones eroded partly or wholly from the summits of the andesites. Malatta, Avea, Thikombia-i-lau, Tuvutha'.
    2. Islands with volcanic rocks still covered with limestone. VEKAI, FULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.
  B. Islands whose tops were never covered ~~with~~ by limestone. LAKEMBA, ONO-I-LAU.
III. Volcanic islands of the second volcanic period built on platforms composed of ~~[illegible]~~ coralliferous limestone overlying depressed hills of the first volcanic period. MUNIA, KANATHEA, ONO, MBENGHA.

SIMPLE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LAU ISLANDS VISITED BY FOYE.

1. Islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks:

VANUA MBALAVU	MALATTA	THIKOMBIA-I-LAU
SUSUI	AVEA	TUVUTHA'
LAKEMBA	ONO-I-LAU	KANDAVU [1]
	KAMBARA	

2. Islands composed of limestones alone: VEKAI, FULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.

3. Islands composed of volcanic rocks only: MUNIA, KANATHEA. (Ono-i-Kandavu and Mbengha [not in Lau])

[1] [This island is not in Lau--analyst]

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SIMPLE GEOLOGIC CLASSIFICATION OF ALL THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

(As observed by E.H.Bryan,Jr., following the arrangement suggested by W.G.Foye, Proc.Am.Acad.A.&.Sci.54:1,p.44).

1. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF LIMESTONE ALONE:

Ongea	Marambo	Bacon	Kimbombo (1 of 3)
Fulanga /(4)	Wangava	Latei Viti	Kaimba
Yangasa Cluster	Tavunasithi	Latei Tonga	Vatu Vara (?)
Namuka-i-Lau	Aiwa (2)	Vekai	Vatoa (not seen personally)
Karoni	Vanua Masi	Sovu (3)	

2. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF BOTH LIMESTONE AND VOLCANIC ROCK:

Oneata	Thithia	Yathata
Kambara	Vanua Mbalavu	Ono-i-Lau (not seen personally)
Lakemba	Avea	
Katafanga	Malata	
Tuvutha	Susui	
Naisu	Thikombia-i-Lau	
Vanua Vatu	Naitaumba	
Mango		

3. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF VOLCANIC MATERIAL ONLY:

Mothe	Kimbombo (2 of the 3)	These two are composed of bedded tuff.
Komo	Olorua	
Kanathea		
Munia		

4. FLAT SAND ISLANDS (No elevated limestone or volcanic material):

Naiambo
Yarona
Wailangilala
Nukutolu (3)

(The number of islands making up a cluster or group is indicated by the number in parenthesis).

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AVERAGE RAINFALL IN LAU.

Month	MUNIA (H.H.Steinmetz) Average of 29 years to 1924	MUNIA (H.H.Steinmetz) Average of 28 years to 1923	NAMBAVATU Average of 5 years to 1924	NAMBAVATU Average of 4 years to 1923
January	7.64	7.86	7.36	8.29
February	7.67	7.77	7.79	7.58
March	9.05	8.93	9.41	9.61
April	8.46	8.59	13.08	15.50
May	5.31	5.17	5.72	5.52
June	4.36	4.35	2.67	2.63
July	2.80	2.69	-	2.70
August	3.91	3.82	5.06	2.01
September	3.51	3.53	4.91	4.46
October	-	4.94	-	4.01
November	-	5.58	-	4.38
December	-	7.11	-	11.08
Annual Average	-	70.33		77.28

1924 was an unusual year and upset the previous general average.

Figures obtained in October 1924.

[p.8]

SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LAU.
From 1921 Census.

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District	Island	Village	Pop.	Fijians Res.	Fijians Strangers	Others	No.of Houses.
Fulanga	Ongea	Ongea	101	92	9	-	21
	Fulanga	Munaithake	205	199	5	1	40
	"	Muanaira	41	41	-	-	12
	"	Naivindamu	64	64	-	-	12
Kambara	Namuka-i-Lau	Namuka	216	187	29	-	53
	Komo	Komo	140	115	25	-	25
	Marambo	Marambo	8	8	-	-	1
	Kambara	Lomati	46	42	4	-	8
	"	Nggalinggali	130	123	7	-	28
	"	Tokalau	109	101	8	-	19
	"	Undu	89	83	6	-	19
Mothe	Mothe	Leva	75	74	1	-	17
	"	Nasau	187	152	35	-	51
Oneata	Oneata	Dakuiloa	85	70	13	2	21
	"	Wainggori	138	128	10	-	23
Lakemba	Lakemba	Nasanggalau	151	127	23	1	29
	"	Nukunuku	70	63	6	1	17
	"	Tumbou	283	235	38	10	76
	"	Vakano	70	50	17	3	14
	"	Wathiwathi	130	112	17	1	28
	"	Waitambu	76	69	6	1	15
	"	Yandrana	187	177	8	2	46
	?	Levuka	87	83	3	1	17
Naiau	Naiau	Liku	59	56	3	-	14
	"	Narothivo	117	104	12	1	33
	"	Salia	146	108	34	4	28
Thithia	Thithia	Lomati	113	102	9	2	28
	"	Mambula	123	118	2	3	23
	"	Natheva	41	37	4	-	12
	"	Tarukua	75	67	3	5	17
	"	Natokalau	65	57	7	1	15
Lomaloma	Tuvutha	Tuvutha	102	96	6	-	22
	Susui	Susui	67	64	3	-	21
	?	Futuna	3	3	-	-	1
	Vanua Mbalavu	Levukana	71	67	4	-	18
	"	Lomaloma	151	113	29	9	38
	"	Narothivo	60	48	12	-	15
	"	Ndakuilomaloma	52	46	2	4	12
	"	Sawana	121	105	16	-	28
	"	Uruone	66	61	5	-	15
Mualevu	"	Malaka	14	9	5	-	5
	"	Navana	115	83	28	4	26
	"	Mbositathi	64	53	10	1	12
	"	Mualevu	196	151	45	-	37
	"	Muamua	30	20	10	-	8
	"	Ndalithoni	91	55	33	3	23
	Avea	Avea	63	53	10	-	20
	Thikombia	Thikombia	51	39	10	2	12
Ono	3 islands	5 villages	641	613	23	5	?
Matuku	Matuku	7 "	648	573	74	1	163
Moala	Moala	8 "	667	645	20	2	133
Totoya	Totoya	4 "	474	431	39	4	88
"	Vanua Vatu	Taira	162	145	15	2	28
			7402	6583	743	76	--#

1487 houses exclusive of those in Ono district.

[p. 9]

ONGEA ISLANDS

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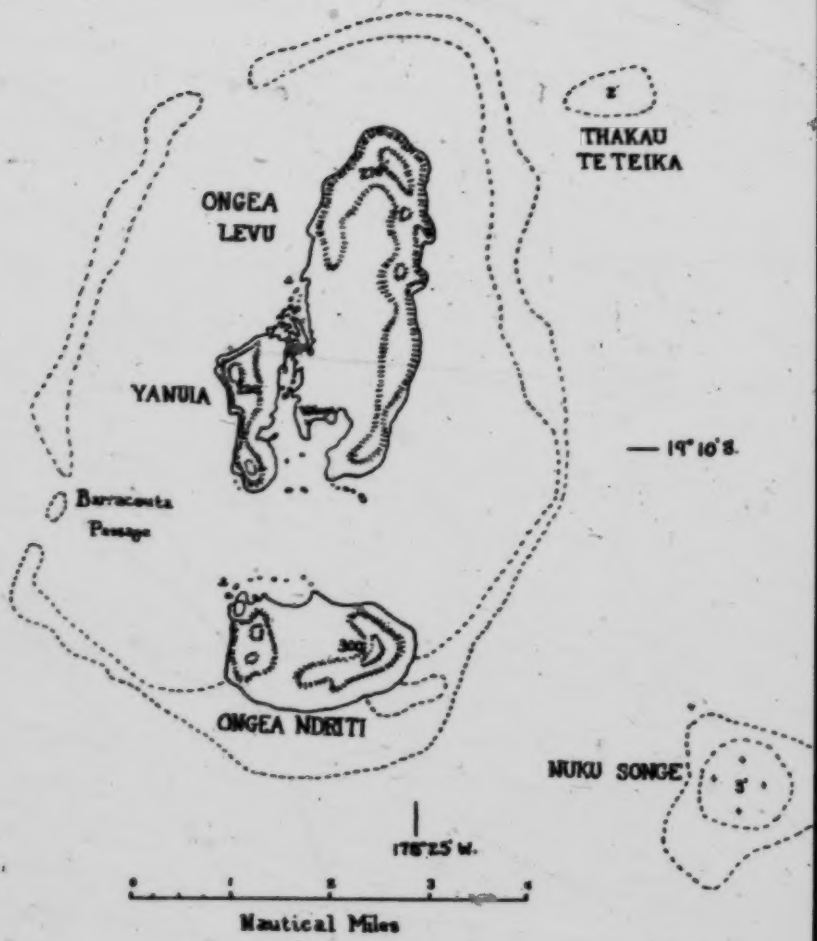

[p. 10]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

Unmapped Channel Between

Ongea Levu & Yanuia.

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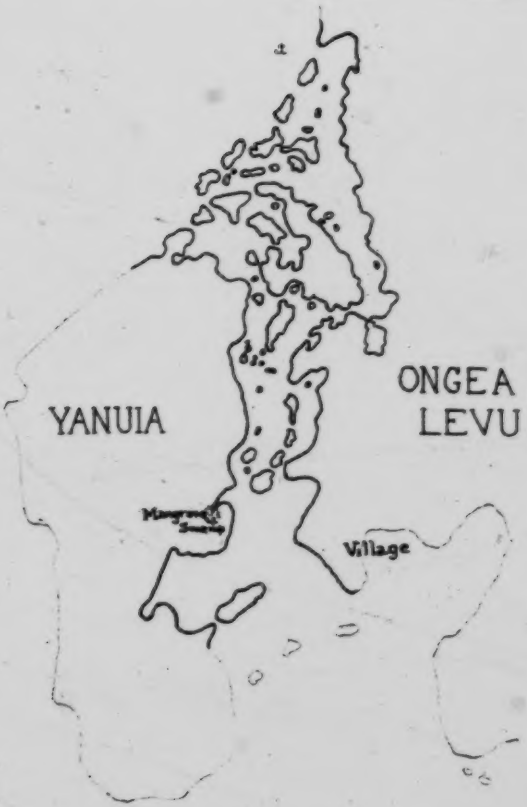

[p. 11]

13 1. ONGEA Islands consist of three limestone islands situated at the south-east end of the group; (S.19° 10', 178° 25' W.). They are encircled by a barrier reef 5 1/2 by 8 miles, thru which there is one good (Barracouta) passage, on the west side.

Ongea Levu, the largest of the three, is elongate eliptical in outline, 3 1/2 by 1 1/4 miles, with a deep sandy bay on the south, [361] at the head of which is located the village. The central portion is a flat, rising to a height of 270 feet on the east in a nearly continuous line of hills facing the sea, and sloping up slightly to the west and north.

The south-west portion of this main mass is a separate island, called Yamia, which is separated from Ongea Levu by a narrow, winding passage, nearly dry at low tide. It is hilly and rough, with an elevation at the north-west of 220 feet, rising sharply from the sea. The south-eastern portion is much indented and filled with mangrove swamps. Both ends of the passage are filled with small rocky islets, a line of which also fringe the south coast of Ongea Levu and the shore line of Ongea Ndriti.

Ongea Ndriti, which lies about a mile to the south of Levu, is ovate in shape, 1 3/4 by 1 1/4 miles. The eastern and western ends are rough and hilly, rising to an elevation of 300 feet. The north center is a partly cultivated flat, and there is a broad sand beach on the south.

All three of the islands are of typical upraised coral limestone formation, and are covered with a dense growth of lowland forest. Most of the sea face is steep undercut cliff, but there are several small sand beaches.

The best anchorages for vessels of moderate size are off the north-west end of Ongea Ndriti, and off the north end of the deep bay on the west side of Ongea Levu. At both of these landing is good.

[p.12]

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 [987] From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

312 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 [161] 241 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato, 245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives. 181 144 320 285 287 231 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent, and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

FULANGA I.

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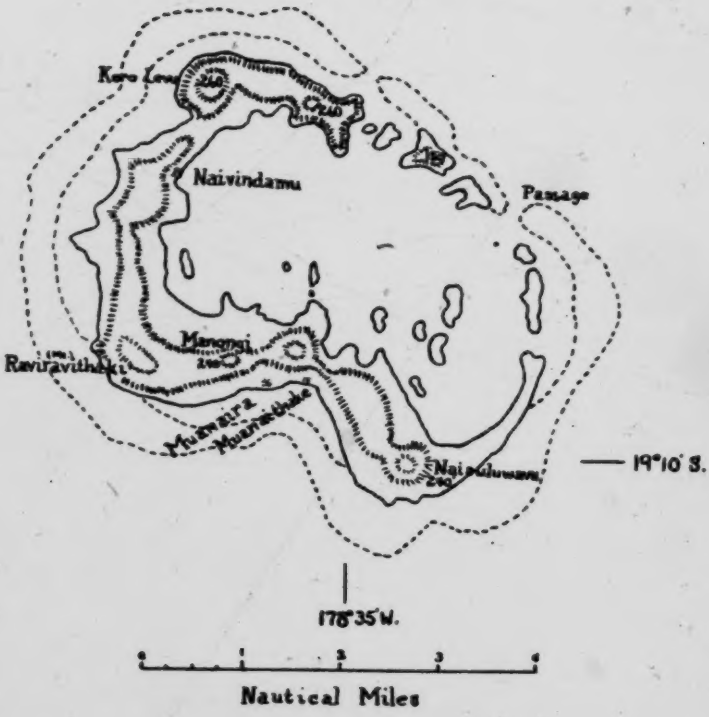

[p. 14]

13 2. FULANGA Island is a nearly continuous ring of uplifted coral limestone, eight miles directly west of Ongea Levu and south of the Yangasa Cluster, (S.19° 08', 178° 36' W.). It is 5 miles long (W.N.W.- E.S.E.) and 3 to 3 1/2 miles wide. The main island, which extends around three-fourths of the circumference, is from 1/4 to 1 mile wide, and reaches an elevation of 250 feet at the north-west and from 200 to 240 feet on the south. The remaining forth consists of a curve of small islets, one of which is 150 feet high. The hills on the south form a nearly continuous ridge, but those on the north are more prominent because of their isolated abruptness. The enclosed lagoon contains several fair size islands and a quantity of small mushroom-shaped rocks (too small to be indicated on the map).

This ring of land is surrounded by a barrier reef which is fringing on the S.E. and S.W. Thru it there is one passage, available for small vessels, on the N.W. side. This passage is but 60 yards wide with a strong tidal current flowing thru it at about 3 knots, and causing riffles and overfalls dangerous to small vessels, which should not attempt the passage when tide and wind are opposite in direction. A patch of coral just inside the entrance should be carefully avoided, by running close up to a small rocky islet covered with native palms, keeping on its west side, and then turning abruptly south-west.

The lagoon furnishes shelter from all points of the compass. A good anchorage is available at about the middle of the south side, off [504] a small sandy bay where there are generally a number of native canoes [487] on the beach. From here a trail leads over the ridge to the two southern villages.

[p.15]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. ~~Mbah~~ Muanaithake and Muanairs are close together on the south ocean side. The former
[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[291] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[320] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
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[p. 16]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAIAMBO I.

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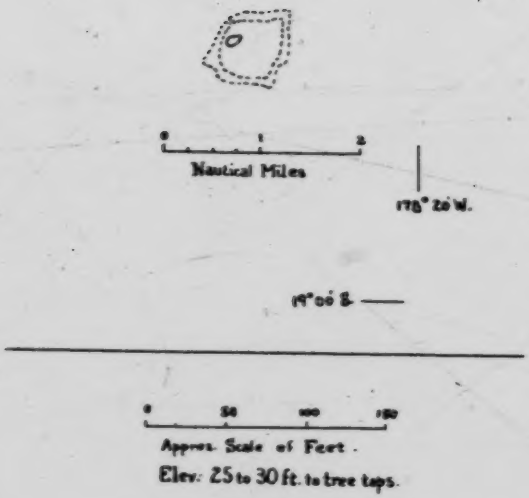

[p. 17]

13 S. NAIAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

YANGASA CLUSTER.

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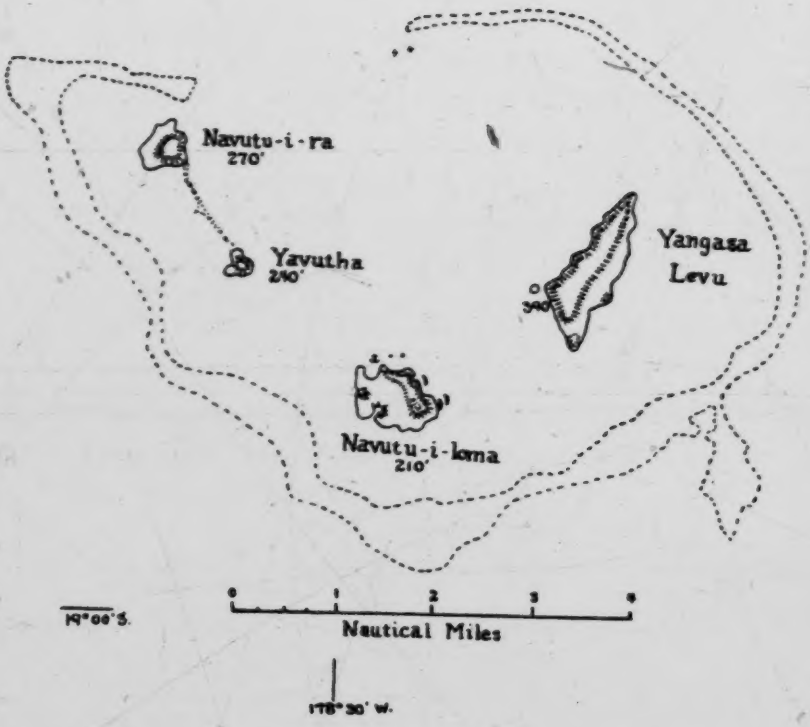

[p. 19]

13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang'-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. [423] The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the [245] copra from several small patches of coconut palms.

[484] YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few coconut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

NAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the S.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Navutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

[p. 20]

[YANGASA CLUSTER]

13 the N. and N.E. slopes. There are no beaches. Landing is possible in smooth weather on the west side.

NAVUTU-I-RA , a mile further to the north-west, is 1/2 mile in diameter and 270 feet high. It is connected with Yavutha by a narrow sunken reef on which are situated a number of small rocks. The slopes of this island are quite rough, but there is a small, nearly level flat on the N.W. Both flat and slopes are heavily wooded. A small sand beach on the south side makes landing easy.

[312] There is no fresh water on the three smaller islets, and only the one pool noticed on Yangasa Levu.

Snakes are abundant and rats are probably present. Lizards and hermit crabs are ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

These limestone islands have an exceedingly rough surface, which warrents the nick-name "bad-lands". This consists of jagged ridges (or rather hummocks, as they lead nowhere), separating pot-holes up to 50 feet in diameter and often 15 to 25 feet deep. The walls are ah eer and unbelievably rough and jagged, ruining shoes, clothes and skin. This type of country, however, is well forested.

[p.21]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAMUKA-I-LAU

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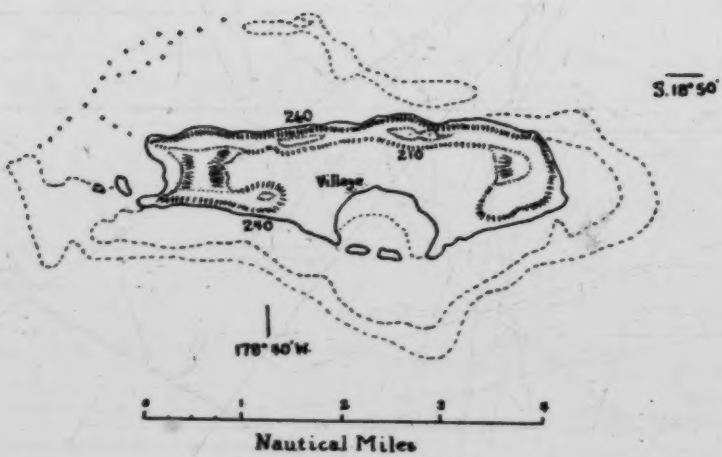

[p. 22]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 250 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (250') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
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177 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

MOTHE & KARONI

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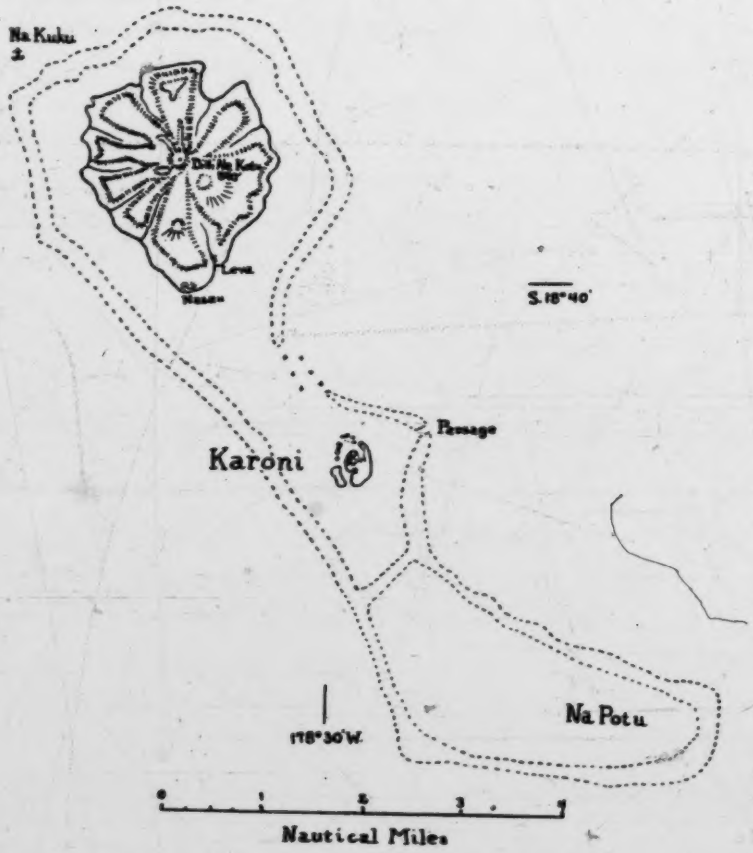

[p.24]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised. 285 285

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point 231 of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a 13 thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abruptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of coconut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the
161 natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut
313 into the interior.
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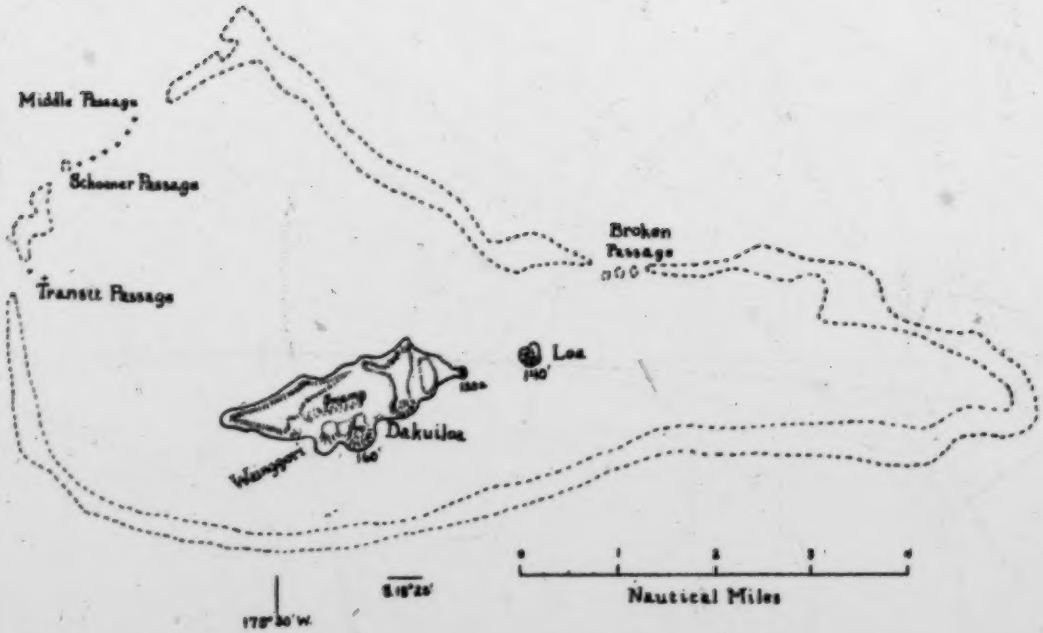
[p.26]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OUTATA I.



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[p. 27]

13 7. ONRATA is a partly coral limestone, partly bedded sandstone island, lying about 12 miles north of Mothe. (S.18° 26', 178° 30' W.) It is 2 1/2 miles long and about 7/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends, and with three small wooded peaks up to 160 feet high on the south-east. Toward the east end there are two cross-ridges covered with forest. Off the east point a small conical islet, Loa, rises to a height of 140 feet. The west end has a sandstone hill, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina. A volcanic ledge borders the east point. The central portion of the island is occupied by a narrow brackish swamp. South of it (between the two villages) are to low knobs or ridges of sandstone. On the north side of the low central depression is a large area of coconut palms and cultivated patches.

The island is surrounded by a long triangular barrier reef, extending six miles to the eastward and four to the north-west. Thru it there are four passages, three on the west and one on the north. The water is moderately deep within the lagoon, except off the S.W. point of the island. There is good anchorage off the main village, Wainggori, in the S.W. bay.

312 Water is abundant. It is piped to Waing-gori from a spring in the west end sandstone hill, which is said to run all year round. There is also a fresh water bathing pool near the swamp. Rainwater is caught at Dakuiloa, the other village.

13 In addition to the usual lowland and littoral trees, noted "yasi" sandlewood. Land birds numerous, but no water birds seen. No snakes reported. Aquatic insects numerous, and mosquitoes very troublesome.

361 There are two villages, Wainggori (Waigori) and Dakuiloa, both
[161] situated on the south side. The former claimed a population of 250 although the 1921 ~~census~~ census gives the figure 138. There were

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuilca is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuilca. The people seemed
179 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181 noticeable Tongan element.
194

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
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[p. 29]

OLORUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

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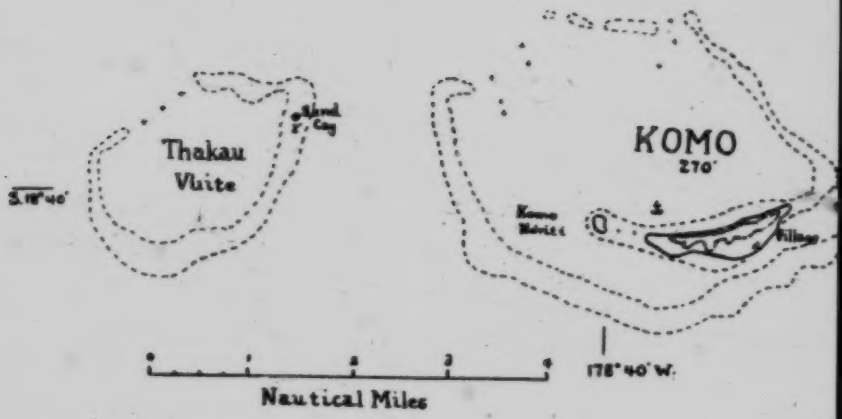

[p. 30]

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 5/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Edriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227
462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 31]

13 9. OLOKUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-fringing reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or miniature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
and TUVUNASITHI.

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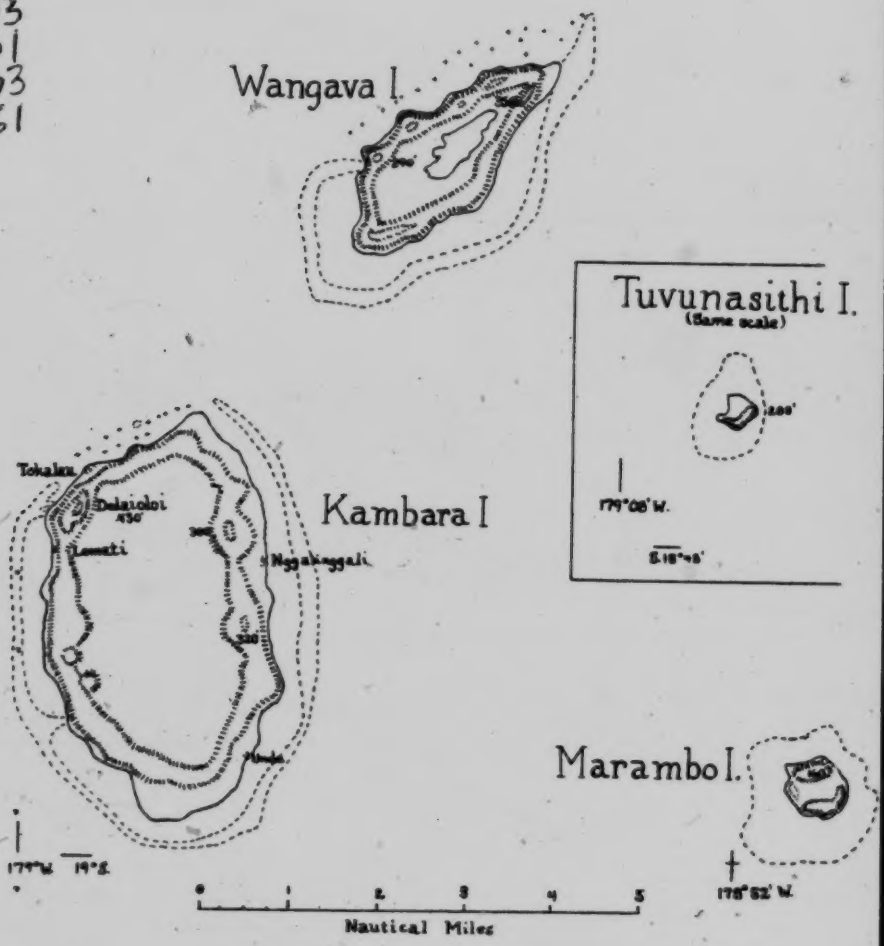

[p. 33]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 550 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W.corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with
[161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but
[368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and
[161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qualiqali), the largest

[KAMBARA I.]

361 [161] of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 130 residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the 487 241 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have 396 322 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 176° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
241 Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 5 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetat-
[139] ion, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore
487 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach
312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W.
361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior
161 trees have been felled in places.
295
484

[p.37]

13 15. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is subcircular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of coconut palms.

245 161 361 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is a small hut on the N. beach.

[p. 38]

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AIWA ISLANDS

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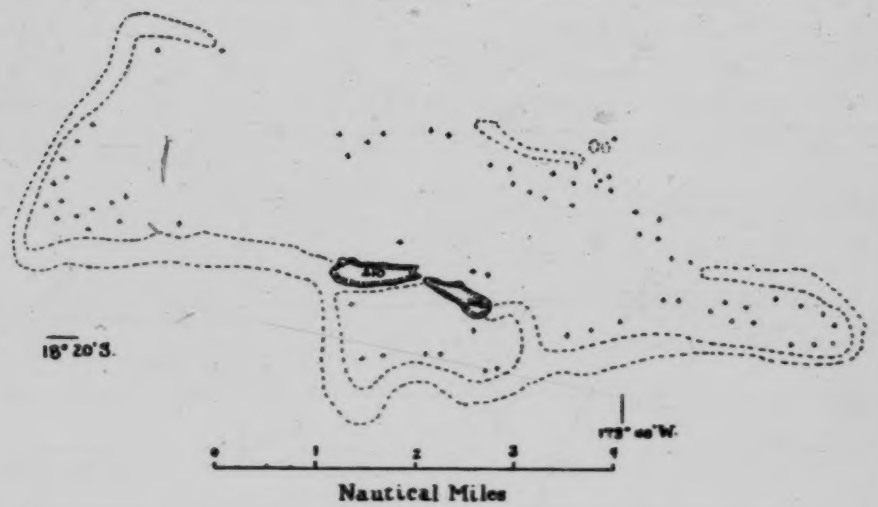


[p. 39]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

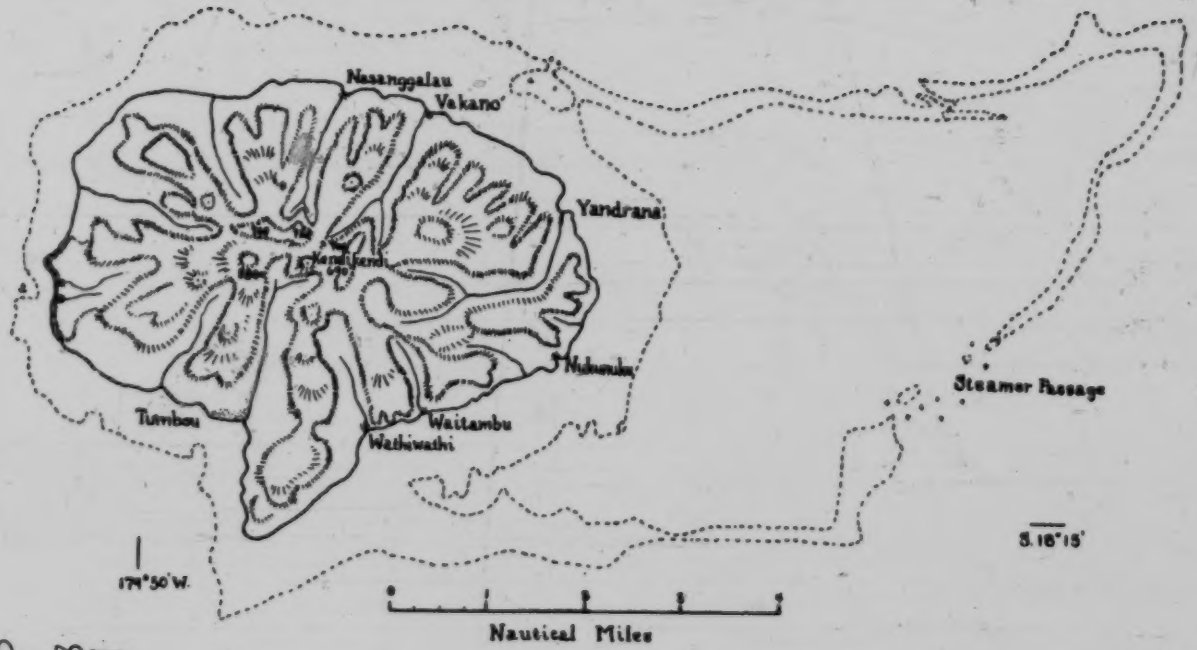
There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 295 224 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

LAKEMBA I.



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[p.41]

13 15. **LAKEMBA** is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 30 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

[312] Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in every valley, and also a convenient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of coconut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Bukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

Northern Portion of
MBUKATATANOA (or Argo) REEF
and details of VANUA MASI & BACON I.

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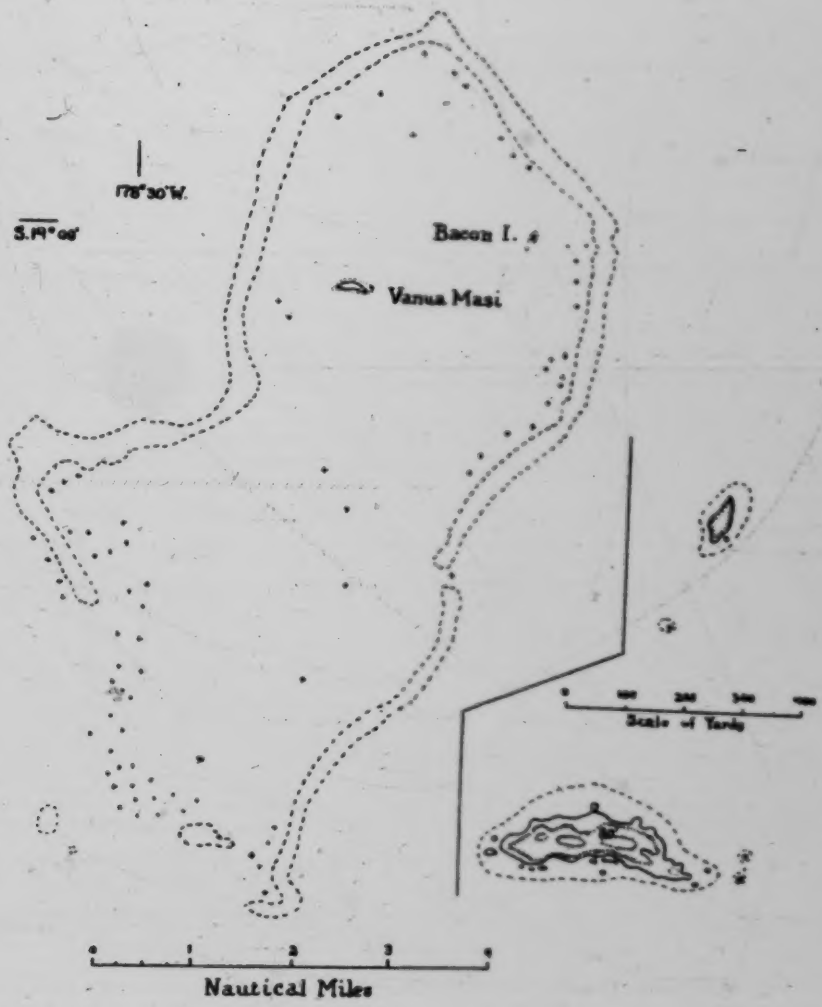

[p44]

13 16. MBUKATATANOA (OR ARGO) REEF, lying to the east and north-east of Lakemba, contains two small, uninhabited coral islets, near its north end.

Vanua Mazi, the larger, is not as large as given in the U.S.Pilot Book (Vol. 166, p.377), being only about 400 by 100 yards, and probably less than 80 feet high. Anchorage is good off the north side of the island. Landing is easy on a sand beach on the north side, behind which is a small clump of coconut palms, bananas, papayas, and a few species of widespread littoral trees, white with bird guano and stunted by wind and salt spray. The rest of the island is very rough limestone with a few shrubs, herbs and vines. Numerous outlying rocks on the platform-like reef, especially off the east end. The above dimentions include the fringing reef platform.

Insects abundant as to numbers, but few in species. Landshells under drift wood and coconut husks. Hermit crabs, lizards and water snakes present.

Bacon island, about 2 miles east, is 80 or 90 yards long (N.& S.), and less than 40 or 50 yards wide, tapering at both ends. It also is composed of jagged limestone, rising to a height of 45 to 50 feet. Small pockets of dirt on its steep sides, richly impregnated with bird guano, give growth to such herbs as Sesuvium, Portulaca, stunted bunch grass, and a small shrub.

Water snakes and lizards abundant in crevaces. Only half a dozen species of insects present, but abundant.

Both these islands are used as a nesting place by sea birds.

[p.45]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

REID REEF
Details of
Latei Viti & Latei Tonga.

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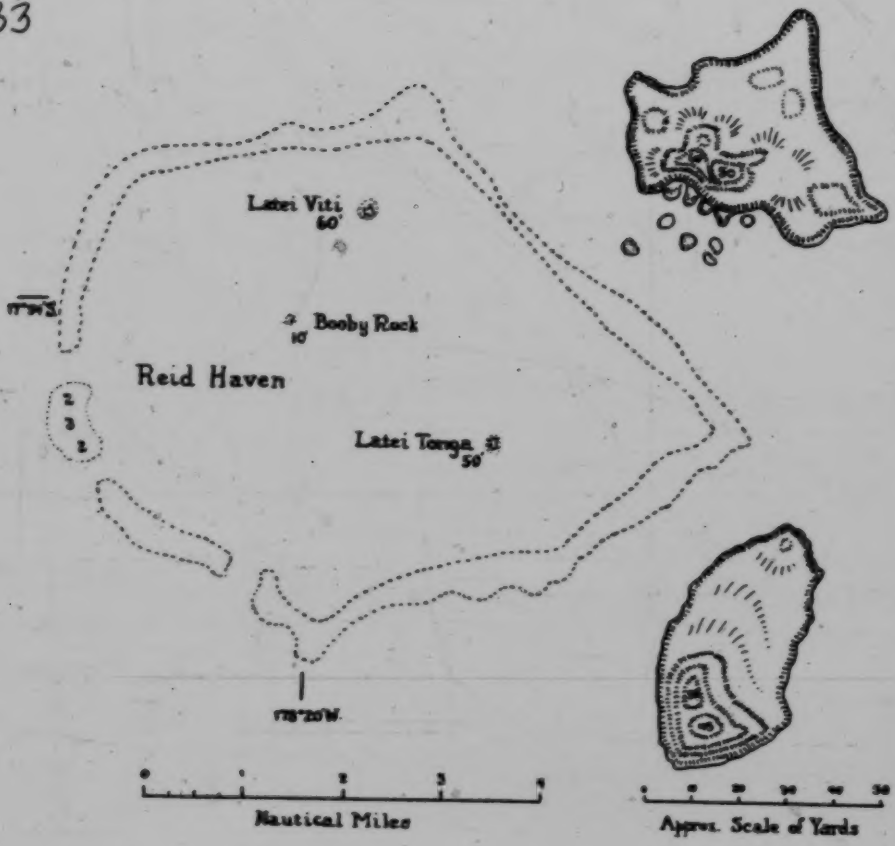

[p.46]

13 17. REID REEF, 4 1/2 miles north of Mbukatatanoa (or Argo) Reef, encloses a lagoon, Reid Haven, containing three coral rocks or small islets, which are nearly bare of vegetation, and are the resort of numerous sea birds.

Latei Viti, the largest of the three, is triangular in shape, about 50 yards on a side, and 60 feet high, of rough coral limestone. Its sides are so covered with bird guano as to appear whitewashed. Small terraces on the north and east have pockets of dirt supporting a small growth of such herbs as Portulaca and Boerhaavia. Lizards and water snakes numerous. About half a dozen species of insects. The south side rises in a steep cliff, at the foot of which are a number of detached and semi-detached rocks.

Latei Tonga lies about three miles to the S.S.E.. It is kidney-shaped, about 50 yards long by 30 wide, and attains a rugged height of perhaps 50 feet in a steep hill on the south. It is similar to Latei Viti in its white jagged cliffs. The north end is low, or with small patches of Portulaca, Sesuvium, Boerhaavia and a mat grass, rising in terraces toward the south. These terraces provide a nesting place for boobies and terns. There are also lizards, water snakes and red-legged hermit crabs. Insects, more numerous than on Latei Viti, include ants, dermestid beetle and small black beetle under dead birds; black agromyzid fly, greenish cranefly, and fuscous leaf-hoppers on the plants; 2 species of small weevils, a mite, and more ants among roots; some small moths and the booby hippoboscid fly.

Booby Rock is a small dark colored coral rock ten feet high, about a mile and a half south-west of Latei Viti. It is bare, even of birds.

[p. 47]

YAROUA I. and Adjacent Reefs.

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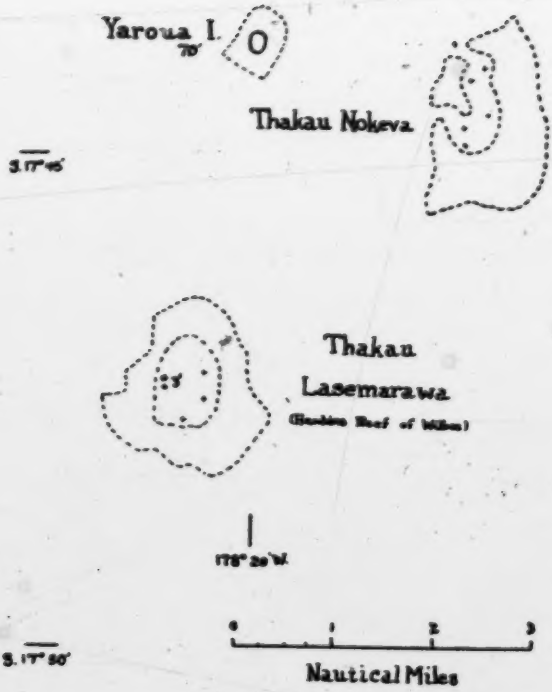

[p. 48]

13 18. YAROUA is a small sand island, nine miles east of the south point of Tuvutha' I. and 20 miles W.N.W. of Reid Reef. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, varying from 200 to 400 yards wide. The island is flat, smoothly oval in outline, about 500 yards long by 300 to 400 yards wide, and 70 feet to the top of the coconut palms, which thickly cover its surface. This vegetated portion is surrounded by a broad steeply sloping sand beach.

Landing would be possible at high tide off the N.W. point, but as wind and tide were unfavorable we did not stop.

[361] On the N.W. point are a few huts, which were occupied at the time of our visit. The coconut grove, which is similar to that on Wailangilala, should produce some little copra. There were no canoes on the beach.

The two reefs, Thakau Nokeva and Thakau Lasemarawa lie respectively two miles to the east and three miles south. The latter contains rocks rising to a height of three feet.

[p. 49]

KATAFANGA, VEKAI
Detail of Vekai.

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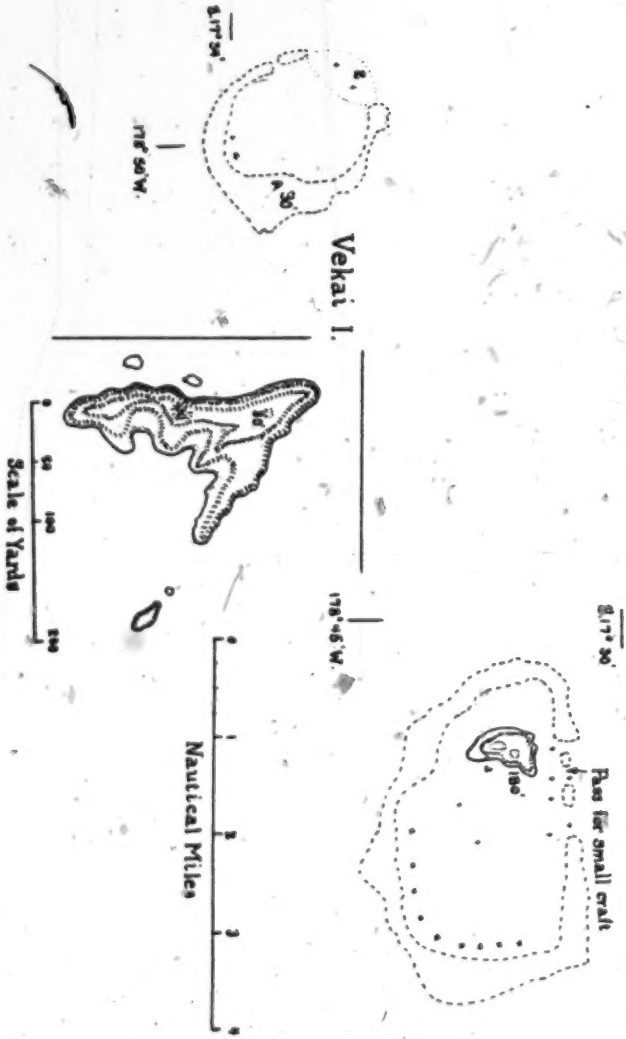

[p. 50]

13 19. **KATAFANGA** (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
345 lives on the island and is engaged in ~~[illegible]~~ producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 20. VEKAI is a small coral islet, 30 feet high and about 200 yards long, situated on the east inner edge of a circular reef, six miles W1 by S. from Katafanga. The lagoon is about 2 miles across with a boat entrance on the N.W. side (2 fathoms). The islet is wedge-shaped, with small sand beaches in the S.E. bay. The west side rises perpendicularly from the water, but the east slope is gradual, with small pockets running back from the sandy coves. These are filled with stunted trees (Tournefortia, Hernandia peltata, and Ficus), and herbs, vines and a shrub festoon the rough ridges. A small patch of burr grass has somehow been introduced. There are four small detached rocks situated nearby on the reef: one on the west, one off the south point, and two off a projecting S.E. point.

[3/2] No fresh water. Saw neither lizards or snakes, although both may occur. The white and brown Pierid butterfly is present and several other interesting species of insects.

This islet is especially interesting because it forms a transition between the nearly bare rocks such as Latei Viti and Bacon I. and the small islets, like Vamua Masi, on which trees have become well established, dirt and sand accumulated and coconut palms taken root.

[p.52]

TUVUTHA' I.

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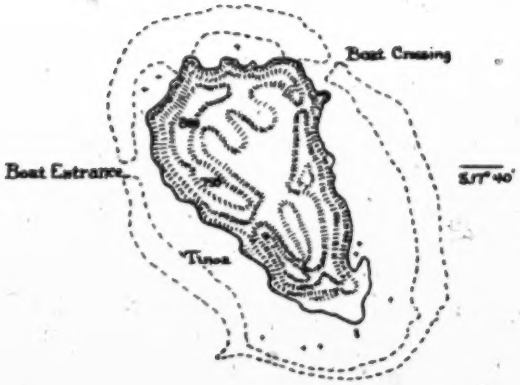
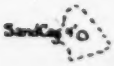
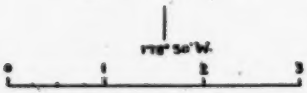


Tavunukui Wai
(Gunnin Reef of Wilkes)



Tavunukui Vanua
(Smith Reef of Wilkes)



Nautical Miles

[p.53]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

NAIAU I.

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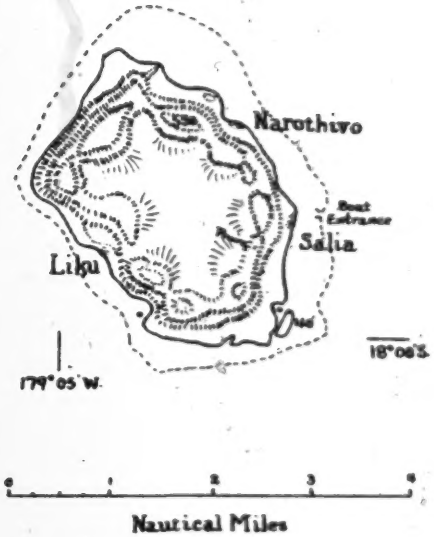

[p.55]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
[177] is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
487 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic
material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
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[p.56]

VANUA VATU.

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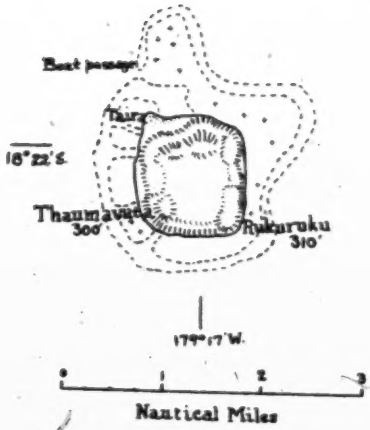

[p.57]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier feef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of
181 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite
262 prosperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin
312 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small
13 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and
134 crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.
[241]

[p.58]

THITHIA I.

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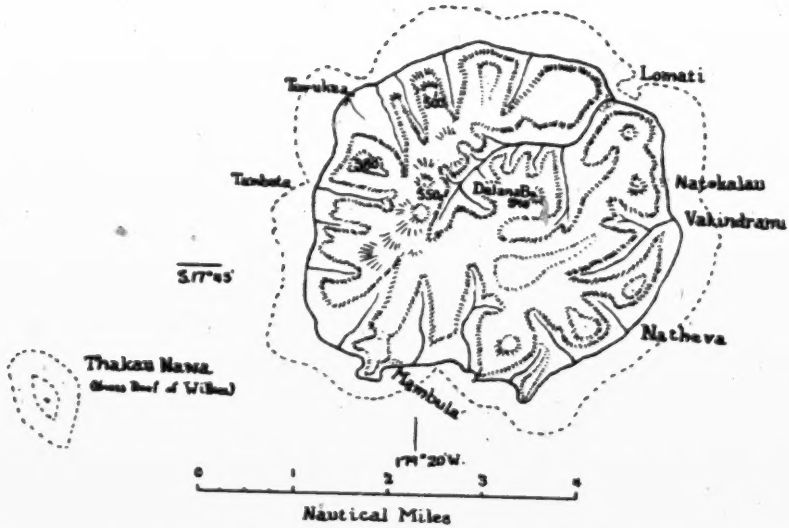

[p. 59]

3 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ä) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. [179] [743] [759]

[1] [Bula or chief -- analyst]

[p.60]

[THITHIA I.]

361 [161] is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
366 [177] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
361 366 Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
205 [245] [466] coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store, mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

MANGO I.

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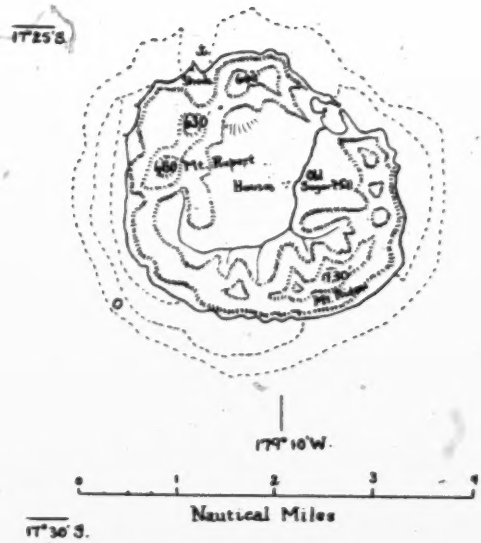

[p. 62]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present
245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the
[248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The
[249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center
361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.
497 The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son.
There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the
423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive
464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended
162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills
13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

[MANGO I.]

233 [136] of about 700 head of cattle are pastured on the grasslands. A herd The hills are roamed by flocks of turkeys.

13 The east bay is of remarkable formation. It is about half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide, nearly entirely surrounded by a ridge of limestone, and with an entrance scarcely 100 yards wide thru which the flood tide attains a velocity of 7 knots. The tide inside is about half an hour later than outside.

There is a small islet near the outer edge of the reef on the S.W.

[p.64]

KANATHEA I.

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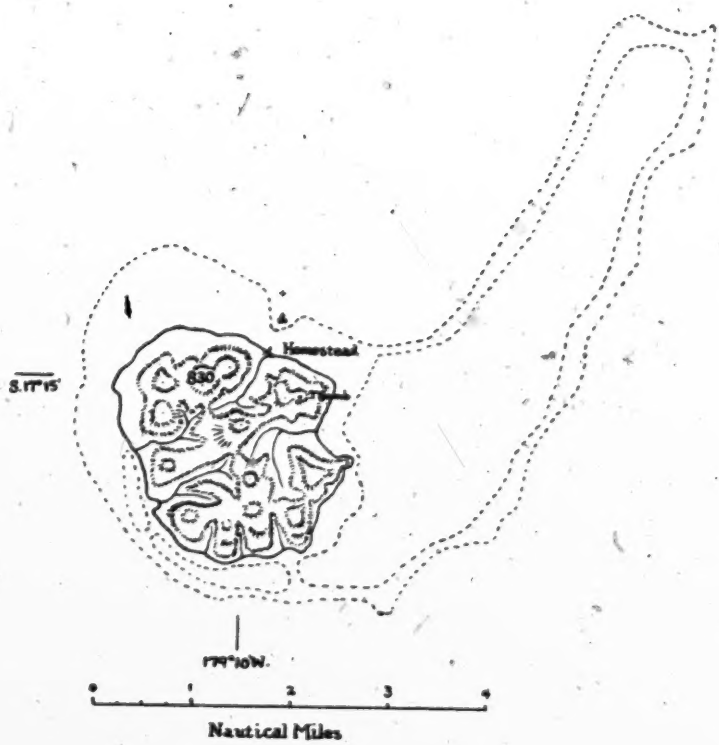

[p.65]

13 26. **KANATHEA** is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [509] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material. [312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams. The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with [245] coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

13 THE EXPLORING ISLES include a somewhat scattered group of islands: Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Avea, Sovu, Malata, Susui, Munia, Thibombia-i-Lau, and small islets, all lying within a single barrier reef, 77 miles in circumference. The greatest length (E.& W.) of the enclosed lagoon is 23 miles and its width (N.& S.) is 21 miles. There are five passages thru the reef: two on the west, Andi-vathi and Ngillangilla, opposite those two islets; a series, the Sovu Passages, on the north, near the Sovu Islets; the American Passage on the east; and the Tongan Passage on the S.E., between Munia and Thikombia-i-Lau.

The reef is one of the few barrier reefs in Fiji having a sloping outer edge to windward. On this a vessel might anchor. There is deep water within, with comparatively few reefs and coral heads. Depths of up to 100 fathoms have been sounded on the east, but much of the central portion is from 30 to 50 fathoms.

Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Malata, and Susui form a long narrow curve, shaped like a figure "2". The N.W. end is of limestone, the central portion volcanic, and the S.E. is mixed volcanic and limestone material. Ngillangilla and the other small islets close in will be included with Vanua Mbalavu.

103 The group received its name from the United States Exploring Expedition, under Wilkes, in 1840.

[p. 67]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [349] [368] [179] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yanuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced.

[245] To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

VANUA MBALAVU and nearby islands.

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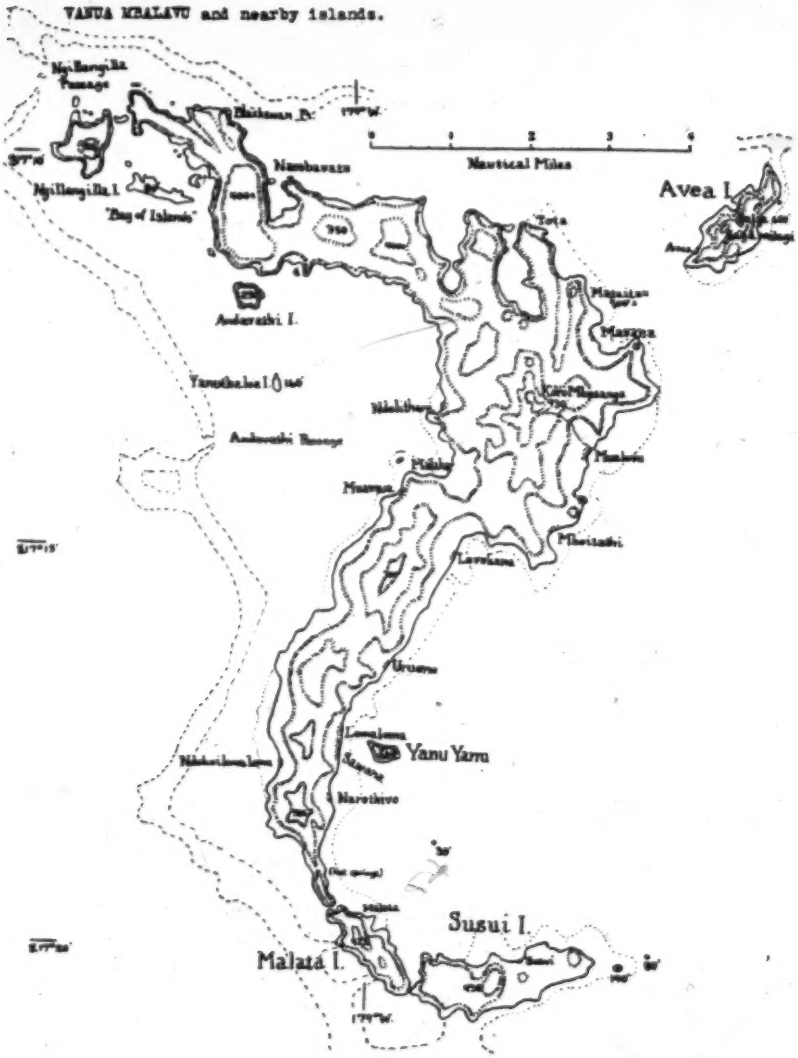

[p.72]

SOVU ISLETS

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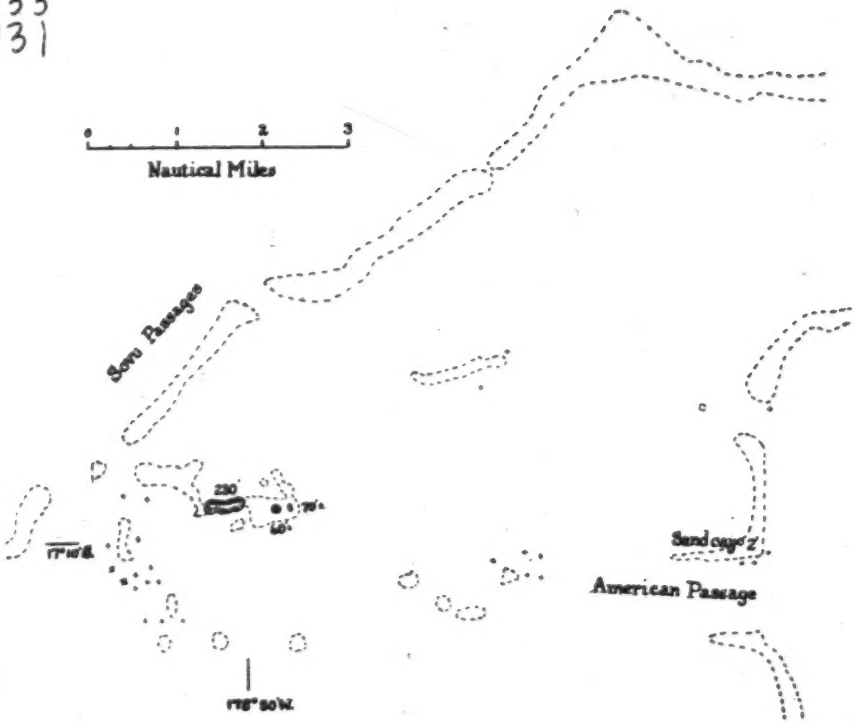

[p. 73]

MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

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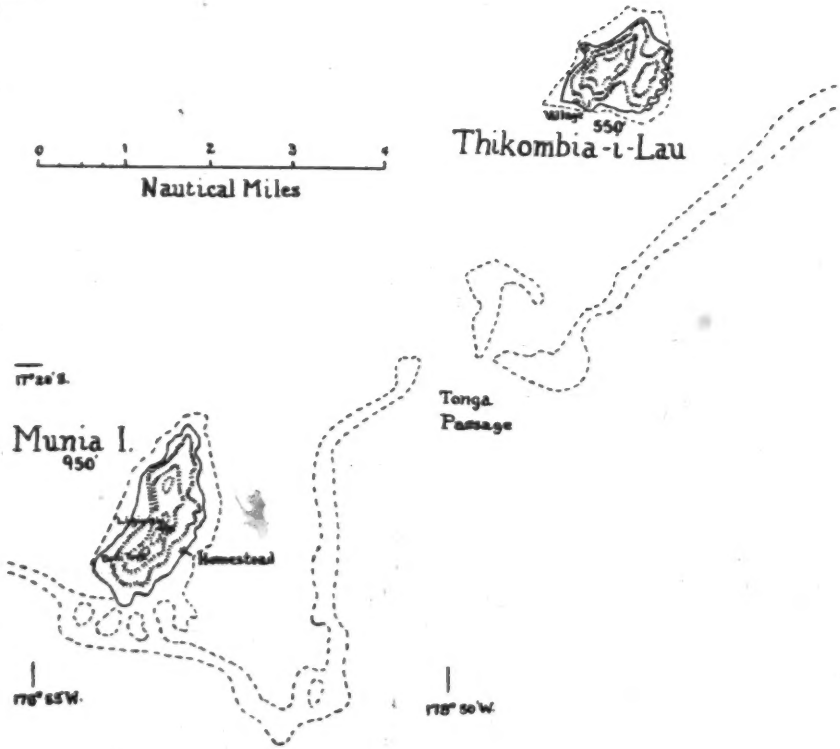

[p. 74]

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
245 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses,
[161] with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the
241 volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being waught
312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good
13 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto
487 the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave
764 containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.
172

[p.76]

13 33. The SOVU ISLANDS, three small uninhabited limestone islets, are situated on the north side of the lagoon, 4 miles E. by N. from Avea, and 6 miles N.by W. of Thikombia-i-Lau.

The larger ~~isl~~ islet, on the west, is about 3/8 mile long by 100 to 200 yards wide, with a height of 230 feet. It is composed of very rough upraised coral limestone, rising abruptly from an undercut ledge on all sides, and is similar to the Yangasa islets. It is densely covered with lowland forest, herbs and vines.

The middle islet is subcircular, with gentle slopes, about 200 yards in diameter and about 60 feet high. There is a small sand beach on the N.W. and another on the S.E. The slopes are wooded and there are a few coconut palms. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, but is less rough than the larger islet.

The small, eastern islet is elliptical in outline, about 125 yards long, 40 to 50 yards wide, and 60 to 75 feet high. Its rough coral sides rise abruptly from the water, and its top is covered with vines, scrub, and a grove of native fan palms. There are also a few of these palms on the largest islet.

The usual lizards, water snakes and land crabs, including the large red-brown coconut crab were present. No fresh water was seen on [312] any of the ~~isl~~islets.

Anchorage is good on the lee side of the islets. Landing is possible on all three, but easy only on the middle islet.

[p.77]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KIMBOMBO ISLETS and detail of middle islet.

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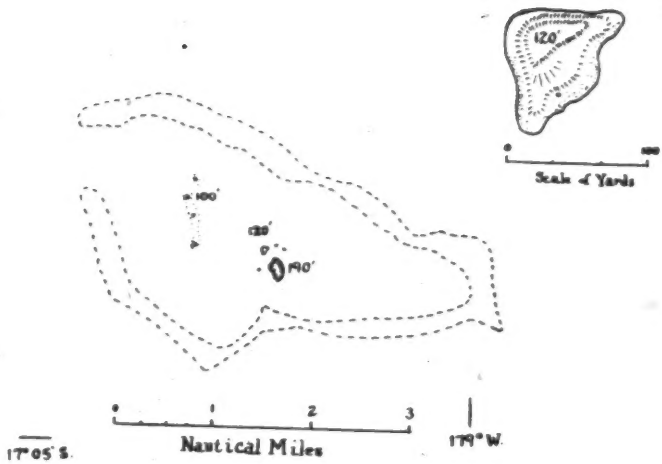

[p. 78]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly rough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [3/2] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. [36] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a fes small trees on the summit. A line of reef rans out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

119 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.79]

WAILANGILALA I.

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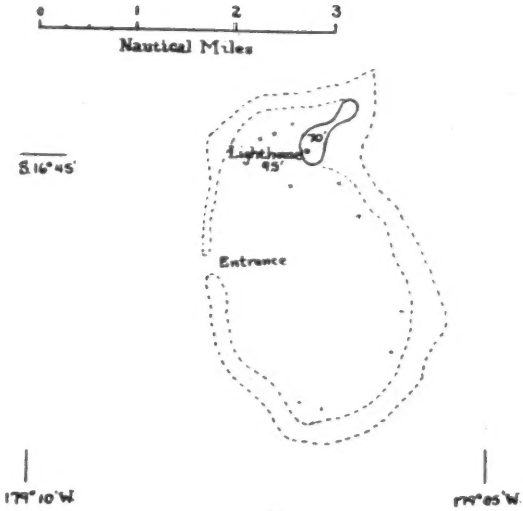

[p. 80]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and cocoanut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a
361 flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his
241 assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive cocoanut grove. Some
[312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by
114 Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

NAITAUMBA I.

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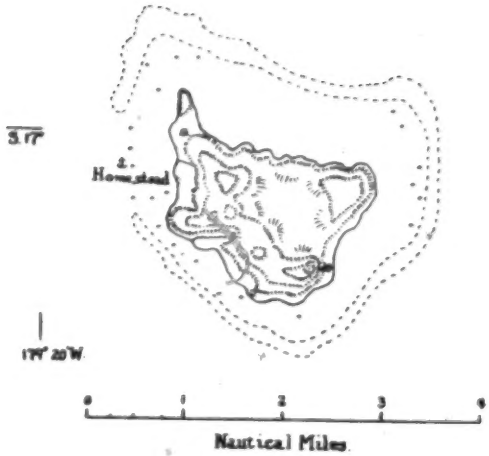


[p.82]

13 36. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

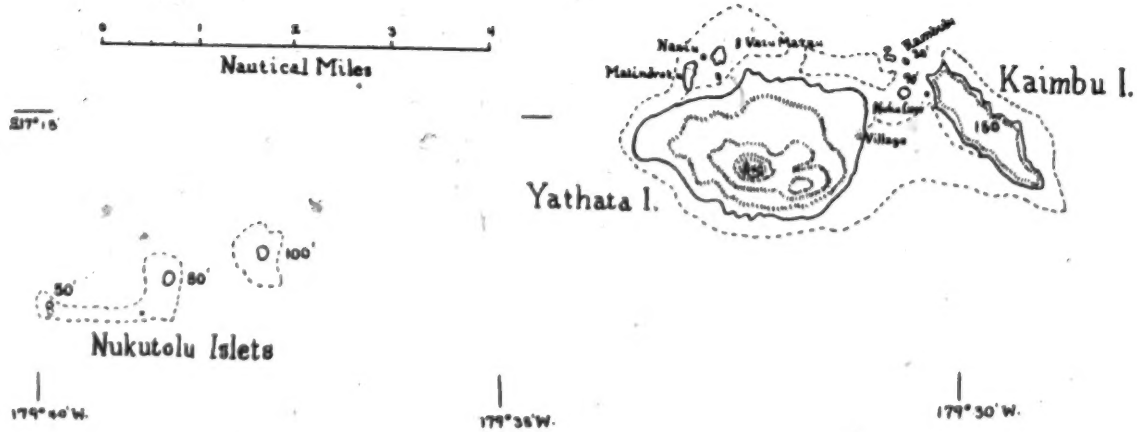
423 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a
361 homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh
245 water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc.,
312 might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island.
487 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.
161
469

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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[p. 84]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

361 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
481 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 39. NUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~[illegible]~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

VATU VARA I.

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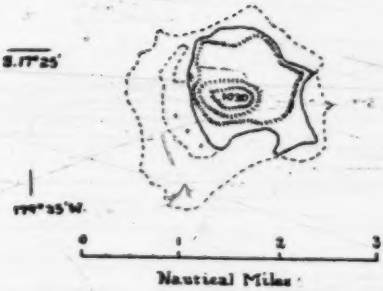

[p. 87]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [912] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.
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241

[p.88]

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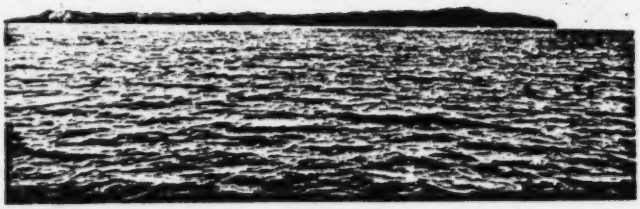
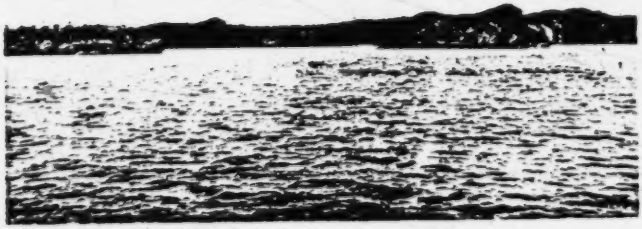


1. Most of the Coral Limestone islands are low and flat, without conspicuous elevations. Ongea Ndriti I., looking E.S.E. from a point about 200 yards inside Barracouta Passage.



2. A closer view of the N.W.side of Ongea Ndriti. Note the undercutting at the water level. The island at the left is covered with native fan palms, shown in fig.3.

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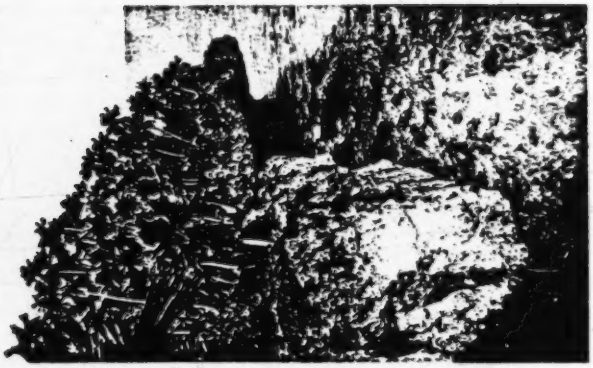

3. A typical small coral limestone island, off the N.W. side of Ongea Ndriti. It rises percipitously from the undercut ledge to a rough flat top covered with native fan palms.

4. The east face of Ongea Levu rises in a sheer wall, 100 to 200 feet high, covered with ~~stnd~~ stunted scrub and occasional wind swept fan palms.

[p.90]

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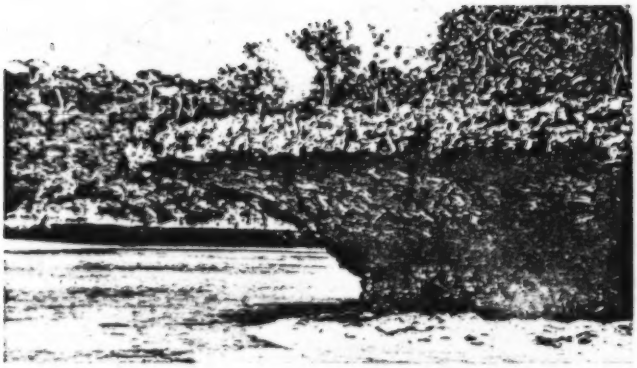

5. The undercut beach at low tide. This view is in the channel between Ongea Levu and Yamuia Islands. The lip of the ledge is about 9 feet above the sand flat or low tide level.

6. Naiambo islet from the W.N.W.

[p.91]

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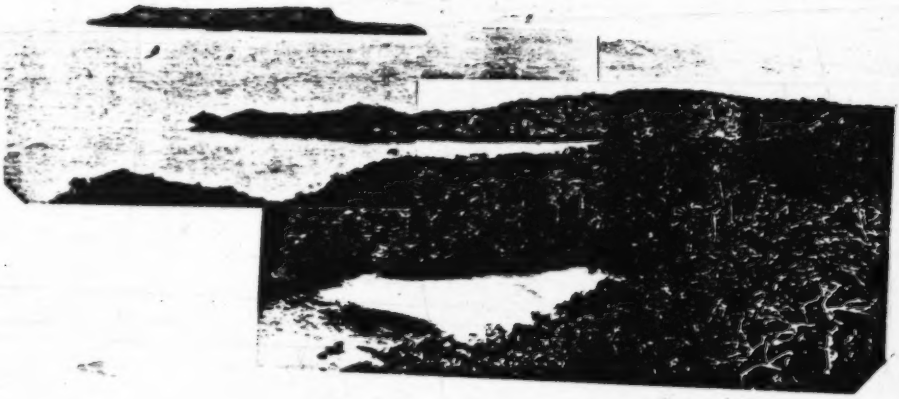
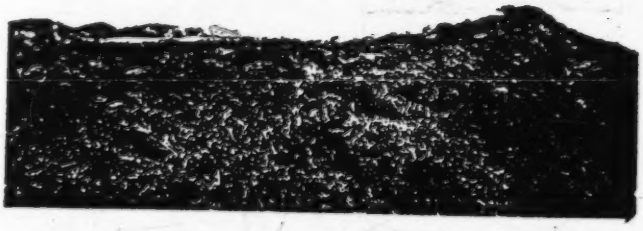


7-8. Yangasa Levu I. and the N.E. bay of Navutu-i-Loma, Yangasa Cluster.



9. The heavily wooded N.E. ridge of Navutu-i-Loma I. with Nuvutha and Navutu-i-Ra in the distance. The N.W. bay is at the left.

[p.92]

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10. Mothe and the northern islets of Karoni I. from the summit of Karoni peak (120 feet), shown in 11. Note the little native cutter making for the passage.

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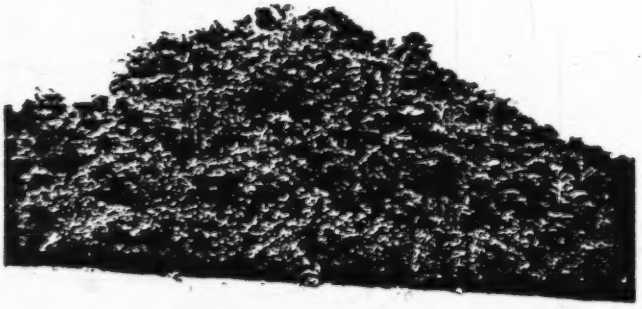

11. The steep, wooded main limestone peak of Karoni I., 120 feet high.

[p.93]

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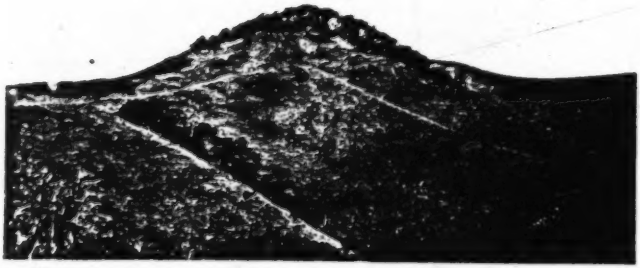
12. A typical valley on Mothe. In contrast to the heavily wooded limestone, the slopes of the volcanic islands are covered with grass, ferns, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees, with groves of coconut palms toward the sea.



13. The central knob of Mothe is capped with low-land forest, which has worked its way up the valley bottoms.

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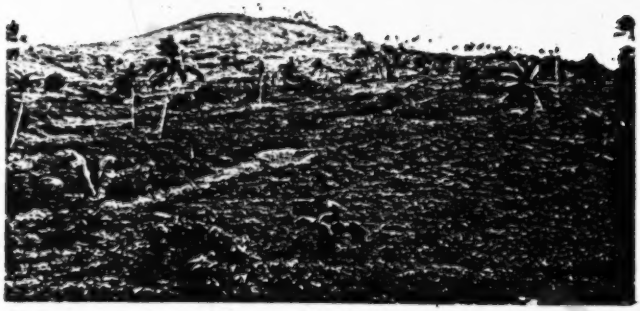
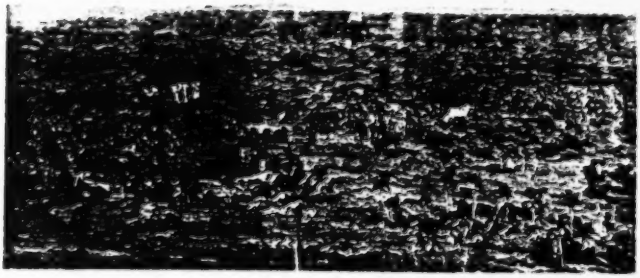


14. Delai oloi (470 feet), a volcanic peak on an otherwise limestone island. In the foreground are gardens cultivated by the natives. Kambara I.



15. From the summit of Delai oloi one obtains a fine view of the wooded central limestone basin of Kambara, stretching away to the S.S.E.

[p.95]

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16. Tokalau village and the north limestone wall of Kambara from the summit of Delai oloi; Wangava I. in the distance. Between the volcanic slope and the coral limestone formation there is a marked depression, seen in the foreground.

17. Olorua I. from the N.W. with Komo I. beyond (on the left).

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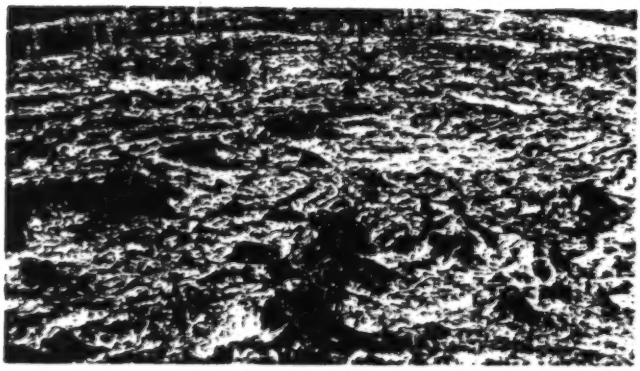
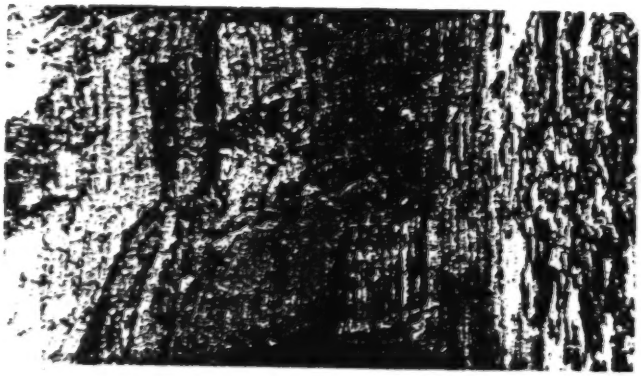


18. Outcrop of bedded strata on the low divide between the two main hills, Olorua I.



(Bottom)

19. Bedded Tuff at the S.W. point of Olorua I. These strata dip to the S. by E. between 5 and 10 degrees.

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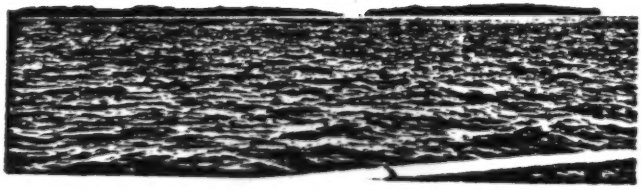
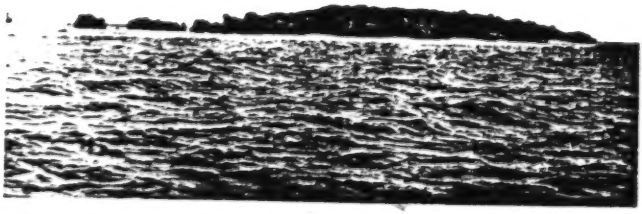


20. The Aiwa Islands, looking S. W. from outside the line of reef and coral heads.



21. Vanua Masi I. from the N.by E.

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22. The west face of Bacon Islet.

23. Latei Viti from the E. by S.

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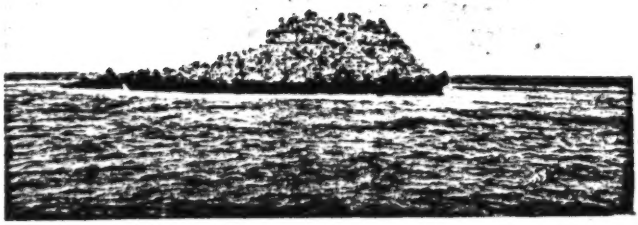

24. Latei Tonga, looking E.S.E.

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25. The northern third of Katafanga I. is of coral limestone formation, the southern two-thirds is volcanic. This is the abrupt transition between the two very distinct types; steep, heavily wooded limestone on the right; gentle, grassy volcanic slope covered with coconut palms on the left.

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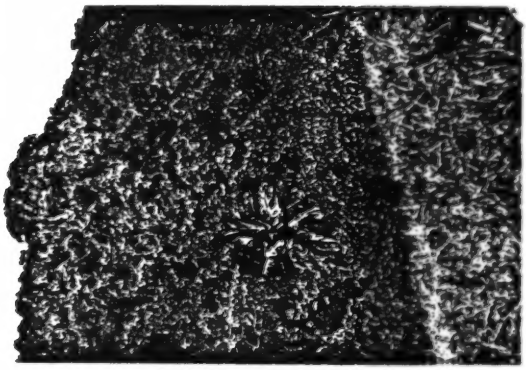
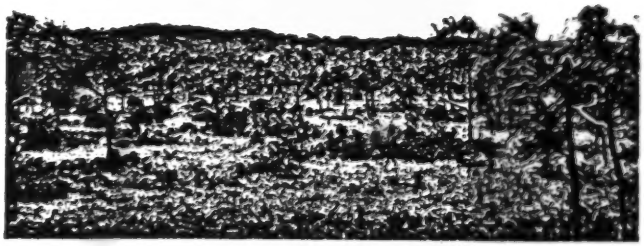


(Bottom)

26. A highly elevated cliff of coral limestone, rising behind a grassy volcanic hill, on the N.E. side of Tuvutha'.



27. The volcanic basin, surrounded by coral limestone hills on the island of Vanua Vatu. This vegetation is typical of volcanic soil.

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28. The village on Vanua Vatu is one of the neatest in Lau.

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29. Volcanic and coral limestone hills near Tarukua village, Thithia.

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30. Curiously eroded lava rock, Mambula' Bay, Thithia.

31,32. Panorama of Lomaloma and islands to the S.E. Left to right:- Munia, Yanu Yanu, Susui, Malata.

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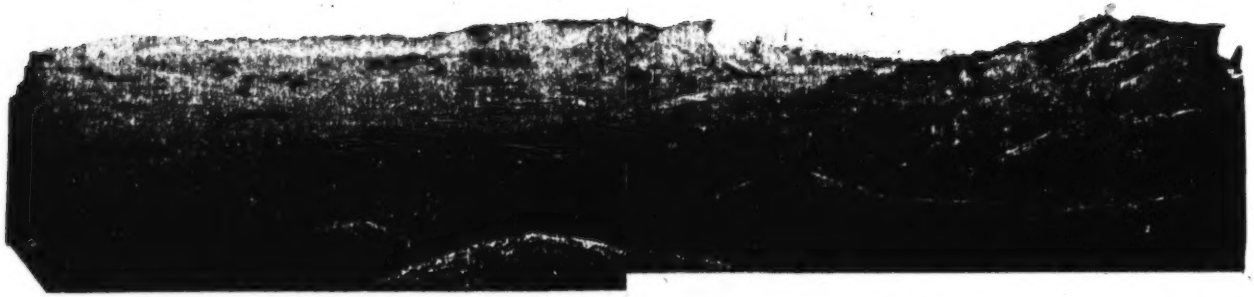

33-34. Panorama of Mango, from summit of Mt. Rider, 730 feet.

35-36. N.E. portion of Kanathea I. from the S.W. peak.

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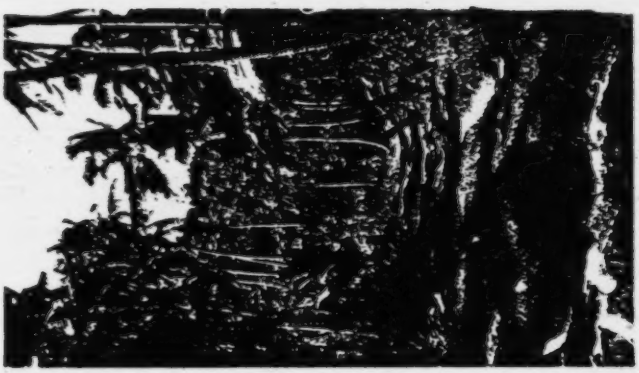

37. All the villages on Vanua Mbalavu are connected by good paths. This is a typical section of one, north of Lomaloma.

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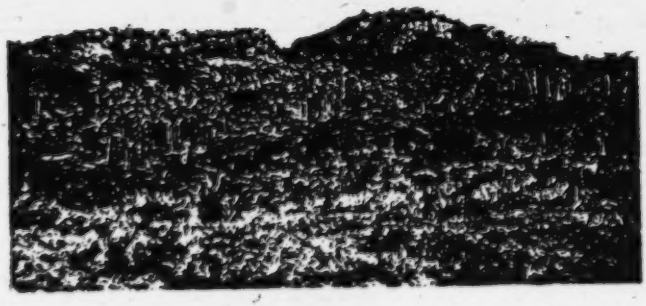

38. Central basin of Thikombia-i-Lau, of mixed volcanic and limestone formation. Looking east from near the center.

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39. The Sovu Islets, looking N.W.

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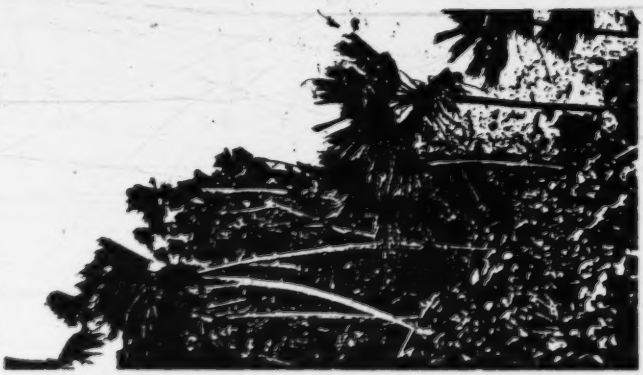

40. Native fan palms on the smallest, eastern Sovu islet.

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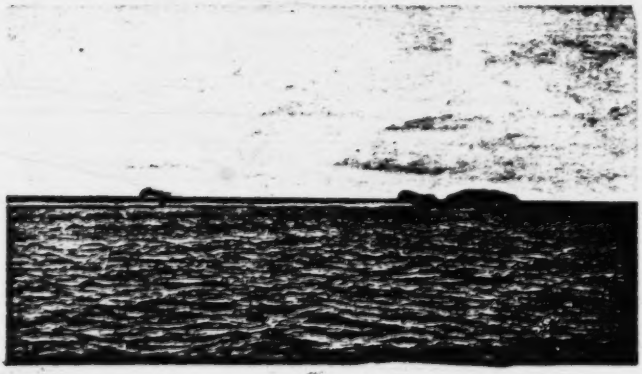
41. Middle Sovu Islet, looking west from the eastern islet. Large island of Vanua Mbalavu in the left distance.



42. The Kimbombo islets from the W. by S.

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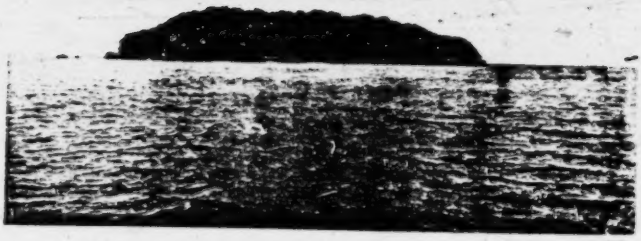

43. The eastern Kimbombo islet is of coral limestone formation.

44. The middle Kimbombo islet is composed of bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The picture shows how close it is to the limestone eastern islet.

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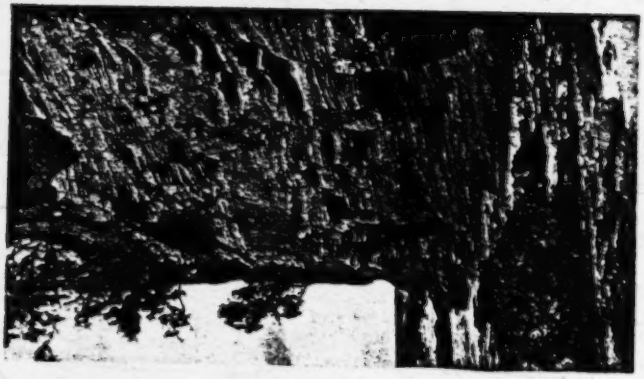

(Bottom)

45. Bedded tuff formation in the north cliff of middle Kimbombo islet.

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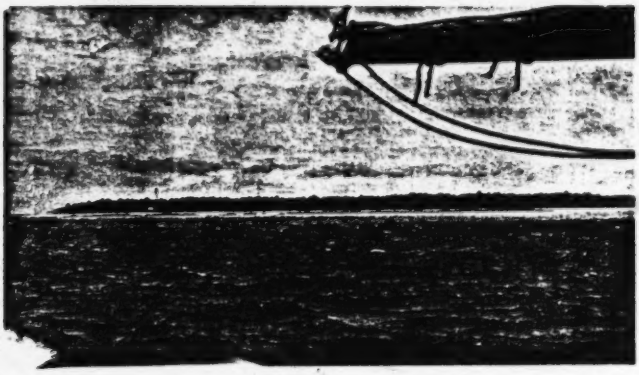

46. Wailangilala I. from the S.W. The island is low and sandy, rising to a height of 70 feet to the tops of the coconut palms. The lighthouse is at the left.

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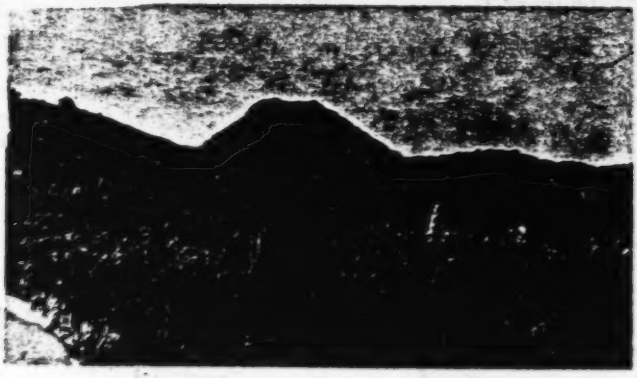
47. The 610 foot, flat-topped peak on Haitumba, looking S.SW. along the eastern rim of the central basin.



48. Na Kuro Levu, elevated limestone peak (540 feet), and the north slope of the grassy volcanic ridge, Hills Ruta, Kahoolawe I.

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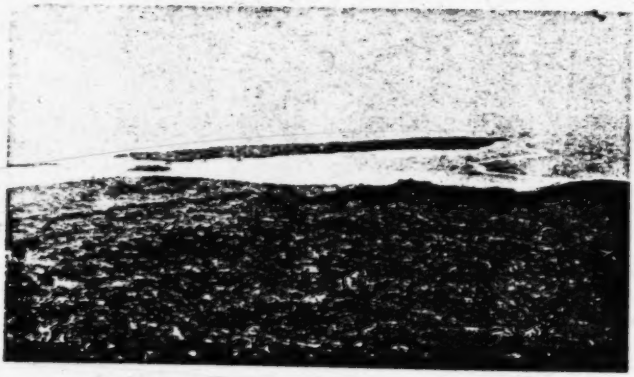

49. East slopes of Yathata and the island of Kaimbu, from the summit of Na Koro Levu, (840 feet).

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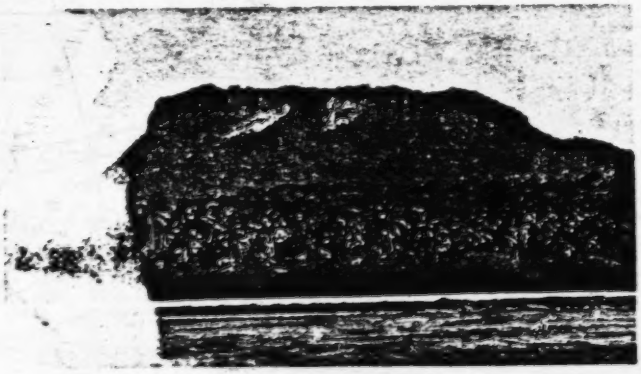

50. The highest elevation in Lau, Dillana, 1030 feet high, of upraised coral limestone, Vatu Vara' I.

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/Information in text on the location, topography, geology, fauna and flora of each of the forty islands in the Lau group will be found in category 13./

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A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

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THE LAU ISLANDS

(FIJI)

And their Fairy Tales and Folk-lore

BY

T. R. St. JOHNSTON, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.

THE TIMES BOOK Co. Ltd,
380, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
1918

[title page]
[p. 1]

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ODD

THE LAU ISLANDS (FIJI)
And their Fairy Tales and Folk-lore

[p. 3]

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DEDICATED

TO

MY WIFE

THE CONSTANT COMPANION OF ALL

MY YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN THE

LAU ISLANDS

[p. 5]

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"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*" - - - 124

1 [i.e., p. 17 – Analyst]

2 [i.e., p. 69 – Analyst]

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PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [197]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

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104 language, so do the Fijians find it difficult to
194 pronounce certain sounds, such as B and D, without the conjunction of other sounds with them. Thus, wherever a B is written down in a Fijian word an imaginary M must be understood to precede it, and similarly an imaginary N precedes both the written D and also the G (the G in Fijian being very nasal and almost inaudible). Therefore DEGEI, the Serpent God, is pronounced as if spelt in English as NDENGEI (nasal G), and BEQA, an island, is pronounced as if spelt MBENGA (hard G).

Vowels have the French sound, and so the diphthong AU in LAU is pronounced ah-oo, which quickly run together eventually comes almost to rhyme with cow.

Accentuation is, as in Hebrew, nearly always on the penultimate syllable.

T. R. St. J.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE three better-known groups of the Pacific, namely, the Crown Colony of Fiji, the recently captured German Colony of Samoa, and the last remaining independent Pacific kingdom of Tonga, form roughly the three points of an equilateral triangle, and the Lau Islands lie about midway between Fiji and Tonga. 131

These Lau Islands are situated some two hundred miles to the east of Fiji, and act as a barrier against the heavy storms that sweep the Pacific in those months of the year when "the trades" are at their strongest. And as 174 might be expected from their geographical position 797 it is upon these islands that straying vessels and storm-tossed wrecks (not only the big ships of the white man for the last hundred and fifty years, from buccaneers to whalers, and from whalers to modern "tramps," but also from earliest times the fragile canoes of the wayfaring Polynesian) have from time immemorial been flung.

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174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

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they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

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174 on and on, day after day, with unabated fury, for possibly a week or more, till the few survivors were cast up exhausted upon some unknown island hundreds of miles away. (It is known that Tongans have been blown in this way to the New Hebrides, a thousand miles off; and there is the famous voyage of Captain Bligh of the "Bounty,"—who was thus carried in an open boat for three thousand miles. Some years ago four natives from Wallis Island, five hundred miles away, were cast up starving and "in fear of cannibals" at a point not very far from my house; while in the previous year I myself was nearly blown to Tonga in the Provincial yacht, by a westerly gale.)

The few survivors, then, would settle down and found, willy-nilly, a fresh colony at their new home. In course of years, generations, sometimes centuries, the same thing would take place once more, the prevailing wind taking the second "drift" some hundreds of miles still further from the original home of the race, and so the wanderings would continue; though the main characteristics, manners, and customs of the people, undisturbed by outside influences, would remain comparatively true to type throughout the whole process. But here again the question of time, and always the possibility of mixture with a prior race, must never be lost sight of.

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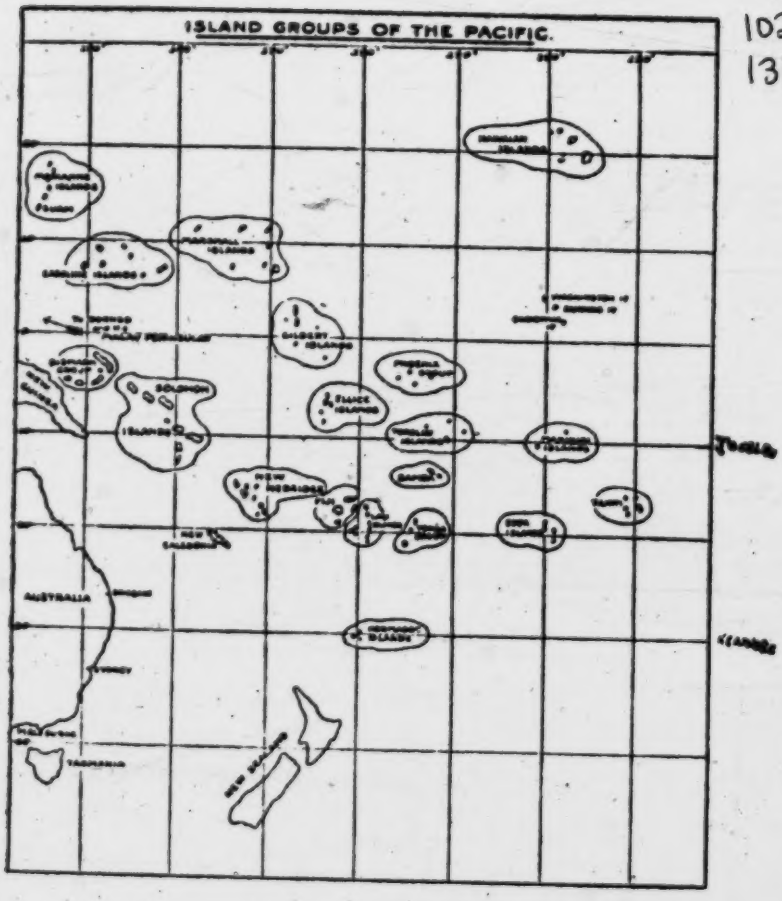

[p. 17]

B

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173 Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links
173 us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the
101 Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

173 It is very difficult nowadays to get the people
869 to speak of the old times, for the simple reason
797 that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

[1] Christianity.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories. [123]

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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773 me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a
177 red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of
123 common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

174 But here one sees the error one can so easily
171 fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

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144 each other; but the path of the "Polynesian"
174 wanderers is not so easy to define. They have many characteristics which associate them with the Malayan type of people, and several authorities consider that they "drifted" with the south-west "monsoons" from the southern Malay regions through the Carolines and Marshalls as far north as the Hawaian Islands, and from there were driven by the north-east "trades winds" to the Phœnix and Tokelau groups about the equator (from whence it is but a short step to Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji); or by another route from Hawaii through Fanning, Christmas, and Malden Islands to Manikiki and Tahiti, and so *via* the Cook Islands once again to Tonga and Fiji.

It is possible even that the so-called "Papuan" people may have also originally come from the Malay stock, *via* Borneo to New Guinea, and there blended with the negroid type of man found in northern Australia, thus accounting for their negro-like characteristics before they arrived in western Fiji. And the fact that the "drift" away to the east, as far as Hawaii and then down south, encountered presumably desert islands in their track may account for the Malayan type, which ultimately became the Polynesian type, being far more true to the old Malay strain than the other "drift" *via* the great populated groups of New Guinea, the Solomons, and others.

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The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came
from, though in course of time this became merely
legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories
of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible
caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to
return to his ancestral home." Even in these
modern days, when all the natives have been for
three generations "converted," I have seen a
canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and
in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little
island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough
even to account for physical changes in the
appearance of the race. One interesting point has
been noted in connection with this: the drinking
of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots
of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay
Peninsula at least three thousand years ago,
and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being
so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that
the separation from the ancestral home must have
occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring
from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

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174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much
157 of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian
171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used;
[576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

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 [576] [201] 171

with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they 121
may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have [114]
lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no 126
credit for these tales, which are exactly as told 114
to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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126 114 merely a literal translation of their stories, and tends to show how closely akin they are to the Eastern minds in their ideas.

I once possessed a further series of notes that I took from chats with two old chiefs now dead; but, alas! a hurricane with a tidal wave swept that set of papers away, and the data are now lost for ever. Some of my predecessors, notably Sir George Le Hunte, G.C.M.G., Mr. Basil Thomson, C.B., and Mr. C. R. Swayne, C.M.G., were, I know, very interested in Lauan legends; but I fancy many of their notes met similar untimely ends; and I know that Mr. Swayne suffered a great loss of the labour of years when the official residence—in those early days simply a thatched bungalow—was burnt to the ground with all his belongings. Mr. Thomson's great study of the customs of the natives, in his well-known and classical work, "The Fijians," embraces every question possible concerning them, but in this little book I have confined myself entirely to legendary folk-lore, and to the people of the Lau Islands, whom I know best. So, then, with the hope that some of these old legends may be rescued from oblivion before it is too late, I have launched them into print, and leave their merits for the reader to decide.

T. R. St. J.

Lomaloma,
The Lau Islands.

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FURTHER NOTE.

I WELL remember a day when this book was first begun, in the years of peace, among the palm-trees in the sunny isles of the Pacific, and the sound of happy native voices floated in through the open shutters of my veranda, as the Corporal and another man were hoisting the Union Jack on the big flagstaff. And I thought at the time what changes there had been on that spot since those legends were first told.

By a turn of the wheel of fate the final pages have been revised in odd moments in the fields of France, *still within the sound of those same cheerful voices,* but now floating in through the open flap of my tent, and mingled with the distant roar of the heavy guns that are demanding with stern clamour the liberty of the world. Truly there is no native race whom the Empire has sheltered which has not come gladly forth to pay its debt in the hour of the Empire's need.

T. R. ST. J.

"*Somewhere in France.*"

1917.

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[p. 28 is blank]

A HAUNTED ISLE OF THE SOUTH SEAS.

LEGENDS connected with death and "the mysterious beyond" are the most likely ones in a primitive people to show in which direction their ancestral home lay, and thus we have the very clear legend of the "jumping-off place" (after death) of the Fijians (Papuans) and the north-west to which they jump, as the direction of their origin, their *Burotu* or Paradise. 773

Now in Lau, curiously enough, we have several legends pointing to *Burotu* in the south and south-east, the opposite direction. There are the queer little burnt-out fishing-torches, with curious twisted handles of the red-leafed *Qai Kula*, "which all know to be the great almond-tree that grows at *Burotu*." These were said to have been frequently seen in the old times drifting up with the current towards Malaita Island from the south-east. Then there is the enchanted island of *Burotu* itself, that might be sometimes seen in those days shimmering on the surface of the sea at such times as there was a hazy calm, and out in the empty space of water towards the

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773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to ?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day at Matuku, called the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Ton-
773 gans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakabau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

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Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west. 171 773

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting, 773 539*

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others. 773 114 539*

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

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*539 "You must know, sir," he began, settling him-
[516] self down on the mat and fixing his back comfortably against a post, "that in the days of our fathers there was often drought in the land of Ono, and we of Matokano town suffered terribly at times. But there was always the fertile Tuvana Island[1] for us to fall back upon in our distress; for Tuvana is near to the island of the gods, and shelters beneath their benevolence. And so it came about that one day there sailed a large canoe-load of people of Matokano town (both men and women) for Tuvana, to gather coco-nuts and other food. Now, when they reached the island at sunset—for it is distant a day's sail from Ono—they quickly gathered some food and cooked it, and then lay down to sleep in a rough shelter that stood there, at a place called 'Butoni,' for use on such occasions as these. And the next day when they awoke they perceived that a strong wind had arisen in the night, and they discussed the question of taking back the women with them or of leaving them there for a few days; for the matter of the food at Matokano was urgent, and the men, at all events, must needs take provisions back to Ono without delay.

"Now, one of them, Tui Liku by name, was of a roving spirit; a handsome man, and a great

[1] An uninhabited island twenty-five miles south of Ono, the last of the Fijis.

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favourite with all the girls, though not so much liked by the men, whom he had so often deceived. Hearing their discussion he got up, saying he would start to gather food at once. Now, his plot was this: to hide in the 'bush' and get lost as if by accident, so as to be left behind when the men went away. And after a little time he saw in the distance that the men had filled up the canoe with food and were hoisting the sail. So he then came out with a big basket on his shoulder (into which he had hastily thrown coconut shells and other rubbish, to make it appear full), and ran down to the beach, but purposely not so fast that he could catch up with the canoe. Then, to his dismay, as he got nearer he saw that all the people, both men and women, were sailing away. He called out to them, 'Come back, come back,' but the helmsman only laughed at him derisively and waved his hand. For it seems that they had suspected his plan and determined to leave him behind.

"He watched the canoe growing smaller in the distance; and then, with heaviness in his heart, he returned to the house. He sat there for a long time, and then, after he had gathered some food, and cooked and eaten it, he lay down to sleep."

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THE DEMONS OF TUVANA ISLAND.

*539 776 "He awoke to the sound of voices, and thought that the people had returned, for it was now dark and he could not see their faces. He called out, and asked them why they had done this thing to him. But only a mocking laugh greeted him, and he heard more clearly the talk, and it was in a strange tongue. Then Tui Liku was greatly afraid and edged nearer to the wall of the house, hiding his face. Thereupon one spoke to him: 'Tui Liku, Tui Liku?' 'It is I, sir,' he replied, in a frightened whisper.

"'We have come for you,' said the voice; and thereupon he felt himself clutched by unseen hands in the dark and dragged outside, where there was a new moon just rising. Then he became very troubled indeed, for he knew that they were the demons of Tuvana; and their leader—whose name I do not know—but who was a little humpbacked man (*Daku-pusi*, 'pussy-cat's backs,' we call them), snatched him up with terrible strength, and, laughing, threw him to one of the others. And this one threw him up in the air and caught him again, and then others came up, and so threw him up and down, as the children play with the *dawa* fruit, all through the night, tossing him from one to the other till he was nearly dead. And as morning

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came, the leader said to him, 'We will not quite kill you now. Go back, Tui Liku, and sleep well to-day, for we will fetch you again to-night.'

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"Whereupon they all fled, and Tui Liku crawled back wearily to the house at Butoni. Now he was sorely troubled in his mind about this thing; but after sleeping for a while he woke up feeling a little easier, and after he had eaten he thought of a plan to hinder their will. For Tui Liku was a wise and cunning man, sir, as I have mentioned before. So towards evening he gathered great heaps of firewood, and built them up in a ring round the house, and set fire to them, and lay down comfortably to sleep, for he knew that even demons would not venture across such a fire. Presently he woke to the sound of shrill laughter, and to his horror he heard a hissing noise, and saw that the demons had fetched water in big banana leaves from the sea, and had put out a portion of the fire. He tried to edge away, but it was useless, and their leader seized him by the leg and tossed him out to his friends. And that night, too, they played ball with him till sunrise.

"All next day Tui Liku pondered on this matter, and at last he decided to climb into a very high coco-nut tree and sleep there for the night, for he was very weary for the want of sleep. And that night he was again awakened by the

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*539 noise of their laughter; but for a long time they
776 could not find him, and he could see them searching up and down the beach for him. At last one of them said he had a wish to drink, and started to climb the tree for a coco-nut; nearer and nearer he came, and great, sir, was the fear of Tui Liku. Just as the demon reached the top he looked up and saw Tui Liku crouching there. With a loud yell he snatched him out and flung him to those below, who caught him and threw him up again nearly as high as the tree, and then started throwing him from one to the other as before.

"By the morning he was indeed very nearly dead, and great, too, was his need for sleep, but he managed to get as far as Butoni, and slept till the sun was high overhead. He then drank some nuts, and started also to scrape some others for *waliwali* (oil) to rub his bruised body with. Afterwards, when he had made a 'lovo'[1] and eaten, he lay down to think and devise some scheme for the night to come. 'Now,' he thought, 'it is useless to try and hide from these people on land, as they will spy me out anywhere; but as they are demons perhaps they will not be able to pass over water.' Accordingly, he felled a tall coco-nut tree which was overhanging the water's edge, so that it lay with its head far out to sea, gently lifting and falling with the movement of the waves.

[1] A South Sea Island method of cooking with leaves and heated stones.

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He then walked out along the stem, and hiding himself among the leaves of the crown, prepared himself for sleep.

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"Now, sir," said the old man, counting off on his scarred old fingers as he spoke, "this was the fourth night that Tui Liku was about to pass on this haunted island, but he thought that his cunning would get him a good night's rest at last. And, indeed, it was nearly midnight before the sound of their voices wakened him, and they were not laughing as before, but seemed angry and perplexed in their tone. They had, I expect, searched all the island for Tui Liku, and thought that he had truly sailed away. Just then their leader came across the freshly-cut root of the coco-nut tree, and instantly ran along the trunk and caught Tui Liku by the hair. Great was their exultation, and great the sorrow of Tui Liku, for he had not thought that they could pass the water like that. One thing there was that was good, the rest of the night was but short in which they could disport themselves with him.

"Next day, after he had rested a little, he scraped some more nuts for oil, and deep was his thought as to how he should act in the night to come. He had tried the land, the air, and the water; and his mind was empty of another plan. Then he saw some little sand-crabs (*kaiki*) running

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*539 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury
776 himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me."

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another
[197] thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach,
[226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

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Liku lay. '*Sobo*,'[1] said he, 'here is a large one.' And with that he thrust in his hand and twitched out Tui Liku by the nose! Now, the demons did not play ball with him that night, but they made a new game, and raced along the beach, dragging him round and round the island, sometimes through the sea and sometimes through the sand, till Tui Liku thought his end was near. But morning came at last, and with it they threw him with a yell inside the door of the house at Butoni.

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"Nearly all that day Tui Liku slept, and late in the afternoon he ate some food and drank some nuts, and then thought what next he might do. 'Truly,' he said, 'there is nothing left that I have not done. There is nowhere now for me to hide. Would that my people from Matokano would come back.' Then he thought again, and went out and brought in five stems of banana trees; for thinking of his own people had given him a plan. Now, these stems he cut to the length of men, and arranged them about the mats to look like men lying down sleeping. He then got in among them and lay down to sleep.

"When it was dark he heard the voices outside as usual, but as they reached the door, he heard one say, '*Sobo*, they have come back again'; and

[1] An expression of astonishment.

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then he heard them creep away and whisper in the distance. Then, after a little, they came nearer again and changed their voices to those of girls, and sang beautiful songs outside, so that never had such sweet singing been heard on Tuvana before. And they sang and sang till at last Tui Liku sat up to listen the better to them. Then one, who had been hiding near the door, said, 'Look. There truly is Tui Liku. The others are not *kai-vuravura* (world-men) or they *could* not still lie there sleeping. It is but another plot of Tui Liku's.' So they rushed in and dragged him out, and this time they threw him nearly from one end of the island to the other. All night long they threw him about, so that when morning came he could hardly move; and he uttered sadly as they left him, 'Another such night as this and Tui Liku will be no more.' He then rolled over and fell asleep, and slept until late afternoon, when he got up and ate some food, and started to oil his aching limbs, his head nodding and his eyes half-closed with weariness as he did so."

THE GOING TO BUROTU.

"Whilst he was doing this there suddenly appeared in front of him 'Ligadua' (the one-armed), who is one of the Lords of Burotu, and is also a protector of the Matokano people.

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"'What is this, Tui Liku,' said he; 'why are you thus sleepy, and why do you look so sad?' 539* 776

"'It is because of the demons of this place, my lord,' said Tui Liku; and he told him what had befallen him. Whereat Ligadua was very angry, and he stepped across to his house (you may see the foundation of it to this day, a *yavu tameri* (a marvellous one indeed), and fit truly for a god. Now, outside his house lies the great Drum named *Sagasagawalé* (all-our-work-for-nothing), about the theft of which from Matokano by the god I will tell you some other day. He rang hard and loud on *Sagasagawalé*, and all the demons of Tuvana came running up at once and sat down in a circle before him. Then Ligadua spoke to them, and was very angry with them, and reproved them, and warned them never to touch Tui Liku again. They hung their heads [201] in silence, and plucked at the grass[1] near them, and were ashamed. Then Ligadua told them to go; and he called up Tui Liku and told him he might use his big house, and that he might wait there for a canoe from Matokano without further fear of the demons. 'As for me,' he said, 'I now go back to Burotu.'

"Then Tui Liku summoned up his courage and asked to be allowed to see Burotu.

"'If I take your spirit with me it may not be

[1] A Lauan method of showing shame.

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*539 able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua,
776 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the
[554] colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were
[501] the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the
[824] common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

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houses and everything fair to see. And they 539*
came to the great Council House, in which sat 776
the King of Burotu with his Chiefs. Now, the King was the father of Ligadua.

"'Welcome home, Ligadua,' said the King. 'Good is your coming from the land of the world-people.'

"'It is good, sir,' said Ligadua; then he added, 'I have a friend from earth waiting outside.' For he had told Tui Liku to wait until he should ascertain the mind of the King.

"'Let him enter,' said the King.

"Then some Burotu people came in bringing *ai vonovono* (offerings) to Ligadua because of his home-coming. They brought two young coconuts on the branch, as is the custom in Lau. Now, these were red nuts, and very fine ones called *Niu Rerega*, such as Tui Liku had never seen before. After this, *Yaqona*[1] was made, and [276]
they drank it with all the ceremony proper to Burotu. And when this was over, Tui Liku nudged Ligadua, and whispered that he had a request to make. It was this, that he might take these nuts back to earth with him and plant them there. So Ligadua turned to the King and said, 'May it please you, sir, my *matanivanua* (aide-de-camp) wishes to take these nuts away to plant in his own country.'

[1] Or Kava, the ceremonial drink of the South Seas.

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"'It is well. Tui Liku may take them,' said the King.

"Then Ligadua said that Tui Liku might look round the town, but he was not to enter any house, not even if one of the beautiful maidens beckoned to him, or he would never be able to return to earth again.

"So when Tui Liku had seen all the wonders of the town, and had eaten part of a fine feast at the King's house, he and Ligadua returned to Tuvana again. And Tui Liku planted the *Niu Rerega* at a place called Mataniwai, and they may still be seen there.

"And after a day or so they went back to Burotu once more, and this time Tui Liku brought away the beautiful short coco-nut called *Niu Leka*, whose tree is not much higher than a child, and yet bears its great crop of nuts.

"And twice more did they go to Burotu, bringing back *Miji*, the little bird that flits among the coco-nut trees, and also the seed of the *Qai Kula*, the great almond. And *Niu Leka* and *Qai Kula* he planted also at Mataniwai.

"Now the fourth time they returned to earth Tui Liku was dismayed to see that a *Dilio* (a sandpiper) had been pecking at his body, and had pecked one eye out.

"'*Isa, au vuta*' (I refuse to get back again into

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud 539*
man, and full of vanity. 776

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call [825]
out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long."

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano [173]
claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day.

Now if the south Lauans came from the south- 174
east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by 539*
"drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku.

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One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks, and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly introduced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

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SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

We were running along the coast in smooth 123
water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the [648]
little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the 123
engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy- 115
headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds [673]
of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

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123 115 being one of the most common, as the Polynesian
[673] Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

[516 576] I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

*539 754 Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there,"
[201] pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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some weeding for the Chief of Lomaloma, on his plantation here, at this place called Takaniu. It was said that Filipi was well versed in magic, which, of course, is a forbidden thing, and which, as you know, sir, none of us natives believe in nowadays." 539* 754

I nodded and tried to look as credulous as I could.

"But it happened," he went on, "that the man of Nayau was also a *taukei* (past-master) in that sort of work. Now, whether due to the heat of the sun or whether some sickness caught them, or what it was I don't know, but they were angry with each other on that day; and when they rested for their mid-day meal a great dispute arose between them, and their talk ran upon magic. Then he of Nayau looked at Filipi and said slowly to him, 'There is one thing that I truly know, Filipi, and that is that my magic is more powerful than yours.'

"'Your talk is but lying talk,' retorted Filipi. 'It is well known that we of Daku town are very strong in this thing—a thing that our forefathers have taught us, and no one can surpass us in this matter.'

"'*Sa vinaka*' (so be it), replied the Nayau man; and he grew very angry then. 'Here are food-scraps from your meal and food-scraps from mine. We will each take the other's away

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and see in very truth whose is the stronger magic.'

"Now, Filipi did not quite like this; but he was too *madua* (ashamed) to withdraw his words, so he answered, 'Let it be so,' and making a palm leaf basket he gathered up the food-scraps left by the other and went off to Daku, the Nayau man retiring to a hut just above the beach there.

"Now, you must know, sir, that the way of it is this: One takes some little thing that belonged to one's enemy, such as a bit of his hair, or his nail parings, or a bit of his clothing, or scraps left from his meal, and after certain workings with these in secret one takes them and buries them under the house, or, perhaps, in the thatch of the roof, of the man he hates."

"And what are the secret workings," I asked, with assumed indifference; for I had long been anxious to know how it was carried on, and had I asked judicially in Court I should never have known in a month of Sundays, whereas in this casual way it was possible that it might be disclosed. "Truly it will be a most useful thing to me when I get back to my own land," I added jokingly.

He grinned, showing a magnificent set of white teeth, in contrast to the smooth brown skin of his face. "But this magic cannot affect you white chiefs," he said, laughing, "for you

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eat different sort of food from us natives. That is the reason. It is well known that some evil-minded person tried thus to kill the magistrate's clerk,[1] when the British Government first came here in the times of our fathers, but it availed not.

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"The way of working it is this," he added, "though, of course, it is only what I have been told. He who wishes to perform this magic must first prepare himself in certain ways. He must keep away from the sea, and must have a small fire continually smouldering on his hearth for four days, and the flame of this must never die out during that time. He must also abstain from eating certain foods, and especially the two fish known as *matumatu* and *volo*, for should he eat of these his magic will strike back upon himself. (And here, sir, is a sure test to find out a worker of these evil deeds. For, as you know, we natives always sit round our meals together, and should we be having fish boiled up with herbs the rich broth is first of all handed round in coco-nut shell cups, and we drink this before the women turn the fish out on to the leaf plates in our midst. Now, a worker of this evil magic dare not drink the soup until he knows of what sort the fish is, so he will abstain, and make some excuse, and thus there will be great suspicion cast

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[1] Mr. H. L. Tripp.

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*539 upon him.) And having prepared all things he
754 next takes the scraps that I have spoken of before and mixes them up with the juices of certain plants, secretly and at night. Then he takes a bottle or a gourd or a short piece of hollow bamboo, and thrusts the mess inside; and as he does so he whispers into it the name of the person he wishes to kill, and then at once stops up the neck of the vessel with a plug of coco-nut leaves and fibre, and takes it away and conceals it at his enemy's house. And just before dawn on the fourth day he goes to purify himself in the sea, and from that time the magic starts to take effect. And so it was with these two. On the fourth day Filipi became unwell, and on the seventh day he died.

"Now, you must know that it is a most necessary thing to set the evil free from the body of the dead man before a further four days shall elapse, or once more it will surely fall back again upon him who caused the evil. So that one must take a spear or a sharp stake and transfix the dead body, or else one dies oneself. But the Nayau man had not thought his magic would act so quickly, and had not made inquiries, so that it was over three days before he heard of Filipi's death, for Daku is at the other end of the island. Very troubled in his mind he set off at once to the house of the chief of Lomaloma—which, again,

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is at the front of the island, across the hills— 539*
pretending to be going there to help mourn for 754
Filipi. And that night he went out, no one knew where; but on being called for some purpose by the chief, he could not be found. And in the morning he was asked where he had been, but he would only say that he had not been outside the compound, but had slept in a small shed by the yam-house all through the night. But one could see that his spirit was heavy within him, and there was something pressing down on his soul. He went back, indeed, to the plantation, but the next day he lay down in his hut, and from there he was carried into the town, but nothing could do him any good, and he was dead within a week.

"That was a bad affair, sir," he went on, shaking his head. "Before he died he confessed the whole thing, and he told the people that he had gone over to Daku on that last night in the dark to find the grave of Filipi. But he was a stranger there, and he did not dare to ask for the grave to be pointed out to him. And having seen a mound which he thought was the one, he had thrust a stake deep down into it, and then waited behind the trees till daylight. When the dawn came he found to his dismay that it was an old grave which he had *suaka'd* (pierced); and there was the new grave, not far off, too late now to pierce,

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*539 754 for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

175 565 614 When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still
convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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175 custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good
565 as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day,
614 in a semi-comatose condition, and died on Septem-
[763] ber 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

175 Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it
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[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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afterwards transpired that Tui Na Turuku had, with two men called Bavatu and Vili, been tried by the Government of Maafu (the Tongan conqueror of Lau, who handed over his kingdom to England when Fiji became a Crown Colony) fifteen years previously for "killing a man by *vakadraudrau* at Cicia Island," and that Bavatu had been found guilty and executed; and further, that Vili on his death-bed in exile at Levuka had acknowledged that he had been the cause of several deaths by *vakadraudrau* at Lomaloma. And further, that since that time Tui Na Turuku had been under strong suspicion of being the cause of the death of a man named Livai at Lomaloma, through whose body a stake was found pierced after death! The people dismantled and removed Livai's house, and found a small vessel, containing the ingredients mixed with a piece of Livai's clothing, buried under the doorway of the house.

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In a case happening within recent years it is said that the suspicious relatives shrewdly placed a sheet of iron under a thin layer of earth covering the grave, and that the murderer, on trying to spear the grave, was so upset by the mysterious power that broke his spear that he was turned insane. But this happened before I came to Lau, and I can find no authentic record of it.

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754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] white men "eat different food" (which, to a [262] native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything 175 towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

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the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).

Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

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754 Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this [683] reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

754 Now, all the instances I have mentioned above 184 occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.

177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially 177
when a man falls ill and declares that he must 627
have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the [201]
people is held, and all are more or less compelled [754]
to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to 754
strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of 627
Regui Vola, especially the famous case of Emili 175
(the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

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A SOUTH SEA SYMPOSIUM.

THE look-out at the mast-head raised his hand to signify "straight on." The long, evil-looking zigzag passage between the reefs was hissing with [133] white foam behind us, and the blue water of the open ocean lay ahead. Not one of the twenty odd souls on board the little government yacht "Annandale" but breathed a sigh of relief, for this passage at Ono Island was one of the worst in the Lau group, and the Lau group owns the most dangerous reefs in Fiji. The engines were "chugging" merrily on, and we had only a few yards to go. Suddenly there came a tremendous *loka*, or surf wave, from starboard, the current fairly boiling in the narrow strip of deep water, and at the same time a fierce puff of wind heeled the vessel's stern over to the port reef. The captain sang out "Hard over," the helmsman promptly responded, but the engines were not powerful enough to take the unexpected strain, and the next moment we were being dashed like a toy boat among the breakers on the lee reef.

"Over with the life-boat," shouted the captain,

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and twenty willing hands laboured at the heavy task. The keel of the ship was loosely on the rocks (though within a few feet of deep water), and the huge breakers were lifting her up and down on one side with great bumps as if some giant hand was trying to make her bounce. The captain dashed below to see if the water was rushing in or not, for that constituted the real danger. Perched on the very brow of a sort of submarine precipice, she might slide over at any moment, and if a hole had been made in her she would sink instantly, like a stone, in about fifty fathoms of water.

Luckily her frame was sound, and no leak was reported; and my own private servant (a Lauan, and therefore a born sailor) with two of the crew had already dashed out on to the reef with the heavy kedge anchor and a great coir cable, and almost before we knew what had happened the windlass was at work and we were being dragged along the reef inch by inch into smoother water, and away from the surf-battered edge of the "precipice."

123 Finding that everything was all right I bethought myself of my own comfort, and getting together a few clothes and the Government papers I set off for the island of Doi, some three or four miles away, with four of the crew, in the life-boat. The surf played havoc with my things, and it was

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a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group—so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no "wireless" on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 115 123

[361 622]

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115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

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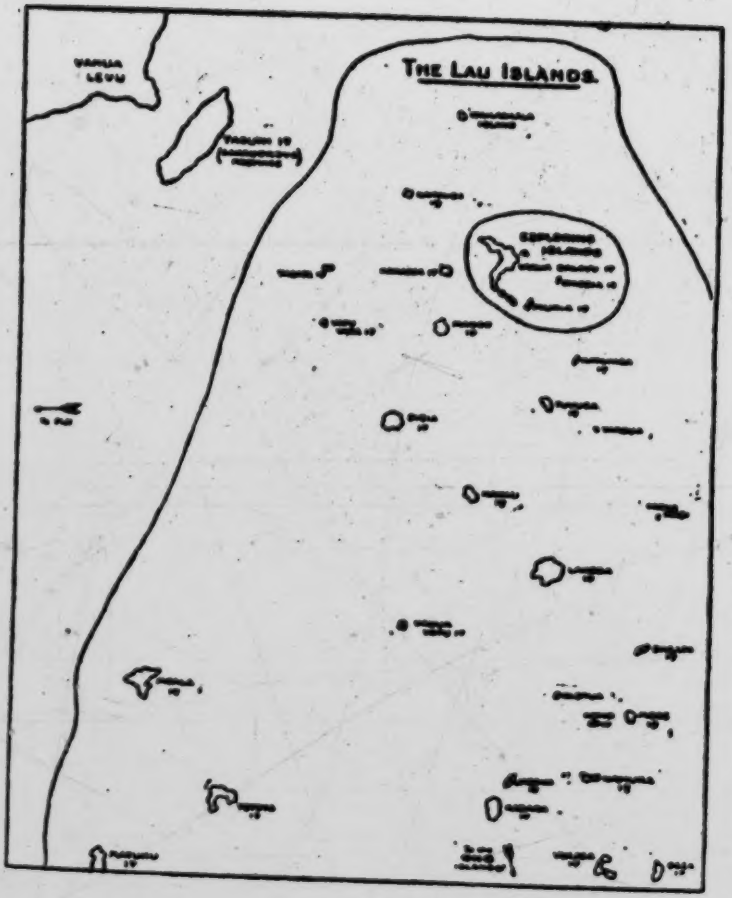

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

SOON was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

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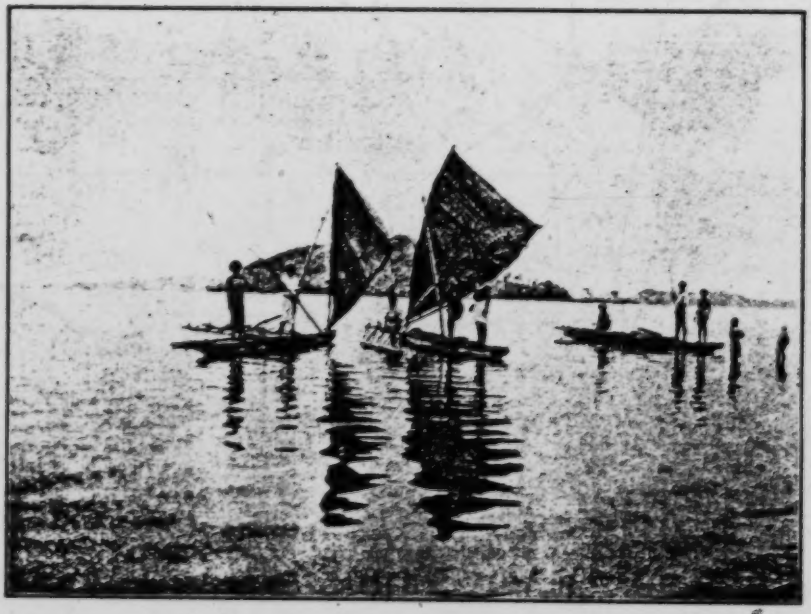

"They launched the canoes."

[facing p. 72]

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a favourable wind from Vualiku,[1] let us return home while we may.' And a farewell feast was made, they launched the canoes, and on the morrow they started back for Ono.

"But that evening at dusk a *tokavuki* (small cyclone) sprang up and great was their alarm. The waves dashed over the canoes and the bailers never ceased their work all through the night. Fiercer blew the wind, and higher climbed the waves. Then shouted Tui Matokano, 'Throw over an offering of *Yaqona* to Ligadua, for it seems our time is near and he alone can save us.' [176] Ligadua, the one-armed, was the god of Matokano; but that, sir, was of course in the dark times, before the *lotu* (Christianity) had arrived," he explained, apologetically. "And he swore that should they ever see Ono again they would make such a *magiti* (feast) and present such offerings to the god as had never before been made. And then the waves began to abate and the winds grew quieter and more favourable, and in the morning they saw in the distance the hill-tops of Ono.

"And so they safely arrived home again, and great were the rejoicings when the people of Matokano saw the fine things that had been brought from Kabara. But Tui Matokano thought not of his promise, for he had many

[1] The north.

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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens. 173 539*

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand. [609] [576]

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu,*

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I must have been sleeping. That was a bad dream, that one. It seems to me it would be well to make a feast for Ligadua while I think of it.'

"So he turned to a man near by and told him to beat the great drum to summon a meeting of the people at once to discuss the matter of this feast. The man went over to the drum, and picked up the two heavy *yavayava* (mallets) and started to ring the call for a meeting of the people. But not a sound came forth. He looked at the sticks, and looked at the drum, and then he struck again. Still it was silent. Then he threw down the sticks in fear and fled. Tui Matokano was very angry, and shouted, 'Fool, why don't you do as I tell you,' and he himself went across to the drum and started to beat it. Still no sound came from it. Then Tui Matokano sat down in dead silence, and all the people waited, for they knew that it was truly Ligadua that they had seen. And as they waited they heard a faint sound from the direction of far away Tuvana Island, the home of Ligadua; and it was the ghost of their great drum that they heard, and it seemed to mock them as they listened.

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"And never again would the true drum at Matokano speak, though often on a calm night one may hear his soul speaking from Tuvana, and it is said that Ligadua is summoning his

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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*539 seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to
776 roll."

"Used to roll?" I repeated; "what do you mean?"

"Yes, sir, he just rolled along the ground. It was said that once there was a great fighting among the gods, and 'Ulupoka,' who was a malicious god, got slain, and his head was cut off and thrown to earth. Anyhow, that is all that [787] appears to us; and it means sickness, if not death, when it is seen. It usually comes at dusk. One is, perhaps, sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees 'Ulupoka' come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look. One cannot get away, but has to sit there, waiting." Here he paused.

"And what then?" I said.

"He bites one's toe and goes away again."

I could not help smiling at the climax, but I could see that the whole thing was very real to the speaker.

"And does he ever appear nowadays?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," was the reply; "but only in our dreams, of course, for the *lotu* is the strongest now. And also there is another way we may know

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night. 226 796

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat. [276] [481]

"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

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226 Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught
796 at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming
539 was as follows," he went on. "There was a
773 goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama*
776 *rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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when by herself. And one day Kubu-ni-vanua heard her weeping, and flew over to Tonga, and asked her what it was that troubled her. Then she said, 'Take me back to my home at Moala. I do not like this land. It is dry and bare, and there is very little food, and not even fresh water to drink. (For Tungua was like many of the Lau Islands in that it had no water; though Moala, as you know, sir, had always fine running streams.)

"'I cannot take you back to Moala,' said Kubu-ni-vanua, 'but I can bring you water, and perhaps even some Dalo for food.' At this she looked up and smiled, and Kubu-ni-vanua felt that he must do this thing for her at once.

"So he flew back to Moala and went to the place called Matamatakalou, which is near to Cakova town, and he took a great Dalo leaf and twisted it into a cup and filled it at the spring there. Then he flew off again with it to Tonga and left it on the ground outside the house of Roko-vaka-ola. And in the morning when she went out she found a beautiful spring just outside her door, with water clear and bright and very cold; and by the side of the spring, where the Dalo leaf had lain, there were already some fine Dalo plants growing up. Then was Roko-vaka-ola happy indeed, and from that day she ceased to pine.

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"And this, sir, is a curious thing. You will find exactly the same sort of trees and shrubs at Tungua as you will find round Matamatakalou; and further, only at Tungua in the whole of Tonga will you find these things."

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THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Bata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

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*539 hold of one of the old pieces of native mythology
773 unadorned with the modern interpretations that
115 are so frequently put to them, and events proved that I was not mistaken.

"You must know, sir," he began, "that I am truly a man of Lakeba Island, but my grandmother was of this place, and from her, when a boy, I heard the tale of the god, Ratu Maibula, and the ghost, Ratu Koli. And this is what she told me:

*539 "In the very early days there were two towns
773 up on the hill-crest there, overlooking the sea towards the setting sun, and their names were Na Vuwai and Watika. Always were there great matters of dispute between these towns, till one day the men of Na Vuwai arose, and making their way by stealth among the trees they came upon the people of Watika, and slew them; so that none remained but some few of the Naibili tribe, who chanced to be out fishing on the reefs below. These were saved by a *Latui*,[1] who circled round and round the burning houses, and then swooped down to the men of Naibili, crying out in great grief, and calling their attention to the smoke rising on the hill-top. This, sir, was because the Latui was the Kalou Vu[2] of the Naibili tribe.

"And in the course of time they moved down

[1] Hawk. [2] Ancestral god.

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to the flat plain on the sea-coast—taking with them the remnant of the Naibili people—and there they founded a new town, which was first called Na Vuwai,[1] but which after the victory of Koli's ghost they named Maibula, in honour of Ratu Maibula, although in truth he was the god of Lagatea town, some distance away. And the change of name came about in this manner.

"Ratu Koli of the Walakewa tribe was in his lifetime a hard man, fierce and angry, but of mighty strength and skilled in all weapons. Great was the fear of his people when Koli arose in wrath and smote whom he willed, and many were the whisperings in the *bures* by the fireside when the nights were dark and Koli slept, yet none dared to strike. One day, however, a woman taunted her husband so that he summoned up his courage, and with certain others went along to Lagatea town to consult the god, Ratu Maibula, whose temple was at that place.

"And it so happened that the men of Lagatea were at that time building a new home for their god, and the big posts of his house were being let into their pits. A great throng of people had gathered round, and with much shouting and straining the last post had just been lowered into place.

"Then advanced the Na Vuwai men, crouching

[1] To this day the people of Matula town make use of the old name "Na Vuwai" in ceremonial feasts.

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and trembling at what they were about to do, and in great fear of the god. And they offered a root of *Yaqona* as is the custom. Then they prepared a bowl of it with all ceremony; and, kneeling, poured a libation into the post-hole, calling on the god to aid them against Ratu Koli. And after that they returned home, but told no man of what they had done.

"Now, that same night Ratu Koli was troubled with dreams and a fever entered into him. And in the morning great was his illness, so that within three days he died. But as he was about to die he opened his eyes and sat up, crying out, "I know you, Ratu Maibula, 'tis you alone that have worked this evil upon me." And then he fell back dead. And when his *burua*[1] was ended the people of Na Vuwai breathed again and their heaviness of spirit left them. And soon they went about their work as usual and had almost forgotten their fears of Ratu Koli. But when the *Bogi drau*[2] arrived they carried out the ceremonies proper to a great chief. And these were nearly finished when a boy came running and informed them that one of their great canoes that had been hauled up at a place some distance away from the town was in danger of drifting off with the high tide. So a party of young men was sent to see to it. And the place where the

[1] Funeral ceremony.
[2] Memorial ceremony on the one hundredth night.

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canoes had been left was called Nuku Nuku and was about half-way to Lagatea town.

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"And when they had hauled the canoe up into safety and were sitting down on the beach to rest, looking over the still waters, they heard a rustling in the bushes behind them; and a great fear filled them, for, on turning round they plainly saw in the moonlight Ratu Koli stepping out into a little clearing, painted, and armed as for war, with his great battle-club on his shoulder. And coming from the direction of Lagatea there appeared Ratu Maibula, who was also carrying his club, as was the custom in those days. And they knew him for the god, for they were again filled with a strange trembling when they saw him; and they heard Ratu Koli cry out, hoarsely challenging, saying, 'Ho, Ratu Maibula, whither goest?'

"Then Ratu Koli smote the ground in anger with his club, so that the whole earth shook, and said, 'Thou shalt surely die to-night.'

"And Ratu Maibula advanced and taunted Ratu Koli, saying, 'What is this small thing I see? Who is it that dares to speak to me?'

Great, then, was the wrath of Ratu Koli, and he fell upon the god and they fought furiously together. The noise of their weapons meeting was like thunder, and the swift gleams of the oiled clubs were like lightning flashes. Long lasted

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the fight, and the men of Na Vuwai lay looking on, prostrate with fear. At last there was a terrible crash and Ratu Maibula was stricken on one knee to the ground; and holding up his club with both hands to ward off the blows he cried out to Ratu Koli and *soro'd*[1], and offered to be the god for the Na Vuwai people also, and to assist them in war, if only he might be spared and still live in his temple at Lagatea. But the ghost of Ratu Koli answered, 'Nay. My law to thee is that thou shalt go to Na Vuwai and remain there as its god, and the town shall be called Maibula, that all may know I have ordered this thing.'

"And Ratu Maibula was forced to consent to this, and thus it is that we now know that town as Mabula—or Maibula, as it was called in the times of our fathers. Then Ratu Koli, with a loud laugh, turned towards Na Vuwai, and was seen no more; and when the men on the beach looked towards the place where Ratu Maibula had been he also was gone.

"Now, Lagatea town was in those early days divided into three parts, namely, Tarakua-leka, Yarovi, and Sawana. And after Ratu Maibula had left it was necessary for some one at Lagatea to take up the title of Tui Cicia, so Ra Salato of the Vunisea tribe did so. But it was not long before two chiefs of Yarovi, named Mataselia

[1] Craved pardon.

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and Laligavoki, plotted against him and slew him; and Mataselia was therefore *buli'd*[1] as Tui Cicia. And Mataselia well knew the power of Ratu Koli, and how he had defeated Ratu Maibula, so he *vaka rorogo'd*[2] to him as the *Kalou Levu*[3] of Lagatea, as by this time the people of Mabula had done also.

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"Mataselia was killed at the great battle at Nayau Island, when the men of Lakeba met the men of Cicia there; but of that I must speak on some other day. And on Mataselia's death Laligavoki was made Tui Cicia. He also was killed before long, as also was another Tui Cicia whose name I forget. And the killing of this same Tui Cicia was as follows:

"Some men of the Butoni tribe came for a *solevu*,[4] to Lagatea and many of them married Lagatea women and stayed on there, building a town for themselves at a place they called Butoni, just where the "Company's"[5] manager's house is now. And after a time they grew jealous of the Lagatea men, and a hatred arose within them. So they devised a scheme. They sent messages to the Tui Cicia to say they wished to perform a *méké*[6] and bring gifts to Lagatea, and on the appointed day they arrived and the *méké* was held at that place I showed you, where

[1] Appointed. [2] Acknowledged his supremacy. [3] Chief god.
[4] A ceremonial interchange of gifts; practically a trading expedition.
[5] The M.I.E.P. Copra Company. [6] Dance.

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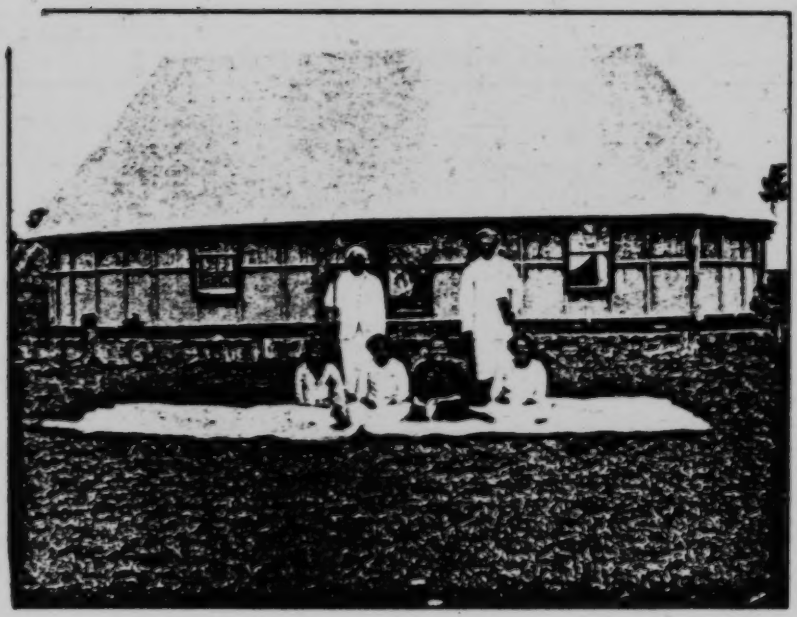

A typical round-ended house of the Lau Islands.

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the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka*,'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And after that the stone was set up on end and left there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

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[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.

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Here we came to a level stretch of smooth, hard sand and our horses raced along at the water's edge, as glad to stretch their limbs as we were to feel the cool breeze. Presently we drew up where some cliffs went straight down to the sea, and here we took a track that led inland for a little way towards the town of Mabula.

"You may have heard, sir," said Wiliami, chuckling, "concerning a former native magistrate named Samani, and of his giving to the Mabula people their *lotu*[1] by means of a club. This was in the early days of the Government, and when the *lotu* had not been long in the land. Ratu Samani was a big chief from Lakeba Island, and he also considered that he was skilled in preaching; so he thought that it was his duty to make the heathen at Mabula believe in the new *lotu*. Therefore, on a certain Sunday he walked to Mabula and climbing into the pulpit in the native house that was then the church building for the use of the few who were believers, he told all the village that they must obey his *lotu* that he had brought with him. But the men of Mabula were *via via levu*,[2] for he was not a chief of their land, and would not listen to his words. So on the following Sunday he journeyed again to Mabula, though his friends would have dissuaded him, and this time he took with him his

[1] Religion. [2] Insolent.

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war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that he would return and beat them should such report reach him.

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"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.
[2] In the New Hebrides.

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

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At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

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"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

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they saw that they had been mistaking the cry of some cranes for a *tama*. But some men of Na Malata Island, who were fishing behind the rocks, pretended that the *tama* had been meant for them, and thus it became a joke that the people of Yacata were *Kaisi*[1] to the people of Na Malata."

At this moment we reached the outskirts of Mabula town; and for the time being the store of anecdotes of my chatty friend had to be cut off, to make way for the more pressing business of a "town inspection."

[1] Inferior in rank, literally slaves.

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A NIGHT SCENE ON NAYAU ISLAND.

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One of the experiences that has remained most vivid in my mind, and which created a lasting impression, was a torchlight ceremony that took place when I was once visiting the island of Nayau, in company with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was on a special mission from the Governor. We had just landed from the government yacht, after a quick run across the twenty miles or so of open sea from Lakeba Island, when the "Buli," or local chief of the island, came up to me and asked permission to hold this ceremony that same evening, in honour of the *Talai*, or deputy of the Governor.

He said that although it was getting dark they had arranged to carry it on by torchlight, and that they wished to receive us in the real manner that in ancient days had been the custom in Nayau.

Proceeding in single file along the narrow track through the bush, the land crabs scuttling away at our approach, we passed on to a broader turf road lit by the red rays of the fast setting sun,

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123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] [576] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut [285]
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

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Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

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in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always.

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Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could

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[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.

277 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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123 hardly know the meaning of. After a little while,
574 the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid
272 state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated
[301] with coloured leaves round their arms and legs,
[415] started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same;
[201] deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

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And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

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SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

I WAS examining a curious stone axe-head in the house of Adi Letila, a very old widow of chiefly rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good implement to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir;

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123 the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to
412 Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness,
115 though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on
[103] to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

*539 "In the days before the first foreign ship came
773 to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a
776 small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ita, an island to the north of Fiji.

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and in course of time they had two children, boys of great beauty and strength. So powerful were these boys that they were wont to pull up the *mamakara* trees by the roots to make their clubs of, which, as you know, sir, is not a thing to be done by the men of to-day. And when they played it was their custom to divide the island between them, and, standing at the two ends, to throw pebbles from one to the other in their sport, for they had no *dawa* fruit in those days to play with, as boys on other islands have. And Rasikilau looked on them with pride.

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"But there came a day when the boys disputed about a fish that they had caught, and their spirit grew hot within them, so much so that one of them took up a big stone and threw it at his brother in anger. And then they started to heave mighty rocks at each other from afar off, but the great stones merely burst against their heads where they struck. Thus it has become a saying amongst us, 'As hard as the heads of Rasikilau's children.'

"But Rasikilau had come upon them suddenly through the trees, and had observed all this, and great was his fear as he saw it. For, thought he, if my sons are strong like this when they are still but boys, they will surely overpower me when they grow up, and cast me out of my island. So, without further thought, he rushed in between

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them and catching each by the hair he dashed their heads together, and they fell down dead.

"But after he had done this his heart was troubled within him, and going home to his wife, he said, '*Sobo!* A dreadful thing has just happened. Our sons have learnt to play with stones, and but now they have slain each other in anger with great boulders.'

"Loud was the wailing of the mother, and she refused to be comforted; and for many days she stayed in the house, only going forth each morning to tend the graves of her sons. And Rasikilau was sad at heart when he saw this; but he kept silence as to what he had truly done.

"Now, one day, Koroibo, the god who lived on Munia Island across the lagoon, heard of Rasikilau's troubles, and came across in a canoe to see him and bring him gifts. And when he landed on the beach he saw the *mamakara* trees for the first time—for he had none on Munia. '*Isa*,' said he, 'this is a fine shady tree to sit under, and the timber of it seems to me to be as fine as any wood I have yet seen.' And his longing to have the *mamakaras* for his own grew great within him.

"So he devised a scheme, and in the evening, after they had fed, he said to Rasikilau, 'Oh, Tui Cikobia (for he was also called Lord of Cikobia), if you had had the *dawa* trees on your island this evil would never have happened, for

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your children would have only thrown the soft fruit at each other, as other children do. And if you should have more children it is plain that the same thing will happen again.' 539* 773 776

"'True are your words, Koroibo,' replied the other. 'But what can I do? I have no *dawa* trees on my island, and where can one procure such things in these parts?'

"'My spirit is heavy within me for thinking of you, Tui Cikobia,' said Koroibo; 'and I, who have *dawa* trees will make you a present of all of them; and you shall give me your *mamakara* trees to take to Munia.'

"'So be it,' said Rasikilau. And forthwith they made the exchange, mixing a bowl of *Yaqona* to seal the bargain.

But of little avail to Rasikilau were the *dawa* trees, for his wife refused to be comforted, and soon afterwards she died. While Koroibo quickly lamented the loss of his fine fruit, and to this day he sits sorrowfully beneath his *mamakara* trees; and sometimes you may hear a sigh as you pass a cluster of them in one of the valleys of Munia. For never again did the *dawa* grow on Munia Island or the *mamakara* on Cikobia."

"But are these gods never seen nowadays?" 776 I asked.

"No," replied the old lady, a little doubtfully. "Have not the missionaries brought the light of

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776 the good *lotu*[1] to us now? Of course there is Adi Mailagi, the goddess of Uruone district," she added, cheerfully, "who used to appear up till a few years ago; and then there is Daucina, who lives a little way down the coast; but all the other gods now only show themselves in their *waqawaqa*[2] as birds or animals or fishes. They are people of the dark times, and they fear the missionaries," she recited somewhat primly, as a child saying a lesson.

I am afraid I smiled a little as I hastily agreed with her, and then I asked her to tell me about Adi Mailagi.

*539 776 "Adi Mailagi," she began, picking up her palm-leaf fan and coyly plucking at its border, "was a goddess who was very fond of young men, especially if they were handsome. But evil was the day when a young man met Adi Mailagi, for she snared his soul as the women net the little fish at the rising tide. Any man who had once succumbed to her embraces would pine and pine away until he died of longing for her, and then his soul was hers and evil was his fate.

"The way of her first coming to these parts was as follows: All the men of Uruone were one day planting out their *dalo* in the water terraces to the north of the village, and the women had just brought them up their mid-day meal, when

[1] Religion or Christianity. [2] Earthly representations.

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suddenly a rushing noise was heard in the sky and a small speck was seen high up, which grew bigger and bigger till they could see that it was indeed a goddess falling to the earth. Down she came, straight into the little creek that lies below the terraces and is known as Na Kele Kele. With a loud cry she jumped to the bank, and called out '*Bula koi au. Au lutu mai lagi*,'[1] and then disappeared. And all that the people could see was a large grey rat running along the path to Daku, at the back of the island. Hence she is called 'Adi Mailagi,' the Lady from the Sky.

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"And the next day the rat was seen again by some men at Udu, which is a part of Daku, and it spoke to them, so that they knew it for Adi Mailagi, and were much afraid. And her home has been at Udu ever since.

"When she wants to snare a man she appears as a beautiful princess; but when she meets a woman, or a man whom she does not desire, she does not trouble about her appearance, and she then shows herself as an old hag, horrible to see. She likes not noises near her home and all must speak in whispers when passing by.

"Once the Uruone men were bringing back a great wooden drum which they had hewn out at Daku; and when they arrived at Udu they decided that it was too heavy to carry over the

[1] "All is well with me. I have dropped from the sky."

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*539 hill without further help. So they left it there for
776 the night. Now, a young girl named Sulia Meli chanced to come along past the spot where the drum was lying, and out of mischief she picked up the staves and rang a loud call upon it. Immediately Adi Mailagi came out of a tree as a terrible old woman, and snatched her up and broke her leg, so that shortly afterwards Sulia died.

"Yes, truly, Adi Mailagi is one to be feared," said the old lady, shuddering at the vision she had herself called up.

"More often," she continued with a smile,
[302] "she appears as a beautiful maiden, and always with the *tobi*,[1] as when she appeared to Emosi, the native minister, when he was walking one day to Daku. She offered him a *suluka* (for that is how she captures a man); but though he accepted it he refrained (being a missionary) from smoking it. And thus Emosi lived, although a great illness came upon him merely for his having touched the gift of Adi Mailagi. And therefore to this day our young men will never accept *sulukas* from strange maidens on that road between Uruone and Daku.

"And another young man who met Adi Mailagi and yet lived was Semesa of Uruone, who once went to sleep with the other youths in the men's *bure*,[2] and during the night found himself

[1] Plaited side curls which are cut off the day a girl is married.
[2] Sleeping house.

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carried in the mat he had rolled himself up in because of the mosquitoes, to the top of Delai-dradramua Hill. Sorely was he troubled on opening his eyes just before cock-crow to see the stars above him in the open sky; and his father took great gifts to the home of the grey rat to ask the mind of Adi Mailagi as to this thing. But the only answer was 'Semesa is free—let him live'; so that we never really knew what was the meaning of it. For always is she hard in in spirit and one to be feared. 539 * 776

"Often does she take the shades of quite small children away with her in her palm-leaf basket, and then the children themselves fall sick in their homes; and unless their shades can escape from her and run home again those children must surely die. [774]

"Tui Merike, the deaf-mute of Oneata Island, is known to you, sir—a man but ill-favoured in countenance and to whom, therefore, Adi Mailagi once appeared in the guise of an old woman; yet he escaped and is alive to-day. The tale of it runs thus: He was slowly riding at dusk one day on his pony from Loma Loma to Mualevu, when from behind a tree that he had just passed near Uruone town there came an evil-looking dame who called out, 'Whither goest?'

"At this the pony shied furiously and sweated with fear, so that Tui Merike knew that it was indeed the goddess, and without replying he

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*539 urged on his horse to a swift gallop. But fast as
776 he rode, just as fast came the noise of the goddess moving along the track behind him; and on his looking round he was horrified to see that the thud, thud on the ground, like the beating of hoofs, was the noise of her aged breasts tapping along the path as she ran. With a mighty effort his horse flew past the bridge at the borders of Mualevu town, and then Adi Mailagi gave up, calling after him, 'Beware, Tui Merike, 'tis only your speed that has saved you this time." (I did not venture to inquire how it was that a deaf man had heard all this, and the old lady continued.)

"There was also a mán called Josefa, who had seen Adi Mailagi, and did not suffer any evil therefrom, because he surprised her, instead of her laying in wait for him, as is her usual custom. At Vatukalove, just beyond the Government Station, there is a sharp corner of the coast-road which is well known to you. At this spot Josefa, suddenly coming round the bend of the road, came upon Adi Mailagi sitting pensively on the ground, with her tongue hanging out, about four feet in length, and trailing along like a snake. She screamed as he came upon her, and as quick as a lightning flash she leaped into the water and swam out to sea for quite a mile, and then came in again to land at a place lower down the

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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him. 539* 776

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree hear to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food. [782] [526]

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe [763]

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

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*539 776 *did* die (this was in the bad days of the measles, sir), that Tui Uruone thought he would stay the deaths by killing the rat. So he went forth with some of his men to Daku, and cut down the two trees; but the rat escaped, and is sometimes seen even now. But Tui Uruone himself died soon afterwards."

A young man here came in with a coco-nut cup brimming with a refreshing draft of *Yaqona*; and after we had both partaken and lit more *sulukas*, Adi Letila continued her story.

*539 776 821 "I have spoken, sir, of Dau Cina, 'the god of the flickering light.' Perchance you may have seen on certain dark nights a faint light that wanders about between Na Malata Island and the mainland, sometimes moving up and down the hill-sides of Na Malata, and anon dancing across the narrow strait till it settles down in the gorge near the spring of heated waters. This is the light of Dau Cina, or Tutumatua; and woe betide our maidens who cross his path when he moves abroad. He is an evil-minded god, and *539 776 the mission preachers of our race oft declaim against him," she continued, and a little smile crept to the corners of her mouth as she aimlessly traced patterns with her finger on the mats, "for it sometimes happens that upon Dau Cina do our maidens cast the blame when all is not well with them. Yet, perhaps, it is not always Dau Cina.

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Who knows? Yet 'tis well remembered how Dau Cina appeared to the daughter of Tui Yaro as she was scraping *masi*[1] at the stream by Koro Korokoti. What happened there is not for me to tell you, sir, but that day all the men of the town came out in their rage to kill Dau Cina, who fled before them, and flew off across the seas to the Moala Islands. And many strange things befell him there—things that I may not speak of—until one day he was worsted by a girl of Nasoki village, and fled back again to this island, where he has remained ever since. Yet there was one day when he ventured across to Munia Island; but while there he annoyed Koroibo in an unseemly manner, and was so cast forth from there. Ah, Dau Cina was indeed an evil god, and 'tis well the missionaries have brought the light to us." 539* 776

But for all Dau Cina's sins I am afraid the old lady kept a warm corner in her heart for this naughty god, and there was a twinkle in her eye as she re-lit her *suluka* and proceeded.

"There was an occasion, however, on which Dau Cina proved himself all-powerful against the chief god of Mualevu district. They met by chance on the coast at the place called Na Lele—where Wea the Tongan now has his coco-nut grove—and there Dau Cina challenged the other to 539* 776 823

[1] Bark from which native cloth is made.

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*539 776 823 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot where Na Malata faces this island, and which was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 776 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers, and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and [793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

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he, 'to strike the serpent of Dau Cina; I, who am the *bété*[1] of the god as my fathers have been before me. Some evil will surely come of this.' 539* 776 [793]

"However, they went their way, and before long the matter was forgotten. And so they reached Futuna; and after their evening meal they went to sleep in the *volau*[2] that Lilo had built to store his copra in. And in the middle of the night they heard a great *Kumete*[3] that lay outside roll over of its own accord, for no one was to be seen; and then they heard strange moanings, and the lips of Tui Qara spoke, but the voice was not the voice of Tui Qara; and the words were these: 'I, Dau Cina, who speak, am about to slay you, Tui Qara! My priest are you, yet you have flaunted me. Death shall be your food.' Then Tui Qara groped about and snatched up a big flaming brand from the fire, and started crunching it between his teeth, and biting off great chunks of it, his eyes rolling round in a manner horrible to see.

"He then called out for a bowl of sea-water to quench his thirst, but Aca was filled with a great fear and ran away. Tui Qara lay for two months in the village of Mavana, sick nigh unto death; but at last his health returned and he lived for some years afterwards. But he never spoke again of the doings of that night at Futuna."

[1] Priest. [2] Rough palm-leaf shelter. [3] Wooden trough.

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*539 A little shiver passed over the old lady as she
123 finished speaking, and on looking out I saw that
776 the lengthening shadows of the trees had reached to the house door. She took up a sheet of *tappa*[1] to put about her shoulders, and I rose to go, thanking her for the entertainment she had given me.

"'Tis but a little telling of our ancient stories," she said; "and there are many more that come into my mind. Should you come again there are certain tales to be told of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of eastern Fiji; and of Ulumatua, the serpent, who was the eldest son of Dengei himself; but I cannot now remember things as I could in the days gone by. I am getting old, I suppose, and my death is not far off," she added calmly.

And so I left her, the tales of the old gods still
[788] ringing in my ears, while as I passed through the village the chant of evensong and family prayers came from the houses of devout Lauans, whose fathers, perhaps, and whose grandfathers, without doubt, had brought offerings with fear and trembling to those same gods of whom I had heard that day.

[1] Native cloth.

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THE SHARK-GOD AND THE FATHER OF SERPENTS.

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THE night was dark and my footsteps had been unnoticed as I neared the end of the wooden jetty that lies off the little town of Loma Loma, and thus, during my evening stroll, I had come unnoticed upon a small group of natives intently looking at one of their number who was fastening something to the under-structures of the wharf. I distinctly heard the word "Dakuwaqa" as I approached; but just then one of them saw me, and, looking a little uncomfortable, they all stepped on one side as if to show me that there was nothing there that anyone might not see. I casually asked what they were doing, and one of them replied, without hesitation, "We are just about to start fishing, sir"; so thinking no more of the matter I wished them luck; and after an interchange of "good evenings" started back for home. But as I walked along the beach under the shadows of the scented, overhanging trees, the tales of old Adi Letila recurred to my mind, and I determined to ask some one

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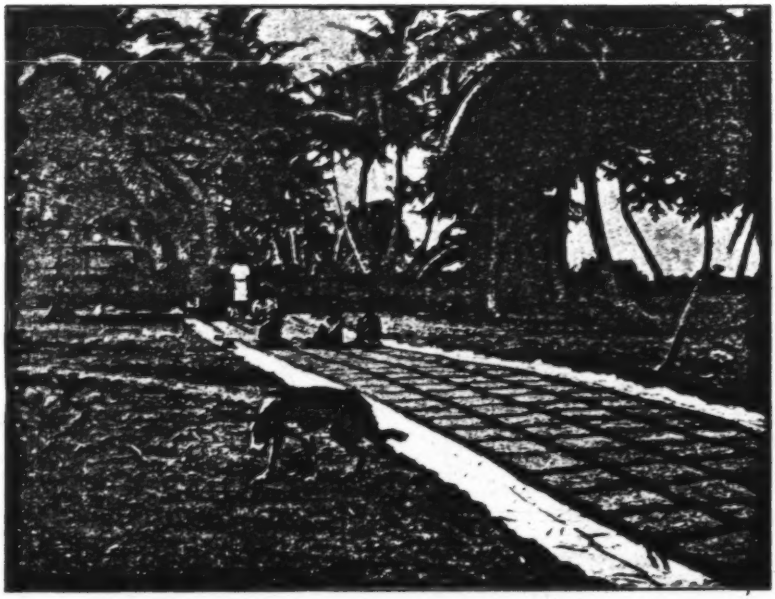

"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*."

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time. 123 776 539*

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl. 776 [797]

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about. 539* 776 101 648

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks 539* 776

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

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*539 which no fish could resist, and that thus had he
776 obtained over-lordship of all the fish in the seas. Now, Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of Cakaudrove, was the ancient king of all fish, and he knew that unless he could get these magic hooks from Tokairabe the fish around Lakeba would no longer *vaka rorogo*[1] to him. So he set off for Lakeba secretly and stealthily as was his wont, moving like a dark shadow through the waters, and for three days lay off the coasts of the island waiting patiently for his chance. And on the third day he spied upon the beach at Na Tuvu a young man about to bathe, and this young man was none other than Tokairabe.

"And Tokairabe was wearing as a *salu salu*,[2] shimmering in the sun, a beautiful string of shell fish-hooks, the magic hooks which Dakuwaqa so greatly coveted. And still Dakuwaqa waited. But when Tokairabe's feet were off the bottom and he was altogether in the home of Dakuwaqa, the god of the waters dashed in and seized the necklace and swam off furiously to the north, his great sail[3] spread above him proudly for all to see.

"Then Tokairabe gave a great cry, for his *salu salu* was very dear to him, and his heart was sore at losing it. And Tui Vutu, his friend, heard the cry from his home at Na Vutu-i-cake, and,

[1] Acknowledge him chief. [2] Necklace. [3] Triangular fin.

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assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things. 539* 776

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove. 101 175 776 648

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner 776 825

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

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776 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in
825 Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola,*'—and *Bokola,*[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

262 "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old
825 lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her
776 shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter
[20] disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

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that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs. 262 825 776

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts. 539 + 776

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But

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*539 776 Ulumatua was well content with this place, and chose for his home a cave on the hill-top looking over the plain where now stands Loma Loma town.

"No one alive to-day has seen Ulumatua himself, but his priests used to say that he was of immense size, truly a god indeed; and once, as a small child, while rambling on the hill-top in the twilight, I saw his family of little serpents, ten in number, disappearing into his home, bearing with them a *solevu* of *yau*.[1] My parents thought I lied about this thing," she added, smiling; "but I verily believed at the time that I saw the gifts they carried. Who knows? To-day we see the marvels which you white chiefs have brought—the box that talks, and the big steamships—truly as wonderful as the thing I saw.

"Ulumatua was not only a serpent of a size fearsome to see, but he was unlike all others inasmuch as his tail was rounded and ended bluntly (like the tail of Misi Bamani's white dog). So [793] at least was he described by Moto Loki Loki of the Lewega tribe, who was the hereditary priest when I was a child. It was Moto's duty to enter the cave at certain seasons of the year with offerings, and to anoint Ulumatua with scented oils, rubbing him with them as a chief is rubbed

[1] A ceremonial presentation of gifts.

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before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.
[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.
[3] Of common origin.
[4] Battle-cry.

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A CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

THERE had been a heavy day in the Court-house at Lakeba, and since early morning I had been administering justice to the best of my ability to an ever-changing crowd of white, Lauan, Chinese, and Indian litigants; and incidentally changing also myself at different periods of the day, with what would have been to the denizens of my old Inn a profane rapidity, from Stipendiary Magistrate to Divorce Court Judge, from Commissioner for Civil Causes to Magistrate of the Native Courts. With a sigh of relief I had heard the announcement from my clerk that the day's list was now ended, and I had moved off to the large empty native house, placed at my disposal for the night, where, after a good dinner and a cigar, I was beginning to feel at peace with the world. Suddenly a very old man with a white beard appeared at the open doorway, and silently sat down on the floor near the entrance with a respectful little cough. 123

"Well, what is it?" I asked, peering into the darkness. "Who is it that comes to see me

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.
[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognised as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land." 173

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced. [276]

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those [516]

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

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173 of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of
[516] Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was
[846] very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.

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and Tuisala was seated there, spreading the *rerega*[1] on her young baby, as is our custom. And in jest she threw a little of the powder at Rasolo, and some stayed on his cheek. But Ului Lakeba entered the house just then, and saw this, and his anger grew hot within him, for he suspected Rasolo. And he straightway drove Rasolo and his brothers out of Lakeba, letting but one of them, Matawalu, remain—for Matawalu was then still a child.

173 [846]

"And Rasolo journeyed first to Totoya Island, and stayed there for some years, as his father had done before him; and there he took for a wife one Laufita, and they had a son—Malani—who was my grandfather.

"Now, after a time, a great desire to return to Nayau arose within him, so he hewed a tall Vesi tree at Dravuwalu town, and made a big canoe, and with all his people set sail for Nayau; but he was driven by the winds to Moala Island on the way. And after a few weeks there he journeyed on to Nayau, and great was the joy of the people to see him. And not very long after this Matawalu, now a young man, joined him; but he brought with him the report that the hatred of Ului Lakeba for Rasolo still remained.

"Now, at Maumi, the old fighting town on the top of the cliff at Nayau, there grew a

[1] Powdered turmeric.

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173 Vuanirewa tree from a fissure in the face of the rocks, about half-way down. And on a certain day the god entered into the *beté*[1] of the temple at Maumi and spoke, and said that if Rasolo could leap on to a certain large branch of that tree without harm he should be *buli'd* as Tui Nayau. And the people gathered round to see this thing, for they thought no man could do it and live. But Rasolo accomplished it, and great was the wonder of the people. (And for this leaping of Rasolo to the Vuanirewa tree our tribe are called the 'Men of Vuanirewa' to this day.)

"And so Rasolo was *buli'd* as Tui Nayau in the ancient manner, for his fathers were truly sprung from the first Tui Nayau, the son of Tui Nawasara of Moala Island, who founded the town of Maumi in Nayau. For Delaivugalei was the son of Qilaiso, the son of Polini; and Polini's father, Kaloniyalewa, was the son of Tui Nawasara."

Here the old man was seized with a fit of coughing that quite alarmed me; but in a moment he was all right again, and simply said, smiling, "I grow old, I think"; and then he went on:

"But still was Rasolo restless and heavy of spirit, for his home was in truth at Lakeba, and Ului Lakeba ever kept him from returning. So he held counsel with Matawalu, and they

[1] Priest.

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resolved to sail to Vanua Balavu Island and seek the aid of the Ravunisa, the Chief of Loma Loma town there; moreover, a half-brother of theirs, named Kolimatua Kai Koso, was *vasu*[1] to the Loma Loma chief. 173

"Now Lakeba at this time was very powerful, and none of the other islands dared to rise against her; but Vanua Balavu was more daring than the others, being a long way off and half-way to Cakaudrove. (And the Ravunisa had no great fear of Lakeba, but even used to prepare a *dai*[2] for Lakeba, and cause her chiefs to bring him great stores of goods on the pretence that the mighty Cakaudrove chiefs were about to make war on her and needed conciliating.)

"So they came to Loma Loma, and stayed there with the Ravunisa, at the place called Na Kaniwai—where I have heard, sir, that you have lately caused to be built a fine dwelling-house of stone for your assistant. And great gales sprang up and lasted many weeks, as they do sometimes now, and when the seas abated the wind was not favourable for their returning; and then more gales arose, until it was over four moons that they had stayed with the Ravunisa. And Rasolo was *madua*[3] to have stayed so long, and so he promised to give his sister Sivoki to

[1] Nephew, and therefore by ancient right able to claim protection, assistance, or goods. [604]
[2] Trap. [3] Ashamed.

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173 *cola pupu*,[1] for the Ravunisa, and also it came to his mind that this would help to tie the Ravunisa to his cause. So he sent to Cakaudrove for her (for she was a widow of a Cakaudrove chief, though still but a girl.)

"And great was the delight of the Ravunisa when he saw her, and he promised to give his aid to Rasolo. But not long after this the men of Mualevu came down to *cola rara*[2] for the Ravunisa (for they were at that time subject to him), and they gave a *meke*[3] that afternoon. And Sovoki straightway fell in love with one of them, Tui Lekutu, a very handsome man; so much so that she ran off with him that very night, and they fled to the hills, fearing the wrath of the Ravunisa.[4] Thus, though the Ravunisa had no great anger for Rasolo he refused now to aid him; so Rasolo set sail once more for Nayau.

"And after he had been some little time at Nayau word came that most of the Lakeba chiefs had risen and slain Ului Lakeba, who was now an old man and whom they had always feared. Yet some at Lakeba would still have fought for Dranivia, the son of Ului Lakeba, and made him the 'Sau'; while others wished to send for Rasolo.

[1] A Lauan phrase; literally, "to fetch the vessels of water," one of a wife's duties; hence coming to mean "to marry."
[2] Bring firewood. [3] Dance.
[4] Qoroniasi, once a very famous District Chief of Mualevu, was one of their children.

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Thus there was much trouble on all sides. And at this time the men of the Levuka tribe (who, as you know, sir, were never truly of our land, but came many years ago from Great Fiji) took council together, and with much cunning rose up and killed many of both parties, so that for some years Levuka ruled at Lakeba. 173

"Then one day the *Ramasi*, which is the title of him whose duty it is to *buli* the Sau, as his fathers have always done before him, met together with the *Tui Tubou* and the *Na Rewadamu*, who each also have duties when a *Sau* is *buli'd*, and they decided to go secretly to Nayau and bring back Rasolo to be the Chief at Lakeba. So one moonlight night they took a small canoe from Nasaqalau, and sailed over to Nayau, to fetch Rasolo. And they took *tabua* to him, and said, 'We have come, Tui Nayau, that you may lead us at Lakeba.'

"But Rasolo, being now aged and of much wisdom, answered them and said, 'Of what use will it be for me to go yet to Lakeba? It is not now the time. Wait, and we will get more warriors and slay all the men of Levuka.'

"And so they returned to Lakeba; but Rasolo stayed on. And twice more they sailed to Nayau for Rasolo. And then at last Rasolo answered, 'Now truly is the time. We will go to Lakeba and there shall not be left a single man of the Levuka tribe.'

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173 "And many canoes they gathered together and they arranged that Matawalu should lead them in the fight. And much food did they prepare for their sailing. But before they left they *buli'd* Rasolo as the *Sau* of Lakeba; and the manner of it is as follows:

"From ancient time Lakeba has been divided into two halves (after Delanikoro, the first town founded by Tui Lakeba, the god, had been scattered), and these halves were called Na Tokelau and Vuira. And when a chief was about to be *buli'd* as *Sau*, *Yaqona* was prepared; and then Ramasi, who was always the Tui Nasaqulau (Nasaqualau being the leading town of the Na Tokelau half) took the right arm of the chief and bound some white *masi*[1] round it; and Tui Tubou (Tubou being the leading town of the Vuira half) took the left arm and did likewise, while Na Rewadamu placed a turban of the finest *masi* on the head of the *Sau*.

"And when they arrived at Lakeba they landed at a lonely place on the coast between Nasaqalau and Yadrana and quickly marched across the island and over the great hill, instead of coming by the usual road round the beach. And one of the Levuka men saw, through the open doorway of his house at Korovusa, something white fluttering in the distance over the shoulder

[1] Fine white gauzy *tappa* or native cloth.

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of the hill, and he called out to those sitting with him, 'What is that over there?' But they answered, ''Tis only the white under-leaves of a tree moving in the breeze.' And they were drinking *Yaqona* at the time, and paid no further heed. But it was the white *masi* of the warriors that they saw, though they knew it not. And so Matawalu and his men came round the back of the town and surrounded it, and slew nearly all the men of Levuka.

"And some few fled to the empty island of Aiwa, and from thence made their way to Oneata Island and took shelter there. And all the Levuka men of to-day are sprung from those who escaped thus to Oneata Island.

"Thus did Rasolo end his wanderings, and lived on to a great age in peace at Lakeba, and was buried at Korovusa.

"This is the story of Rasolo, sir, who was the first to be made both 'Tui Nayau' and 'Sau,'" said the old man. "But there is one other small thing perhaps you may wish to know. The people of Nayau to this day have it in their minds that their 'Tui Nayau' never left them, and that the real Tui Nayau is still with them —though they are fain to acknowledge the Chief of Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau,' since they are now but a weak people and dare not openly say otherwise. And they account for it in this way:

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173 "The men of Lakeba—so they say—were very anxious to get the 'Tui Nayau' to go and live at Lakeba. So they made a great *volau*[1] to Nayau, bringing with them many goods, carved wooden bowls, and yams, and fine mats from Ono. And in return, at the sharing out, they took away much *gatu*[2] and dried fish, and *wali wali*[3] from Nayau; but two brothers, Qilaiso and another whose name I know not, would take nothing. And these two went to the Tui Nayau and asked him to go with them to Lakeba and be their chief, and that that alone should be their share of the *volau*. But Tui Nayau would not listen to them, but said that they should take a basketful of the soil of Nayau instead, as a sign for the Tui Nayau.

So they agreed to this, and returning to Lakeba they landed at Navutoka and there hid this *qele tabu*.[4] And then they built a temple over the spot, and after that went up to the town and spread the tale that they had captured the 'Tui Nayau,' but that he would not show himself to the people, being too sacred, but would reside only in this temple.

"But this, sir, is of course but a tale of the men of Nayau. All know that the Tui Nayau henceforth came to live at Lakeba and his sons are here to this day."

[574]

[1] Ceremonial visitation with interchange of gifts.
[2] Native cloth. [3] Coco-nut oil. [4] Sacred earth.

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So ended the tale of old Roko Malani; and after a little further talk he departed, erect and with firm tread, a splendid instance of the courtly old native of the Lau Islands—a true chief, who could proudly recount the doings of his ancestors directly back for ten generations; and who, even in these modern times, retained the complete respect of his people.

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/For the texts of various stories told in this source, see category 116, pp. 31-46, 48-54, 70-77, 80-94, 108-122, 125-127 and 129-131./

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796

/For description of the traditional formal ceremony to welcome visiting dignitaries to the island, see catergory 574,/

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Kambara

Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By **LAURA THOMPSON**
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellowship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting. 122 121

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion. 177

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the 114 [161]

[Text continues on p. 5,-
Analyst]

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Kambara

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

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Kambara

121 as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (21, 22, 23, 24).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

197 The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British [198] colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð	ngg = ŋg	mb = ᵐb
ng = ŋ	nd = ⁿd	tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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Kambara

the time when these studies can be of value to the administrator, the educator, and the medical practitioner. Using the results of field research, I have made the following study in the hope that it may be of practical value in helping to cope with some of the problems brought about by the expansion of western civilization. |2|

Although the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people, that is people without a written tradition, to western culture throughout the world. Although the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another, they should throw light on the general problem of how culture changes and can be changed. Moreover, the comparison of a number of detailed studies of specific groups of people should lead to a clearer understanding of the processes set in motion by the expansion of western civilization and of the problems of scientific administration.

The material on which this study is based was gathered during nine months of ethnological field work in the Fiji islands in 1933-34, and the data presented in this study apply to this date unless otherwise specified. While in Fiji I learned to know the natives of the eastern islands, their language and their culture by actually living among them in their villages and participating in their daily life. From my headquarters in Tokalau village on Kambara I studied the people of the island and made trips by native canoe, since no other transportation was available, to the neighboring islands of Wangava, Namuka-i-Lau, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. These trips, which varied from 3 to 40 miles each on the open sea, were made in native outrigger canoes with crab claw sails of mat. Whether we skimmed in a stiff gale over the deep sea swells, lay becalmed under the scorching sun, or strained our eyes through the darkening night to hold our course to the faint low silhouette of an island, these canoe voyages were one of the highlights of my sojourn in Lau. |14 |23

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form
[134 small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

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Behavior Theory W3

B 121 Our data suggest further that, once firmly established and embodied in the symbol system, the attitudes and the habits of a human community, a balanced, functional, eco-cultural structure tends to endure if the human community is not wiped out or severed from its natural setting. The data also suggest that such an eco-cultural community structure is the living core of relationships which the human group, either consciously or unconsciously, tries in multiple ways to perpetuate. An understanding of this core may be expected to throw light on the problem of so-called "cultural resistance," or a people's acceptance or rejection of certain extraneous patterns of belief, thought and behavior. For example, in Lau the community has tended to reject foreign patterns of feeling, thought and behavior which interfere with, or break down, its basic eco-cultural structure, regardless of the regulations or the penalties involved. It would seem that to the extent the Lauans have been unsuccessful in their resistance to harmful interference with their group life processes, the intentional or forced introduction of nonfunctional patterns or the prohibition of functional ones has tended to throw off balance the community's whole eco-cultural structure and has operated directly against its well-being. The implications that these findings have for the problem of prediction in social science are manifold.

L 121 182

B 121 Finally, the findings point up the practical significance of the eco-cultural approach and suggest that an understanding of a community's long-time, dynamic pattern of relationships is basic to the formulation of adequate norms or standards for the advancement of community welfare and for the development of community-oriented government administration.[22] Accordingly, the significant problem regarding community welfare and the conservation of resources does not emerge simply as the question of how human health and institutions may be improved, or of how topsoil may be saved, or watersheds, and forest land protected, or organic species preserved from extinction, important though each of these aspects may be. The significant problem of community welfare emerges as a matter of using and adapting local beliefs, attitudes, habits and institutions, supplemented where necessary by appropriate new ones, to the end that human groups, through natural eco-cultural processes, may foster the development and maintenance of a balanced, healthy *total* community—plants and animals, as well as human groups.

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[22] *See* Thompson, 1949.

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 [576] [201] 171

with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

121 [114] 126 114

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Kambara

Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By LAURA THOMPSON
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122 from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellow- 121 ship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177 insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114 presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161] island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

[Text continues on p. 5.- Analyst]

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122 The field research was made possible by a fellowship from Yale University and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The data were assembled and the manuscript prepared with the help of a grant from the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.[1] To these institutions I am greatly in-
000 debted. I also wish to express my appreciation to the people of Fiji—colonial officials, European residents and natives who gave me every possible aid in this work. I thank especially His Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji, Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs, the Hon. Victor W. T. McGusty, M.D., Secretary for Indian Affairs, Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, and Mr. George T. Barker of the Fiji Museum for their kindness and support. I also thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, for identification of native plant names, Dr. Harry S. Ladd and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, former Research Associates of the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands, and Dr. Felix M. Keesing, professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, for criticism of the manuscript. I am most indebted to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

The Institute of Pacific Relations in supporting the study and undertaking the publication of this report has been moved largely by its interest in the broad question of administration and social and economic development in the dependencies of

113 [1] Facts of interest to the specialist, such as details of social organization, arts and crafts, mythology, and ceremonies, are being published elsewhere. See L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," Bishop Museum, *Bulletin 162* (in press); "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschigruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937, translated in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198; "Adzes from the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938; "The Pottery of the Lau islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

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the time when these studies can be of value to the administrator, the educator, and the medical practitioner. Using the results of field research, I have made the following study in the hope that it may be of practical value in helping to cope with some of the problems brought about by the expansion of western civilization. |21

Although the change taking place on Kambara in many ways is unique, it is one example of the adjustment of preliterate people, that is people without a written tradition, to western culture throughout the world. Although the results of a study of what is happening in one small area may not be applied uncritically to another, they should throw light on the general problem of how culture changes and can be changed. Moreover, the comparison of a number of detailed studies of specific groups of people should lead to a clearer understanding of the processes set in motion by the expansion of western civilization and of the problems of scientific administration.

The material on which this study is based was gathered during nine months of ethnological field work in the Fiji islands in 1933-34, and the data presented in this study apply to this date unless otherwise specified. While in Fiji I learned to know the natives of the eastern islands, their language and their culture by actually living among them in their villages and participating in their daily life. From my headquarters in Tokalau village on Kambara I studied the people of the island and made trips by native canoe, since no other transportation was available, to the neighboring islands of Wangava, Namuka-i-Lau, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. These trips, which varied from 3 to 40 miles each on the open sea, were made in native outrigger canoes with crab claw sails of mat. Whether we skimmed in a stiff gale over the deep sea swells, lay becalmed under the scorching sun, or strained our eyes through the darkening night to hold our course to the faint low silhouette of an island, these canoe voyages were one of the highlights of my sojourn in Lau. |14 |23

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Kambara

132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 514 [343] In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach, in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

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Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used. 123 514

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neighboring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter. 136 513

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the *kekeo,* a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night ?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo,* the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered 136 773

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123] strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771] certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

We were running along the coast in smooth water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy-headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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and twenty willing hands laboured at the heavy task. The keel of the ship was loosely on the rocks (though within a few feet of deep water), and the huge breakers were lifting her up and down on one side with great bumps as if some giant hand was trying to make her bounce. The captain dashed below to see if the water was rushing in or not, for that constituted the real danger. Perched on the very brow of a sort of submarine precipice, she might slide over at any moment, and if a hole had been made in her she would sink instantly, like a stone, in about fifty fathoms of water.

Luckily her frame was sound, and no leak was reported; and my own private servant (a Lauan, and therefore a born sailor) with two of the crew had already dashed out on to the reef with the heavy kedge anchor and a great coir cable, and almost before we knew what had happened the windlass was at work and we were being dragged along the reef inch by inch into smoother water, and away from the surf-battered edge of the "precipice."

Finding that everything was all right I bethought myself of my own comfort, and getting together a few clothes and the Government papers I set off for the island of Doi, some three or four miles away, with four of the crew, in the life-boat. The surf played havoc with my things, and it was

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a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group —so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no "wireless" on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 115 123

[361] [622]

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115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
● 123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

SOON was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

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A NIGHT SCENE ON NAYAU ISLAND.

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One of the experiences that has remained most vivid in my mind, and which created a lasting impression, was a torchlight ceremony that took place when I was once visiting the island of Nayau, in company with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was on a special mission from the Governor. We had just landed from the government yacht, after a quick run across the twenty miles or so of open sea from Lakeba Island, when the "Buli," or local chief of the island, came up to me and asked permission to hold this ceremony that same evening, in honour of the *Talai*, or deputy of the Governor.

He said that although it was getting dark they had arranged to carry it on by torchlight, and that they wished to receive us in the real manner that in ancient days had been the custom in Nayau.

Proceeding in single file along the narrow track through the bush, the land crabs scuttling away at our approach, we passed on to a broader turf road lit by the red rays of the fast setting sun,

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123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] [576] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

[624]

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

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in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always. 123 574 431

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could [237] [435]

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.
273 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated [301] with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, [H15] started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; [201] deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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[201]

lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

[201]

And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

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[p.106 is blank]

SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

I was examining a curious stone axe-head in the house of Adi Letila, a very old widow of chiefly rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good implement to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir;

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123 the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to
412 Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness,
115 though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on
[103] to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

*539 "In the days before the first foreign ship came
773 to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a
776 small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ita, an island to the north of Fiji.

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A little shiver passed over the old lady as she finished speaking, and on looking out I saw that the lengthening shadows of the trees had reached to the house door. She took up a sheet of *tappa*[1] to put about her shoulders, and I rose to go, thanking her for the entertainment she had given me.

"'Tis but a little telling of our ancient stories," she said; "and there are many more that come into my mind. Should you come again there are certain tales to be told of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of eastern Fiji; and of Ulumatua, the serpent, who was the eldest son of Dengei himself; but I cannot now remember things as I could in the days gone by. I am getting old, I suppose, and my death is not far off," she added calmly.

And so I left her, the tales of the old gods still [788] ringing in my ears, while as I passed through the village the chant of evensong and family prayers came from the houses of devout Lauans, whose fathers, perhaps, and whose grandfathers, without doubt, had brought offerings with fear and trembling to those same gods of whom I had heard that day.

[1] Native cloth.

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THE SHARK-GOD AND THE FATHER OF SERPENTS.

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THE night was dark and my footsteps had been unnoticed as I neared the end of the wooden jetty that lies off the little town of Loma Loma, and thus, during my evening stroll, I had come unnoticed upon a small group of natives intently looking at one of their number who was fastening something to the under-structures of the wharf. I distinctly heard the word "Dakuwaqa" as I approached; but just then one of them saw me, and, looking a little uncomfortable, they all stepped on one side as if to show me that there was nothing there that anyone might not see. I casually asked what they were doing, and one of them replied, without hesitation, "We are just about to start fishing, sir"; so thinking no more of the matter I wished them luck; and after an interchange of "good evenings" started back for home. But as I walked along the beach under the shadows of the scented, overhanging trees, the tales of old Adi Letila recurred to my mind, and I determined to ask some one

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time. 123 776 539*

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl. 776 [797]

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about. 539* 776 101 648

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks 539* 776

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

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[p. 132 is blank]

A CHAPTER OF HISTORY.

THERE had been a heavy day in the Court-house at Lakeba, and since early morning I had been administering justice to the best of my ability to an ever-changing crowd of white, Lauan, Chinese, and Indian litigants; and incidentally changing also myself at different periods of the day, with what would have been to the denizens of my old Inn a profane rapidity, from Stipendiary Magistrate to Divorce Court Judge, from Commissioner for Civil Causes to Magistrate of the Native Courts. With a sigh of relief I had heard the announcement from my clerk that the day's list was now ended, and I had moved off to the large empty native house, placed at my disposal for the night, where, after a good dinner and a cigar, I was beginning to feel at peace with the world. Suddenly a very old man with a white beard appeared at the open doorway, and silently sat down on the floor near the entrance with a respectful little cough. 123

"Well, what is it?" I asked, peering into the darkness. "Who is it that comes to see me

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.
[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognized as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

121 as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (21, 22, 23, 24).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

197 The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British [198] colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð	ngg = ŋg	mb = ᵐb
ng = ŋ	nd = ⁿd	tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford.

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me.

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do.

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back.

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complète subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

clearly in the introduction to *Southern Lau*.[11] Most of the old religion has been lost. 114 The fragmentary account presented in *Southern Lau*[12] was obtained thirteen years ago, mainly from aged informants. It is unlikely that any one of these informants is still living and with them will have perished the main reservoirs of knowledge concerning the most esoteric aspects of the culture. But aside from matters of religion, to state casually that matters such as social groupings are " easily ascertainable " reveals a superficial knowledge of the area, an inference regarding my critics which is amply borne out by a critical appraisal of certain other statements they make regarding southern Lau, as will presently be demonstrated.

Actually, to get a clear picture of the functioning social system of the area it was 114 necessary to make a detailed historical analysis of the social organization in each of 126 the eleven villages on the five inhabited islands surveyed. By a detailed analysis I mean, for example, that genealogies for the 1,500 inhabitants of the five islands were recorded in the field, each as far back as the memory of the natives extended, namely from four to twelve generations, a formidable task in itself. Sketch maps were made of each village and whenever possible kinship groups revealed by the genealogies were related exactly to their localities of residence in each village. This analysis revealed the main social groups, including the thirty-seven clans existent at the time of the field work together with the historical development and rank of each. Patterns regarding marriage, residence, descent and succession were worked out by counting each individual case from four to twelve generations back, and variations on the patterns thus established were calculated on a numerically exact percentage basis. Thus my description of the social system of southern Lau is based, not on a formula worked out by means of research in adjacent areas, nor on generalizations from selected cases, nor on the statements of a few informants, but on *exact numerical calculations* which included every one of the 1,500 residents of the five islands and their genealogies recorded as far back as the memory of the living extended.[13]

The method which I employed in analysing the social system of southern Lau will be recognized as an extension of the genealogical method developed by W. H. R. Rivers[14] in recording the social structure of Melanesia. It is difficult to imagine how a more numerically exact empirical method could be found to analyse an Oceanian social system nor how such an analysis, if systematically carried out, could go " far astray " on the major social groups (both kinship and geographical) and their interrelationships. I therefore submit that there is a high degree of probability that the functioning social system including the major social groups in historical perspective described in *Southern Lau* is correct.

[11] P. 5.

[12] Pp. 105-19.

[13] With the exception of the abstract of the chief's phratry (*Southern Lau*, Table 2) and the village plan of Tokalau (*Southern Lau*, Fig. 3 and Table 1), the genealogies and village plans recorded in the field were not included in *Southern Lau*, due to lack of space, but they are available in manuscript form.

[14] *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, except that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

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with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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126 114 merely a literal translation of their stories, and tends to show how closely akin they are to the Eastern minds in their ideas.

000 I once possessed a further series of notes that I took from chats with two old chiefs now dead; but, alas! a hurricane with a tidal wave swept that set of papers away, and the data are now lost for ever. Some of my predecessors, notably Sir George Le Hunte, G.C.M.G., Mr. Basil Thomson, C.B., and Mr. C. R. Swayne, C.M.G., were, I know, very interested in Lauan legends; but I fancy many of their notes met similar untimely ends; and I know that Mr. Swayne suffered a great loss of the labour of years when the official residence—in those early days simply a thatched bungalow—was burnt to the ground with all his belongings. Mr. Thomson's great study of the customs of the natives, in his well-known and classical work, "The Fijians," embraces every question possible concerning them, but in this little book I have confined myself entirely to legendary folk-lore, and to the people of the Lau Islands, whom I know best. So, then, with the hope that some of these old legends may be rescued from oblivion before it is too late, I have launched them into print, and leave their merits for the reader to decide.

T. R. St. J.

Lomaloma,
The Lau Islands.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

000 121 fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

127 Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. [172] Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

174 The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

13 Xl. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

136 A careful record of the bird life on each of the islands was kept by Mr. Jose' G. Correia, the assistant Ornathologist. According to his notes the principal birds throughout the Lau Group are as follows:

Land Birds		Water Birds
Large Hawk		Herons, blue and white.
Small Hawk		Heron, small gray.
Pigeon, common Suva		Tern, white
Pigeon, common Samoan		Tern, sooty
Pigeon, black		Plover, Golden
Doves, common		Tatler
Dove, yellow		Lesser Frigate
Dove, ground		Platus Booby
Gallinule		Booby, red-footed
Parraquit		Turnstone, ruddy
Brown-eye		Tropic-bird, yellow bill
Shrike		
Warbler		
Broadbill		
Honey-eater	Barn owl	
Swallow	Duck (Teal)	
Swift	Wild chicken.	
Fantail, gray		
Fantail, brown		
Kingfisher		
Yellow-eye		
Yellow-belly		
Flycatcher, sooty		
Red cap		
Rail		
Cuckoo		

133 Most of the islands are surrounded by a barrier reef, which in many cases extends several miles off shore. The majority of the islands also have fringing reefs. There are also a number of reefs, some of which completely enclose lagoons, containing no elevated land. These supply the marine biologist with a rich collecting ground. But no opportunity was allowed on this hasty land survey to study marine life.

●128 In the following summary of the individual islands, the subjects will be discussed in the following order:- 1, location, 2, dimensions, 3, topography and surface, 4, harbors, anchorages and landing places, 5, water, 6, special notes on vegetation and fauna, 7, inhabitants, 8, cultivation and other occupations, 9, historic, 10, prehistoric.

A sketch map, corrected in the field, is furnished of each island.

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133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geolog-
[438] ical types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

● 13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evuere* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokele*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

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While we lack the data to describe these two types of biotics, we do know 13
that their development in Lau has been influenced and limited by the following major factors.[9] First, rocks are of only two types: impervious volcanic and soluble limestones. Second, most of the islands are small, isolated, and closely surrounded by open sea at least 100 fathoms deep. They are separated from the main Fiji group to the northwest by a distance of some 200 miles and from Tonga to the southeast by some 400 miles. Third, located mainly between 17 and 19 degrees[10] south latitude and in the vicinity of 179 degrees west longitude, the Lau group has a tropical climate, the mean annual temperature being estimated at about 73 degrees Fahrenheit, the humidity range from about 70 to 90 per cent. Fourth, the islands lie in the belt of the southeast trade winds which prevail during the cool, dry season from April to November. This condition is strongly reflected in reef and island contours and in rock type distributions. During the remainder of the year, the warm, wet season, the southwest monsoon blows intermittently, especially from January to March when hurricanes may be expected. Fifth, practically all of the annual precipitation, which averages about 80 inches, falls during the wet season, much of it in the form of torrential downpours which erode basins and caverns in the limestone islands, and valleys in the volcanics. Sixth, the basic ecological balances of each island developed in the absence of large land animals, including man.[11]

By the time that the first men arrived in Lau in comparatively recent 13
times, the delicately balanced, natural ecological arrangements, characteristic 167
of southern Lau, had attained their basic patterns. The advent of man meant much more than the intrusion of a single species, namely *Homo sapiens*, as had been the case when many ocean- or air-borne species found their way to these islands. The advent of man meant the intrusion into the group of a whole complex of exotic species of both fauna and flora carried by man during his migration by canoe eastward into the Pacific basin. Culture-historical evidence in southern Lau[12] suggests that these included the pig, the dog, and the fowl, as well as various food plants such as yam, breadfruit and banana. Man brought, furthermore, various stone and shell tools such as adzes, gouges, awls and pounders with which he could somewhat alter the face of nature; various skills, such as fire-making, horticulture, stone-cutting, house-building,

[9] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Bryan, 1948; Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[10] Vatoa and Ono-i-Lau lie farther to the south, and accordingly have a slightly cooler climate.

[11] According to Bryan (MSS.): "Except for birds and insects there is a poverty of native 136
animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was the rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green *sokai*. Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large 'coconut' crab and hermit crabs, were present in quantity."

[12] Thompson, 1938.

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167 basketry and mat-plaiting; and he brought the sailing canoe with which he traveled between the islands and connected their heretofore disparate ecological arrangements.

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174 Not much is known of these first human inhabitants of Lau but, on the basis of internal evidence in the present-day culture and of archeological findings,[13] we infer that they settled on the larger islands and formed small clan hamlets in the bush. On the limestone islands the aborigines subsisted chiefly on jungle fruits, edible green leaves from the bush, fish, pigs and fowl, while on the volcanics this basic diet was supplemented with such garden produce as yams.

After the first men arrived, a new ecological arrangement seems to have gradually taken form on the basis of the old; and recently introduced species of flora and fauna, including *Homo sapiens*, became a part of the total balance. The culture of the first human inhabitants of Lau indicates that, on the foundations of attitudes and behavior patterns which they had brought with them into Lau, the aborigines developed a culture which integrated the human group with the other species of the natural community in environmental context and which symbolically explained, validated and supported the group's way of life.[14] What the effect of the aborigines was on the environment we do not know. It has been suggested, however, that man's cultivation of the volcanic islands has been responsible to some degree for the fact that much of their flora has degenerated to rank grasslands and other low growth. The limestone localities, on the other hand, apparently were and still are less affected by man's presence. The soil is less fertile and less responsive to cultivation of food plants by means of technology available to the natives, while the low, dense, scrubby forest, its tangle of underbrush, together with the rough, pitted terrain, help to discourage change through human activity.[15]

The next major event in the culture history of the area was the conquest of the aborigines, apparently about fifteen generations ago, by a small band of warriors reputed to have come from northwest Viti Levu in west Fiji. Marrying aboriginal women who brought them parcels of land, the conquerors settled on the more fertile islands and founded new clans. The newcomers were very different in skills, interests and values from the aborigines. They were a raiding, fishing people who preferred to sail and gather their food from the sea rather than to till the soil. The conquerors, moreover, were fascinated

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[13] Thompson, 1938, 1940b.

[14] In time apparently the migration of their ancestors from the west was forgotten and the aborigines of Lau came to believe that they had originated locally in some natural phenomenon, such as a tree or an animal. The people of each island also had a species of bird and a species of fish which was sacred to them, and they believed in a local abode of the dead. Their deity was apparently a great, pervasive, spiritual power believed to be the source of all *mana* and was worshiped at sacred places such as caves, trees or stones. [15] Bryan, 1948.

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by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[16] 13 174

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions. 13 146 262

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[16] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

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13 146 262 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 262 264 462 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 264 462 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

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in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored 261] against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184 tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177

When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, 13 624 although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands 177 of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the [558] needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely [251] stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each 13 inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had 624 charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and 262 turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the 226 noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native [558] official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

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13 431 438 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 431 438 178 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government. Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji, because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

●13 1. ONGEA Islands consist of three limestone islands situated at the south-east end of the group; (S.19° 10', 178° 25' W.). They are encircled by a barrier reef 5 1/2 by 8 miles, thru which there is one good (Barracouta) passage, on the west side.

Ongea Levu, the largest of the three, is elongate eliptical in outline, 3 1/2 by 1 1/4 miles, with a deep sandy bay on the south, [361] at the head of which is located the village. The central portion is a flat, rising to a height of 270 feet on the east in a nearly continuous line of hills facing the sea, and sloping up slightly to the west and north.

The south-west portion of this main mass is a separate island, called Yamuia, which is separated from Ongea Levu by a narrow, winding passage, nearly dry at low tide. It is hilly and rough, with an elevation at the north-west of 220 feet, rising sharply from the sea. The south-eastern portion is much indented and filled with mangrove swamps. Both ends of the passage are filled with small rocky islets, a line of which also fringe the south coast of Ongea Levu and the shore line of Ongea Ndriti.

Ongea Ndriti, which lies about a mile to the south of Levu, is ovate in shape, 1 3/4 by 1 1/4 miles. The eastern and western ends are rough and hilly, rising to an elevation of 300 feet. The north center is a partly cultivated flat, and there is a broad sand beach on the south.

All three of the islands are of typical upraised coral limestone formation, and are covered with a dense growth of lowland forest. Most of the sea face is steep undercut cliff, but there are several small sand beaches.

The best anchorages for vessels of moderate size are off the north-west end of Ongea Ndriti, and off the north end of the deep bay on the west side of Ongea Levu. At both of these landing is good.

[p.12]

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[487] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

•13 2. FULANGA Island is a nearly continuous ring of uplifted coral limestone, eight miles directly west of Ongea Levu and south of the Yangasa Cluster, (S.19° 08', 178° 36' W.). It is 5 miles long (W.N.W.- E.S.E.) and 3 to 3 1/2 miles wide. The main island, which extends around three-fourths of the circumference, is from 1/4 to 1 mile wide, and reaches an elevation of 260 feet at the north-west and from 200 to 240 feet on the south. The remaining forth consists of a curve of small islets, one of which is 150 feet high. The hills on the south form a nearly continuous ridge, but those on the north are more prominent because of their isolated abruptness. The enclosed lagoon contains several fair size islands and a quantity of small mushroom-shaped rocks (too small to be indicated on the map).

This ring of land is surrounded by a barrier reef which is fringing on the S.E. and S.W. Thru it there is one passage available for small vessels, on the N.W. side. This passage is but 60 yards wide with a strong tidal current flowing thru it at about 3 knots, and causing riffles and overfalls dangerous to small vessels, which should not attempt the passage when tide and wind are opposite in direction. A patch of coral just inside the entrance should be carefully avoided, by running close up to a small rocky islet covered with native palms, keeping on its west side, and then turning abruptly south-west.

The lagoon furnishes shelter from all points of the compass. A good anchorage is available at about the middle of the south side, off [504] a small sandy bay where there are generally a number of native canoes [498] on the beach. From here a trail leads over the ridge to the two southern villages.

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

● 13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

There are three small villages on Fulanga. ~~Mbab~~ Muanaithake 361 and Muanairs are close together on the south ocean side. The former [161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa [322] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only.
241

[p. 16]

● 13 5. NAIAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

●13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang´-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. [423] The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the [245] copra from several small patches of coconut palms.

[284] YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few coconut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

NAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the S.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Navutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

[p. 20]

[YANGASA CLUSTER]

13 the N. and N.E. slopes. There are no beaches. Landing is possible in smooth weather on the west side.

NAVUTU-I-RA , a mile further to the north-west, is 1/2 mile in diameter and 270 feet high. It is connected with Yavutha by a narrow sunken reef on which are situated a number of small rocks. The slopes of this island are quite rough, but there is a small, nearly level flat on the N.W. Both flat and slopes are heavily wooded. A small sand beach on the south side makes landing easy.

[312] There is no fresh water on the three smaller islets, and only the one pool noticed on Yangasa Levu.

Snakes are abundant and rats are probably present. Lizards and hermit crabs are ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

These limestone islands have an exceedingly rough surface, which warrents the nick-name "bad-lands". This consists of jagged ridges (or rather hummocks, as they lead nowhere), separating pot-holes up to 50 feet in diameter and often 15 to 25 feet deep. The walls are sh eer and unbelievably rough and jagged, ruining shoes, clothes and skin. This type of country, however, is well forested.

[p.21]

•13 5. MAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241
177 but very little carving.
287
327
366

[p. 23]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Kapotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised. 287 285

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point 231 of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a 13 thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abruptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of coconut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 161 313 487 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut into the interior.

[p.26]

13 7. ONEATA is a partly coral limestone, partly bedded sandstone island, lying about 12 miles north of Mothe. (S.18° 25', 178° 30' W.) It is 2 1/2 miles long and about 7/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends, and with three small wooded peaks up to 160 feet high on the south-east. Toward the east end there are two cross-ridges covered with forest. Off the east point a small conical islet, Loa, rises to a height of 140 feet. The west end has a sandstone hill, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina. A volcanic ledge borders the east point. The central portion of the island is occupied by a narrow brackish swamp. South of it (between the two villages) are to low knobs or ridges of sandstone. On the north side of the low central depression is a large area of coconut palms and cultivated patches.

The island is surrounded by a long triangular barrier reef, extending six miles to the eastward and four to the north-west. Thru it there are four passages, three on the west and one on the north. The water is moderately deep within the lagoon, except off the S.W. point of the island. There is good anchorage off the main village, Wainggori, in the S.W. bay.

312 Water is abundant. It is piped to Waing-gori from a spring in the west end sandstone hill, which is said to run all year round. There is also a fresh water bathing pool near the swamp. Rainwater is caught at Dakuiloa, the other village.

13 In addition to the usual lowland and littoral trees, noted "yasi" sandlewood. Land birds numerous, but no water birds seen. No snakes reported. Aquatic insects numerous, and mosquitoes very troublesome.

361 [161] There are two villages, Wainggori (Waigori) and Dakuiloa, both situated on the south side. The former claimed a population of 250 although the 1921 ~~ccccc~~ census gives the figure 138. There were

13 T. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
231 sweet potatoes.
241

[p. 31]

13 9. OLOHUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-frigging reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or mineature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 550 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W.corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with [161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but [368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and [161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qialiqali), the largest

[KAMBARA I.]

361 [161] of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 130 residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the 487 241 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have 396 322 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

●13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 245 484 161 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a population of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts 484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to 241 Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [139] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 481 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 161 245 trees have been felled in places. 484

[p.37]

13 13. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is sub-circular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of coconut palms.

295 161 361 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is a small hut on the N. beach.

[p. 38]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 489 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting. 295 224

[p. 40]

● 13 15. LAKEMBA is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 30 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in [312] every valley, and also a convenient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of coconut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

[p. 42]

13 16. MBUKATATANOA (OR ARGO) REEF, lying to the east and north-east of Lakemba, contains two small, uninhabited coral islets, near its north end.

Vanua Masi, the larger, is not as large as given in the U.S.Pilot Book (Vol. 166, p.377), being only about 400 by 100 yards, and probably less than 80 feet high. Anchorage is good off the north side of the island. Landing is easy on a sand beach on the north side, behind which is a small clump of coconut palms, bananas, papayas, and a few species of widespread littoral trees,-- white with bird guano and stunted by wind and salt spray. The rest of the island is very rough limestone with a few shrubs, herbs and vines. Numerous outlying rocks on the platform-like reef, especially off the east end. The above dimentions include the fringing reef platform.

Insects abundant as to numbers, but few in species. Landshells under drift wood and coconut husks. Hermit crabs, lizards and water snakes present.

Bacon island, about 2 miles east, is 80 or 90 yards long (N.& S.), and less than 40 or 50 yards wide, tapering at both ends. It also is composed of jagged limestone, rising to a height of 45 to 50 feet. Small pockets of dirt on its steep sides, richly impregnated with bird guano, give growth to such herbs as Sesuvium, Portulaca, stunted bunch grass, and a small shrub.

Water snakes and lizards abundant in crevaces. Only half a dozen species of insects present, but abundant.

Both these islands are used as a nesting place by sea birds.

[p.45]

13 17. REID REEF, 4 1/2 miles north of Mbukatatanoa (or Argo) Reef, encloses a lagoon, Reid Haven, containing three coral rocks or small islets, which are nearly bare of vegetation, and are the resort of numerous sea birds.

Latei Viti, the largest of the three, is triangular in shape, about 50 yards on a side, and 60 feet high, of rough coral limestone. Its sides are so covered with bird guano as to appear whitewashed. Small terraces on the north and east have pockets of dirt supporting a small growth of such herbs as Portulaca and Boerhaavia. Lizards and water snakes numerous. About half a dozen species of insects. The south side rises in a steep cliff, at the foot of which are a number of detached and semi-detached rocks.

Latei Tonga lies about three miles to the S.S.E.. It is kidney-shaped, about 60 yards long by 30 wide, and attains a rugged height of perhaps 50 feet in a steep hill on the south. It is similar to Latei Viti in its white jagged cliffs. The north end is lower, with small patches of Portulaca, Sesuvium, Boerhaavia and a mat grass, rising in terraces toward the south. These terraces provide a nesting place for boobies and terns. There are also lizards, water snakes and red-legged hermit crabs. Insects, more numerous than on Latei Viti, include ants, dermestid beetle and small black beetle under dead birds; black agromyzid fly, greenish cranefly, and fuscous leaf-hoppers on the plants; 2 species of small weevils, a mite, and more ants among roots; some small moths and the booby hippoboscid fly.

Booby Rock is a small dark colored coral rock ten feet high, about a mile and a half south-west of Latei Viti. It is bare, even of birds.

[p. 47]

●13 18. YAROUA is a small sand island, nine miles east of the south point of Tuvutha' I. and 20 miles W.N.W. of Reid Reef. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, varying from 200 to 400 yards wide. The island is flat, smoothly oval in outline, about 500 yards long by 300 to 400 yards wide, and 70 feet to the top of the coconut palms, which thickly cover its surface. This vegetated portion is surrounded by a broad steeply sloping sand beach.

Landing would be possible at high tide off the N.W. point, but as wind and tide were unfavorable we did not stop.

[361] On the N.W. point are a few huts, which were occupied at the time of our visit. The coconut grove, which is similar to that on Wailangilala, should produce some little copra. There were no canoes on the beach.

The two reefs, Thakau Nokeva and Thakau Lasemarawa lie respectively two miles to the east and three miles south. The latter contains rocks rising to a height of three feet.

[p.49]

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 51', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner's house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in ~~[illegible]~~ producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 20. VEKAI is a small coral islet, 30 feet high and about 800 yards long, situated on the east inner edge of a circular reef, six miles W1 by S. from Katafanga. The lagoon is about 2 miles across with a boat entrance on the N.W. side (2 fathoms). The islet is wedge-shaped, with small sand beaches in the S.E. bay. The west side rises perpendicularly from the water, but the east slope is gradual, with small pockets running back from the sandy coves. These are filled with stunted trees (Tournefortia, Hernandia peltata, and Ficus), and herbs, vines and a shrub festoon the rough ridges. A small patch of burr grass has somehow been introduced. There are four small detached rocks situated nearby on the reef; one on the west, one off the south point, and two off a projecting S.E. point.

[312] No fresh water. Saw neither lizards or snakes, although both may occur. The white and brown Pierid butterfly is present and several other interesting species of insects.

This islet is especially interesting because it forms a transition between the nearly bare rocks such as Latei Viti and Bacon I. and the small islets, like Vanua Masi, on which trees have become well established, dirt and sand accumulated and coconut palms taken root.

[p.52]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W.of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W.of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~ab~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 [366] [177] [161] There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117 people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried 487 13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than 181 245 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 361 712 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.

[p.56]

●13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 262 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite 312 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 13 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 134 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

●13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thō-thō-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, [312] flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. 361 There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [161] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [622] [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Kambula, at the S.W. 119 [743] [759]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.

245 [248] [249] 361 491

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

423 464 162 13

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

[MANGO I.]

233 [136] of about 700 head of cattle are pastured on the grasslands. A herd The hills are roamed by flocks of turkeys.

13 The east bay is of remarkable formation. It is about half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide, nearly entirely surrounded by a ridge of limestone, and with an entrance scarcely 100 yards wide thru which the flood tide attains a velocity of 7 knots. The tide inside is about half an hour later than outside.

There is a small islet near the outer edge of the reef on the S.W.

[p.64]

13 26. KANATHEA is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with [245] coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

13 THE EXPLORING ISLES include a somewhat scattered group of islands: Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Avea, Sovu, Malata, Susui, Munia, Thibombia-i-Lau, and small islets, all lying within a single barrier reef, 77 miles in circumference. The greatest length (E.& W.) of the enclosed lagoon is 23 miles and its width (N.& S.) is 21 miles. There are five passages thru the reef: two on the west, Andivatha and Ngillangilla, opposite those two islets; a series, the Sovu Passages, on the north, near the Sovu Islets; the American Passage on the east; and the Tongan Passage on the S.E., between Munia and Thikombia-i-Lau.

The reef is one of the few barrier reefs in Fiji having a sloping outer edge to windward. On this a vessel might anchor. There is deep water within, with comparatively few reefs and coral heads. Depths of up to 100 fathoms have been sounded on the east, but much of the central portion is from 30 to 50 fathoms.

Ngillangilla, Vanua Mbalavu, Malata, and Susui form a long narrow curve, shaped like a figure "2". The N.W. end is of limestone, the central portion volcanic, and the S.E. is mixed volcanic and limestone material. Ngillangilla and the other small islets close in will be included with Vanua Mbalavu.

103 The group received its name from the United States Exploring Expedition, under Wilkes, in 1840.

[p. 67]

● 13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [349] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] ~~which~~ This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andawathi I. (250') and Yamuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

●13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced.

[245] To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

13 487 764 172 Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

[p. 76]

●13 33. The SOVU ISLANDS, three small uninhabited limestone islets, are situated on the north side of the lagoon, 4 miles E. by N. from Avea, and 6 miles N.by W. of Thikombia-i-Lau.

The larger ~~isl~~ islet, on the west, is about 3/8 mile long by 100 to 200 yards wide, with a height of 230 feet. It is composed of very rough upraised coral limestone, rising abruptly from an undercut ledge on all sides, and is similar to the Yangasa islets. It is densely covered with lowland forest, herbs and vines.

The middle islet is subcircular, with gentle slopes, about 200 yards in diameter and about 60 feet high. There is a small sand beach on the N.W. and another on the S.E. The slopes are wooded and there are a few coconut palms. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, but is less rough than the larger islet.

The small, eastern islet is elliptical in outline, about 125 yards long, 40 to 50 yards wide, and 60 to 75 feet high. Its rough coral sides rise abruptly from the water, and its top is covered with vines, scrub, and a grove of native fan palms. There are also a few of these palms on the largest islet.

The usual lizards, water snakes and land crabs, including the large red-brown coconut crab were present. No fresh water was seen on any of the ~~isl~~ islets. [312]

Anchorage is good on the lee side of the islets. Landing is possible on all three, but easy only on the middle islet.

[p.77]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly rough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [312] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. [361] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a few small trees on the summit. A line of reef runs out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

114 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.74]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and coconut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 361 241 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive coconut grove. Some [312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

114 An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

13 36. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 361 245 312 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~high~~ might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island. 487 161 464 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E. 13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p 83]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E. & W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 39. BUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~somewhat~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the ruins of a fortified village are located. [172] [712]

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial homestead is located on the west side. Copra is produced. 423 361 245

Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon. 13 502

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 464 161 312 241

[p.88]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

●131 1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

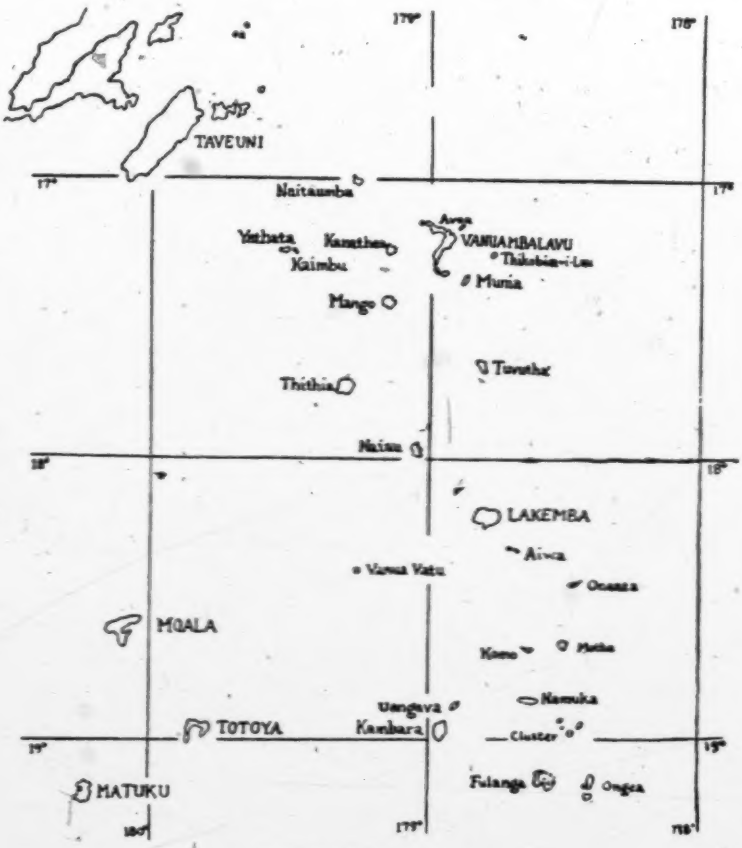

FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAKEMBA

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND VILLAGES

Lakemba is the chief island of the Lau Archipelago south of Naiau. (See fig. 2.) Its high chief bears the titles of Roko Sau and Tui Naiau (Lord of Naiau). The island is typical of those in the dry zone of Fiji. Except for one or two summits, the hills are without forests. Their red slopes are bare or covered with bracken, with here and there a *Casuarina* or screw pine (*Pandanus*). The good soil is in pockets near the coast, where tall trees grow, if allowed, but as most of the good land is period- 131 137

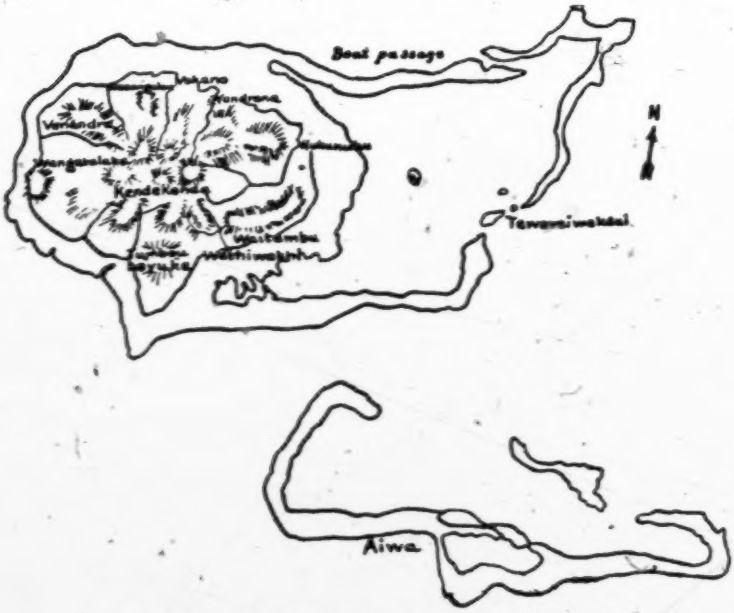

FIGURE 2.—Map of Lakemba (based on Admiralty chart).

ically fired before planting, the ground is mostly covered with reeds, long and strong, and useful for making walls and fences. There is level land only round the coast, a belt that varies in width and extends into the hills as flats suitable for irrigation. The largest of these is the fertile valley of the Nakula stream, which penetrates to the foot of Ulu i Kendekende, the highest hill. 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

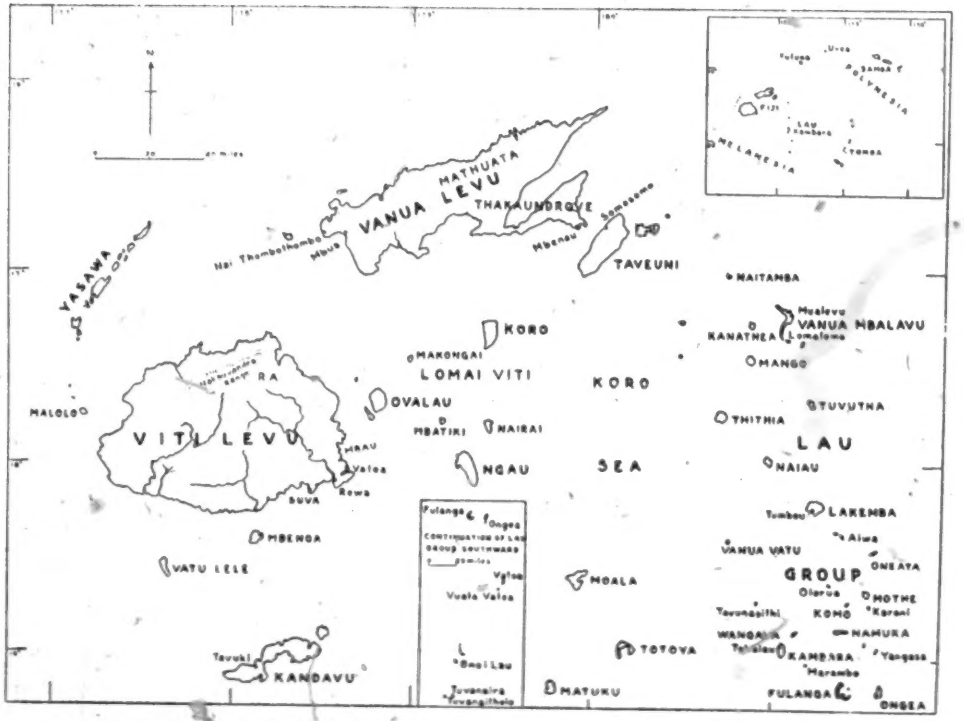

FIGURE 1.—Map of the Fiji Islands, with insert at upper right showing the location of the Lau islands in the south Pacific, on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p.12. -Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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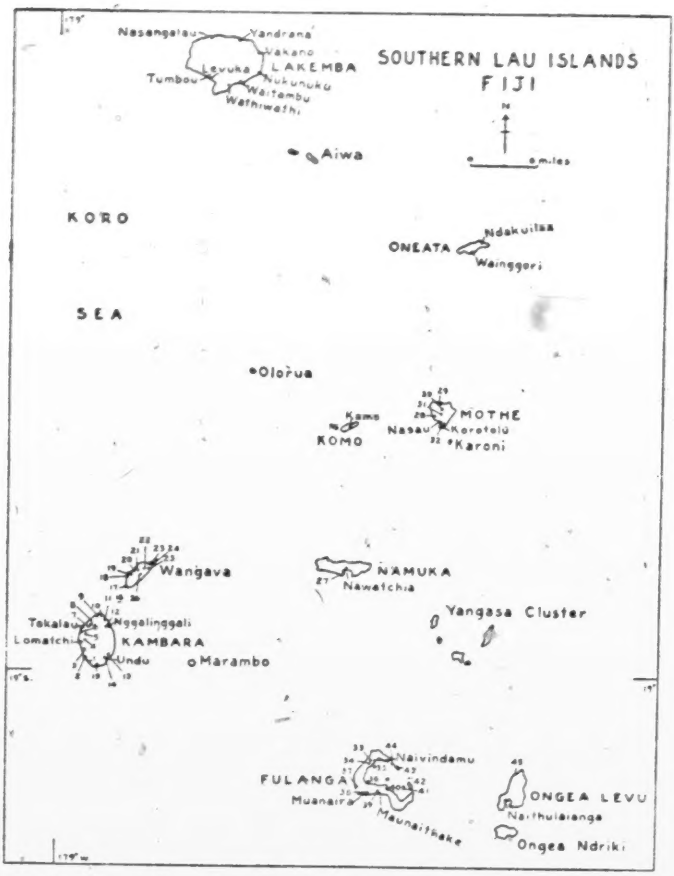


FIGURE 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevou and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Matatundu
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawarowaro
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakofu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the
[797] trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji
[648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally
177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a
439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

[p. vi is blank]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Fiji Islands

[P. 7 AVI]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today, their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

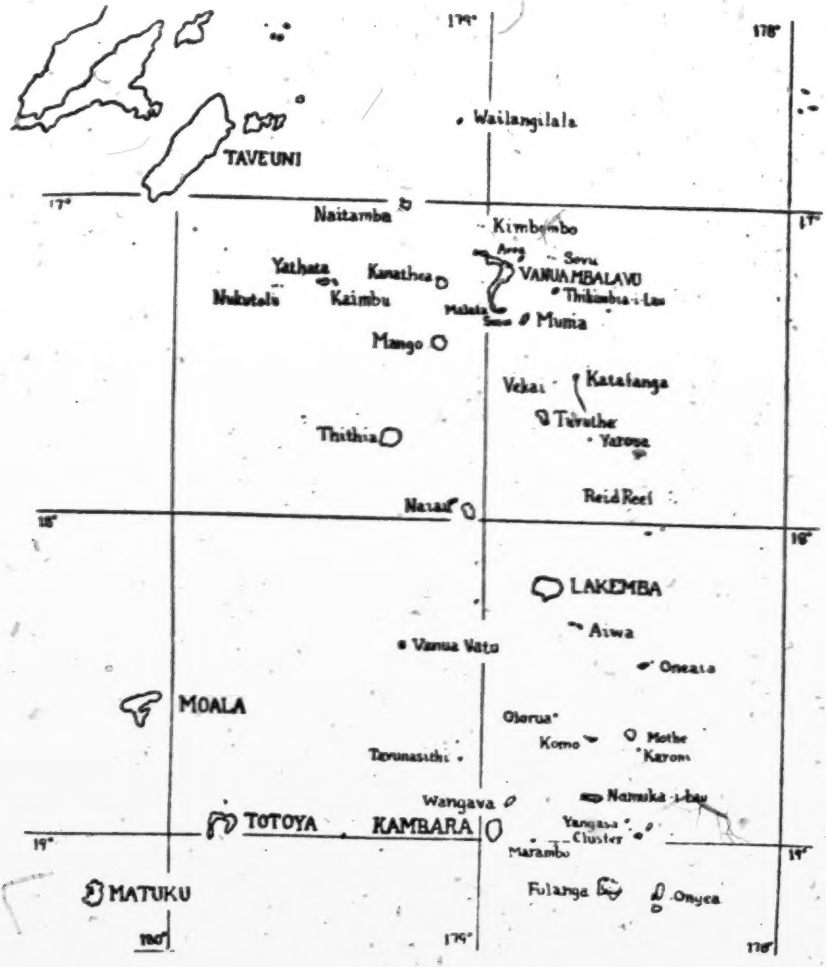
[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131

20

FIJIAN FRONTIER



SOUTHERN LAU ISLANDS, FIJI

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

American Anthropologist
NEW SERIES

VOL. 40 APRIL–JUNE, 1938 No. 2

THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

131 THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The 134 southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of ex- 137 change. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil 539 grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

648 Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

114 [1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[84 - 151 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Reprinted from AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Vol. 51, No. 2
April-June, 1949

THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
[134 241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp. 1-252 not processed]

9: Bryan

Lau OQ6

131, 133, 136, 137

/Information in text on the location, topography, geology, fauna and flora of each of the forty islands in the Lau group will be found in category 13./

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands
[131] or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40'
to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes
[648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the
144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of
the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of
231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on
241 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and
262 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The
245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity
from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are
322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-góna) bowls, combs,
clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the
285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper
287 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi,
824 the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone,
volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the
islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this
material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified
at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is
upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp
ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces.
The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks;
all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

ONGEA ISLANDS

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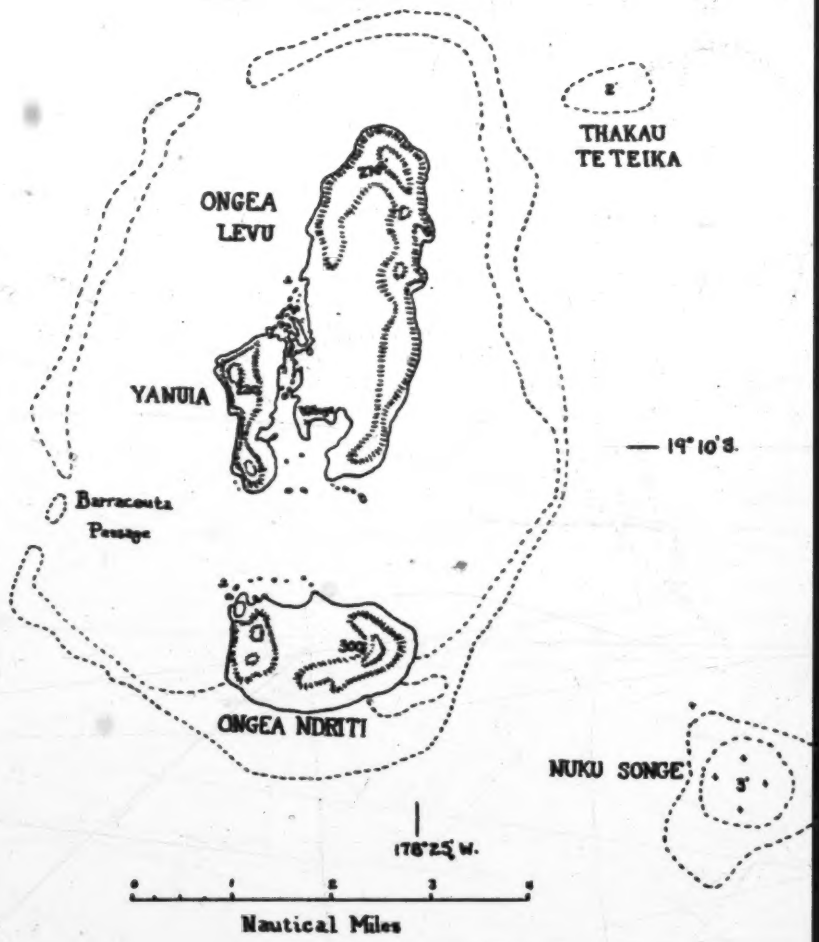

[p. 10]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

FULANGA I.

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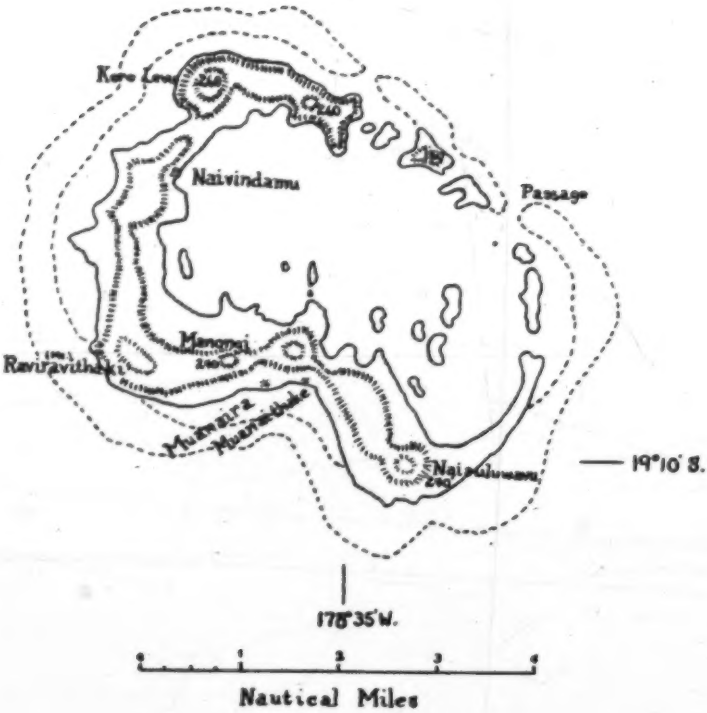

[p. 14]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAIAMBO I.

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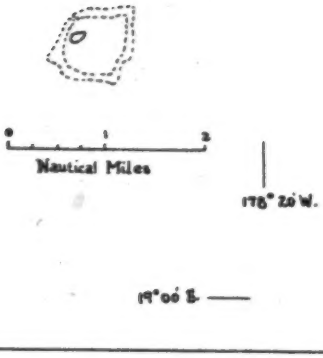
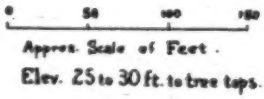
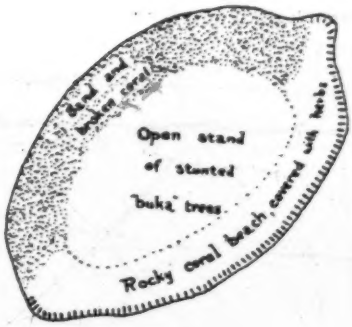




Elev. 25 to 30 ft. to tree tops.



[p.17]

YANGASA CLUSTER.

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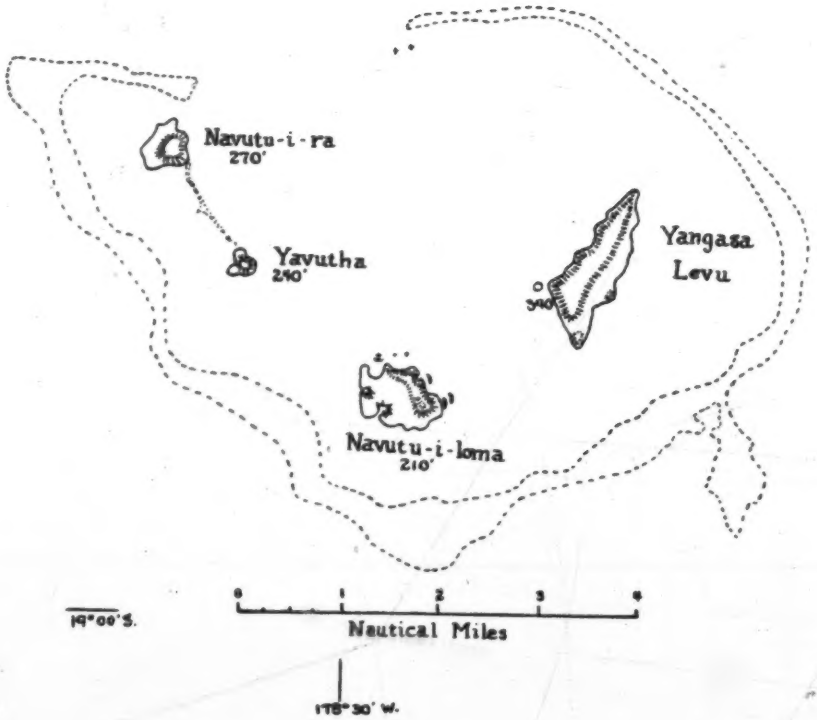

[p. 19]

NAMUKA-I-LAU

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●131
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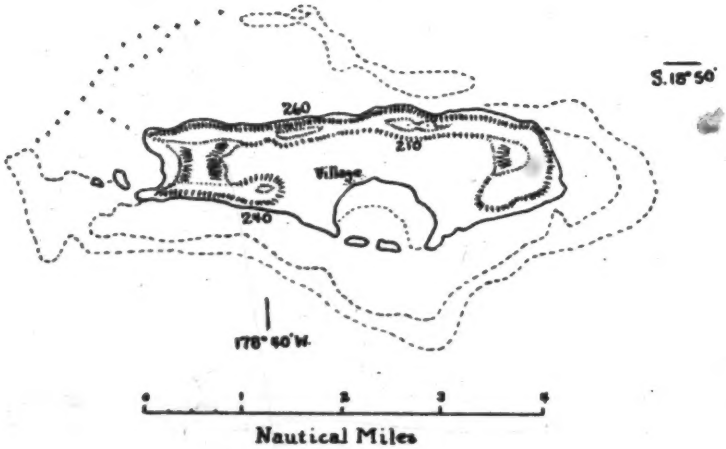

[p. 22]

MOTHE & KARONI

102
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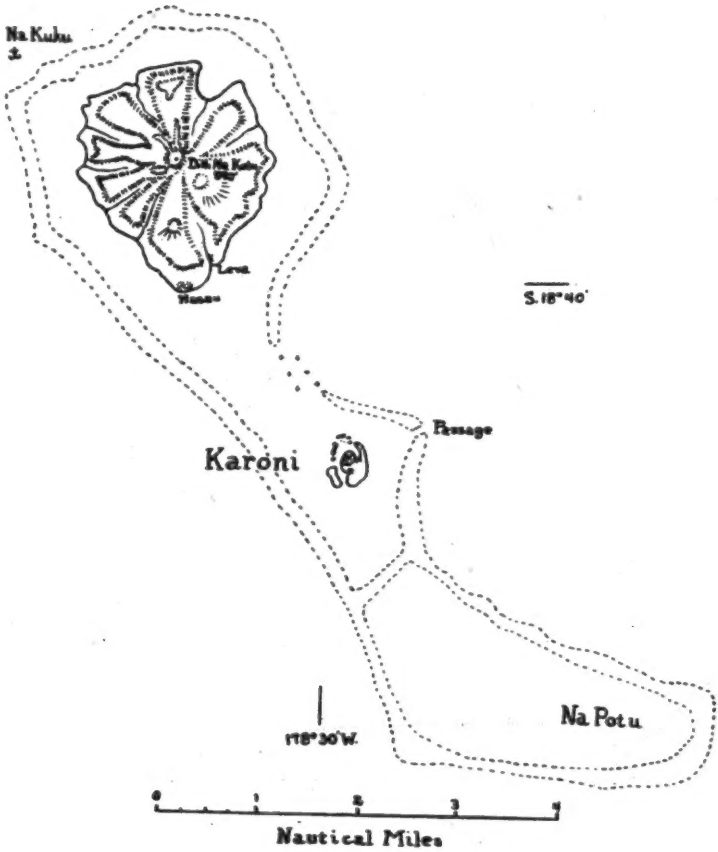
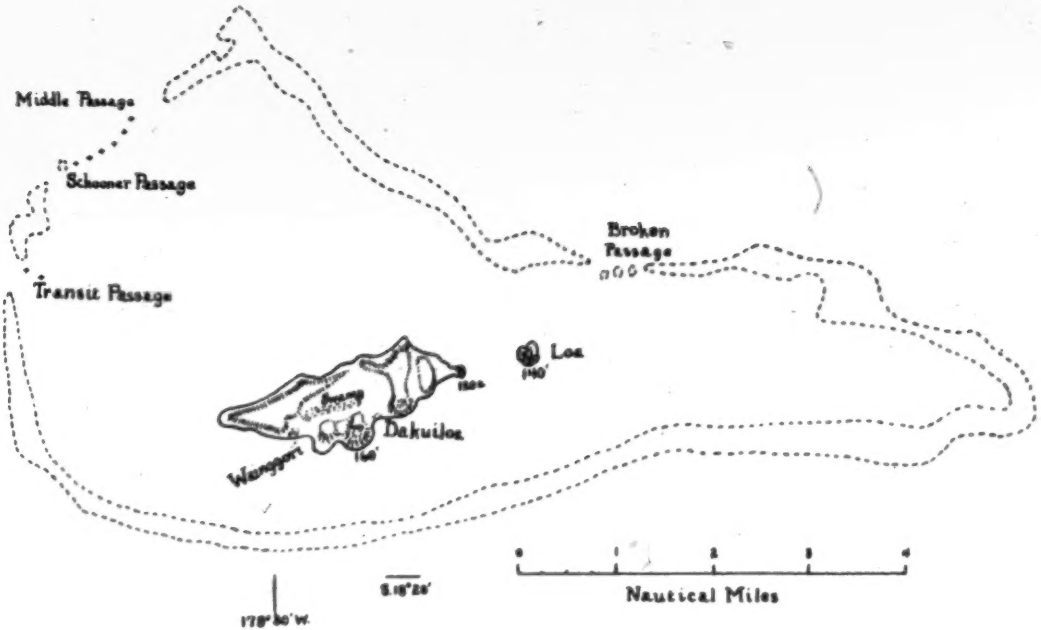


[p.24]

OUTATA I.



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[p.27]

OLORUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

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131
133
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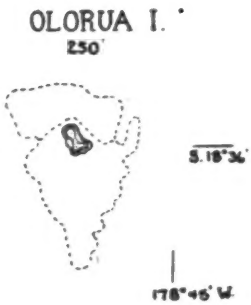

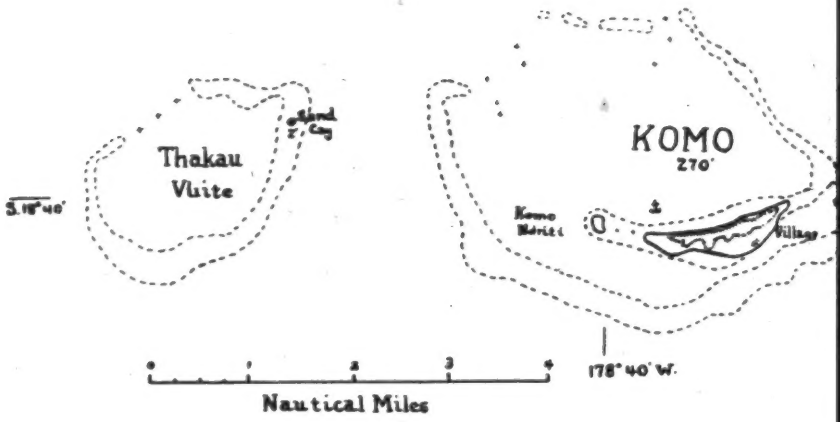

[p.30]

KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
nand TUVUNASITHI.

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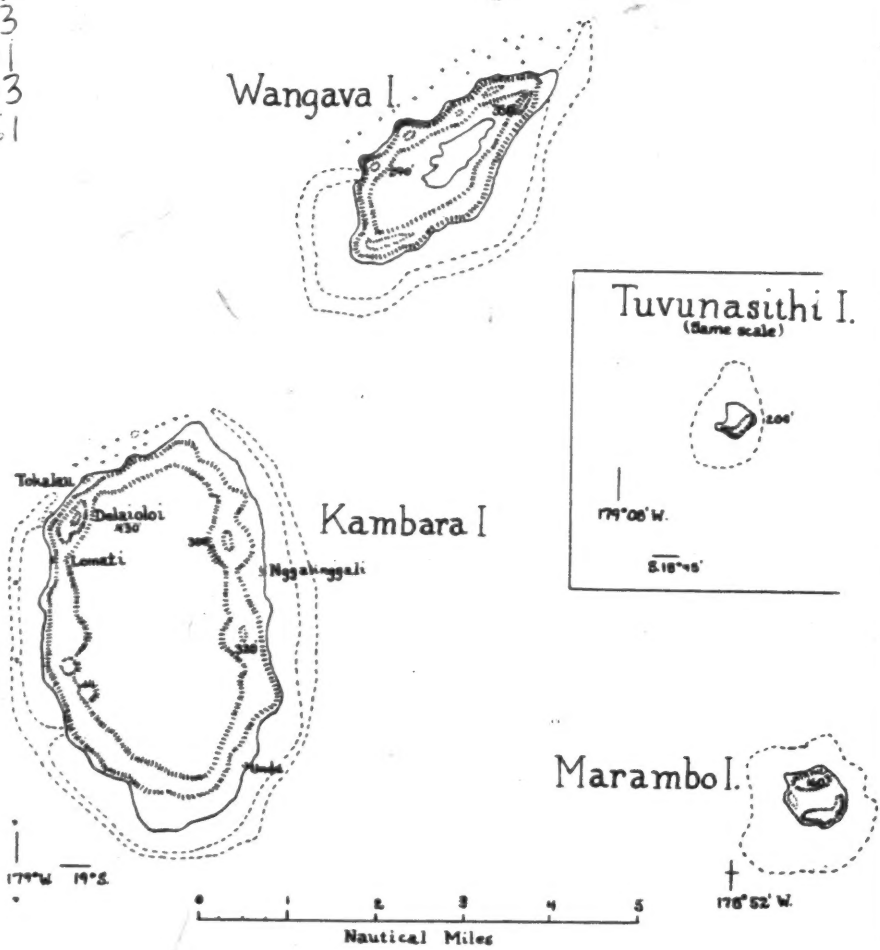

[p. 33]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

AIWA ISLANDS

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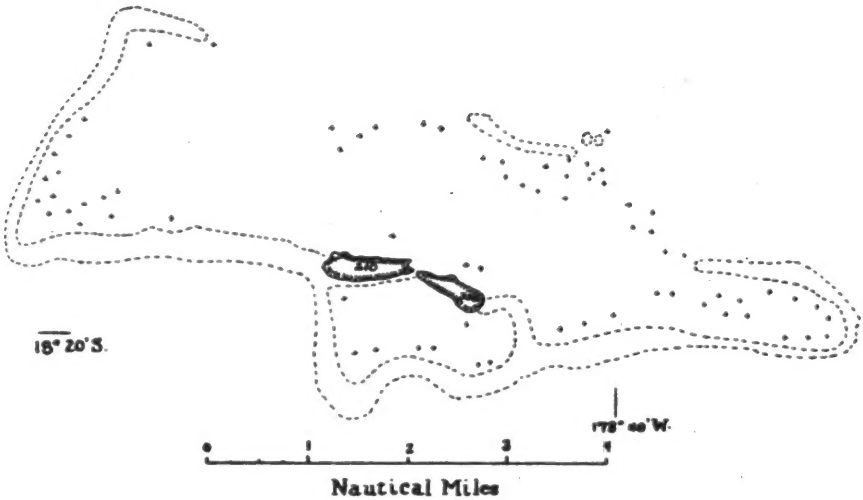
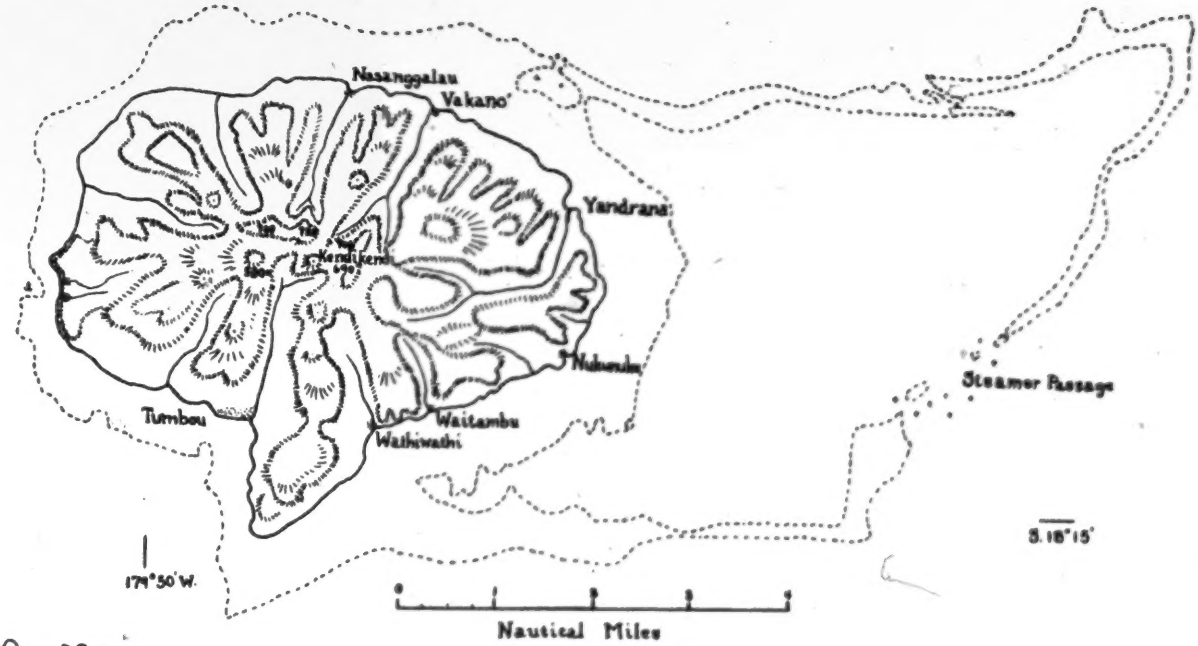


[p. 39]

LAKEMBA I.



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[p.41]

Northern Portion of
MBUKATATANOA (or Argo) REEF
and details of VANUA MASI & BACON I.

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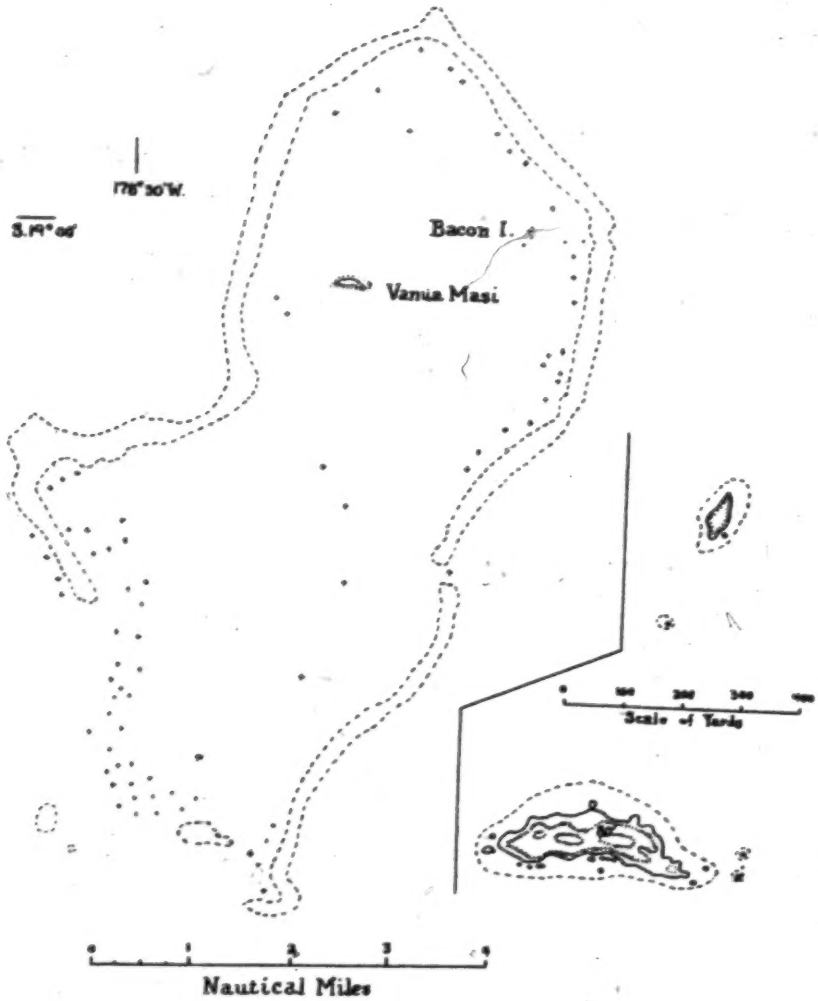

[p44]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

REID HEKF
Details of
Latei Viti & Latei Tonga.

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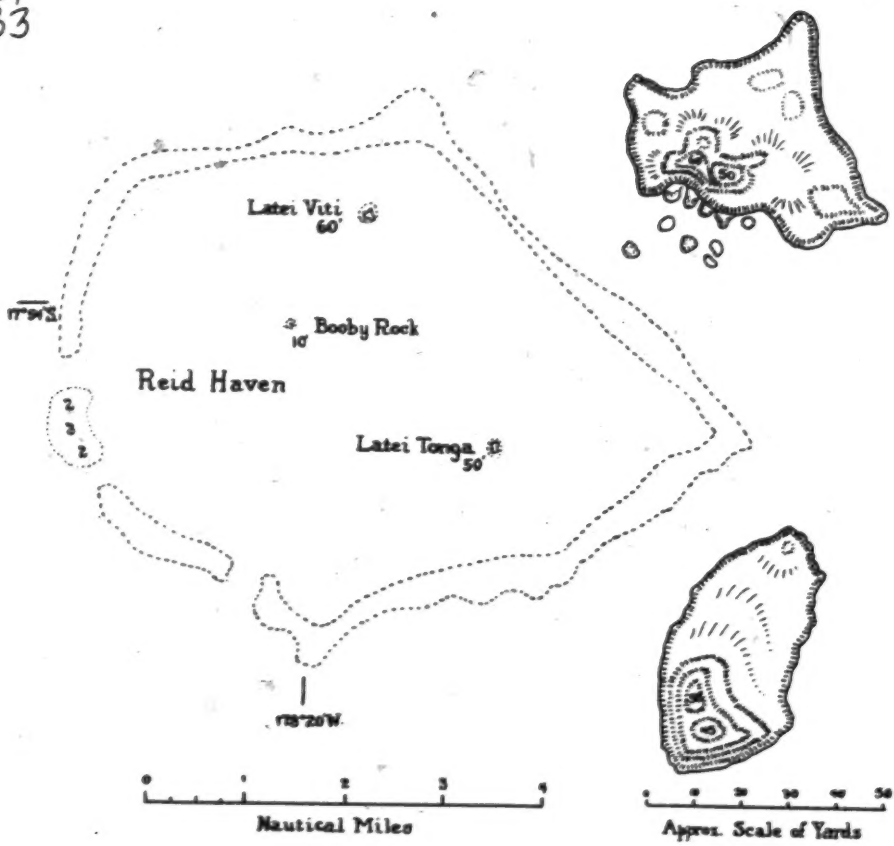

[p. 46]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

YAROUA I. and Adjacent Reefs.

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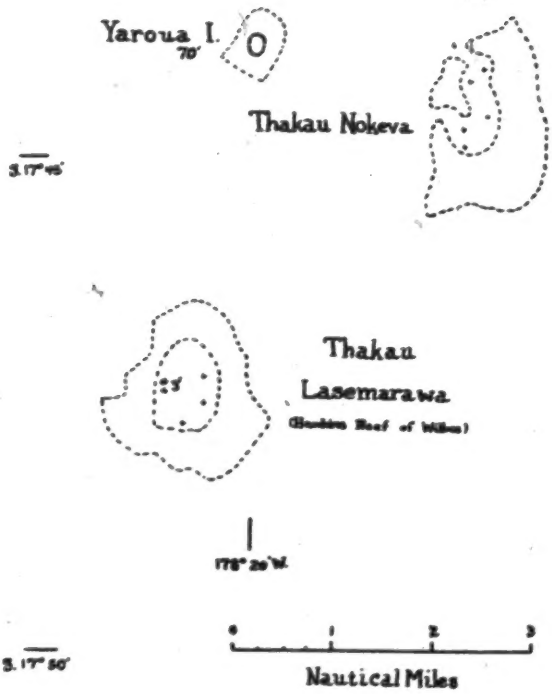

[p. 48]

KATAFANGA, VEKAI
Detail of Vekai.

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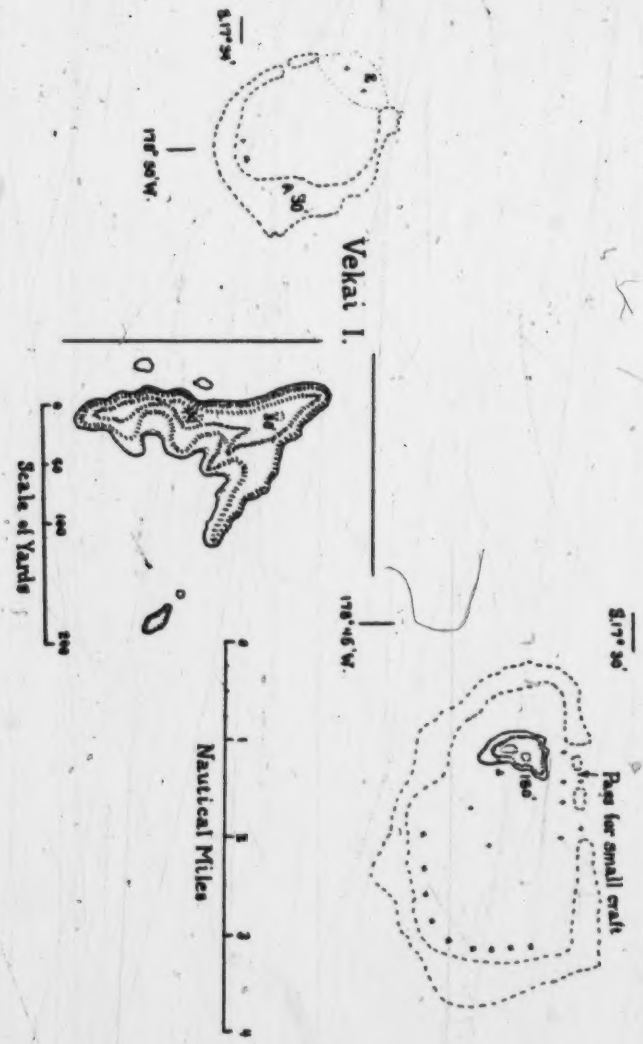

[p.50]

TUVUTHA' I.

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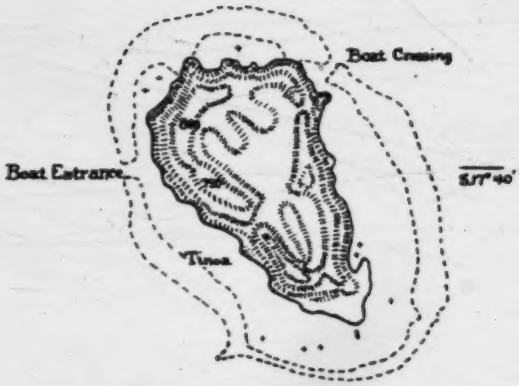
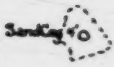
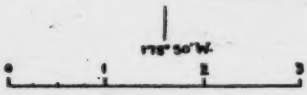


Tavunukui Wai
(Quinin Reef of Wilkes)



Tavunukui Vanua
(Smith Reef of Wilkes)



[p.53]

NAIAU I.

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[p.55]

VANUA VATU.

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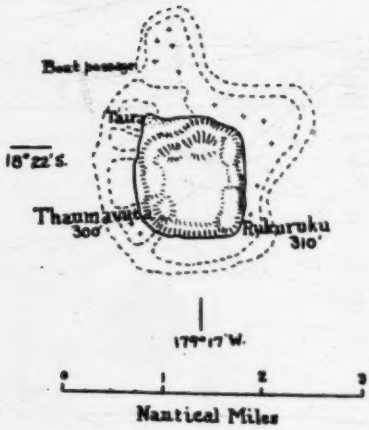

[p.57]

THITHIA I.

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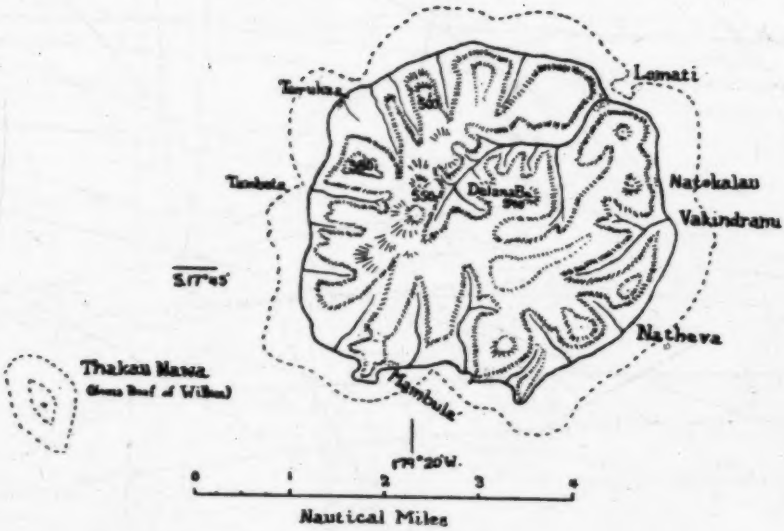

[p. 59]

MANGO I.

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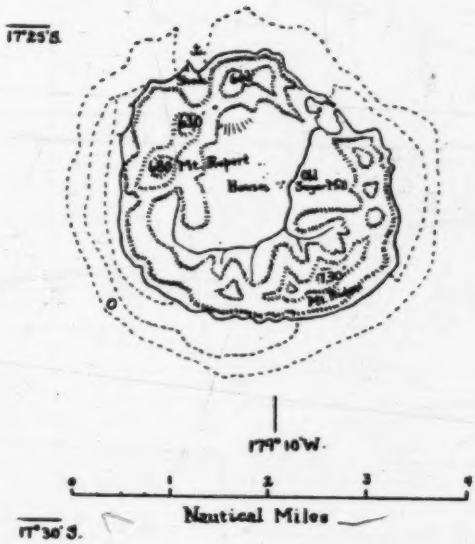

[p. 62]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KANATHEA I.

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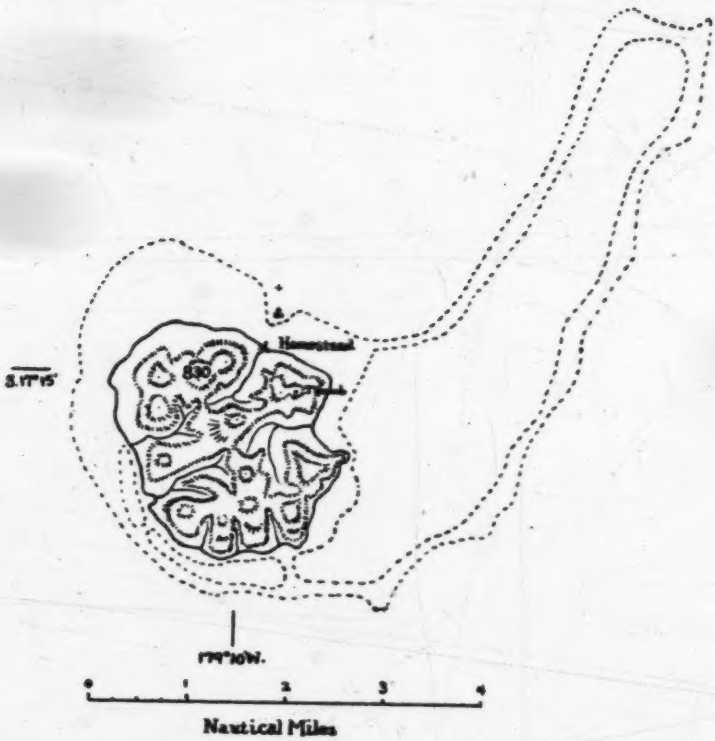

[p.65]

VANUA MBALAVU and nearby islands.

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[p.72]

SOVU ISLETS

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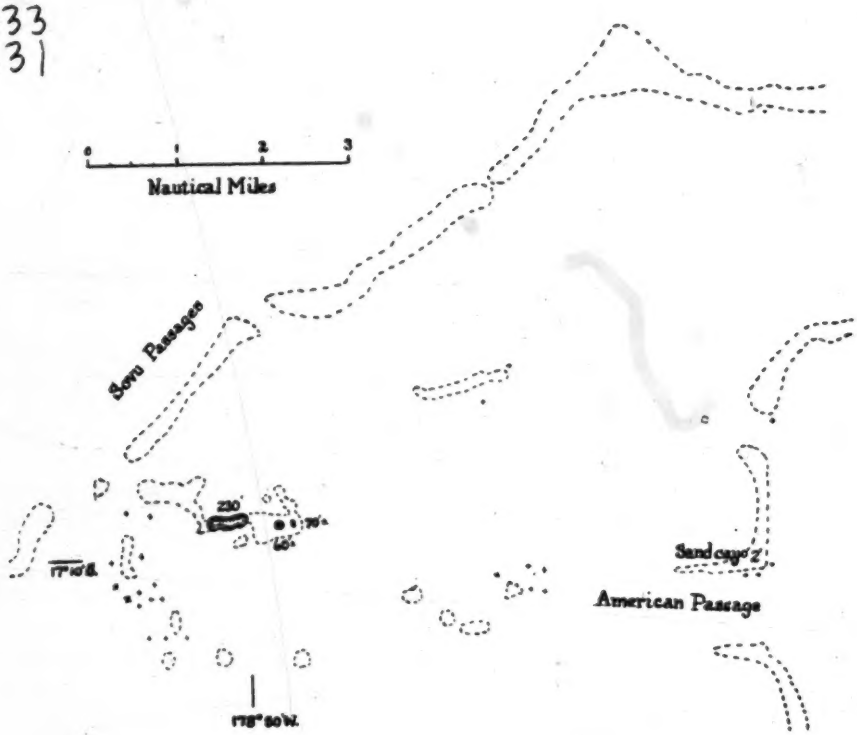

[p. 73]

MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

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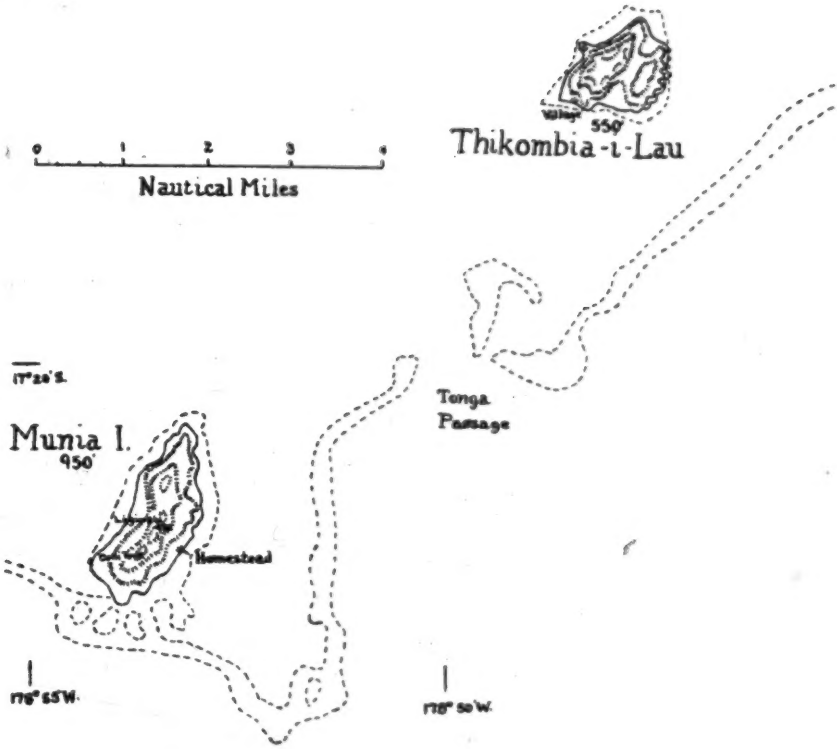

[p. 74]

KIMBOMBO ISLETS and detail of middle islet.

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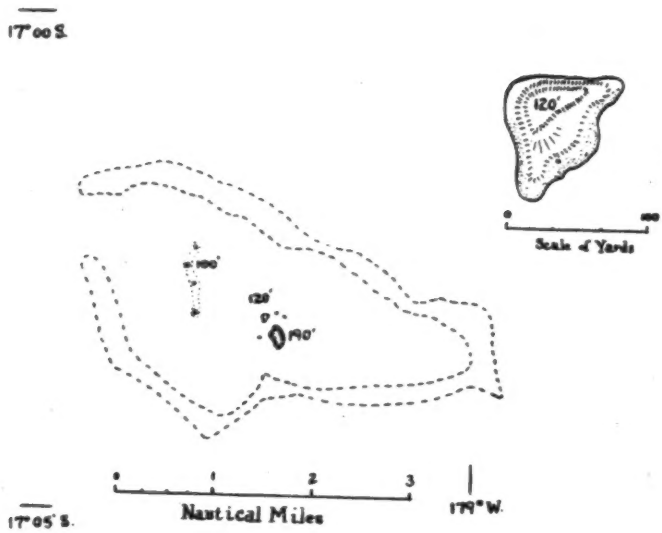

[p. 78]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

WAILANGILALA I.

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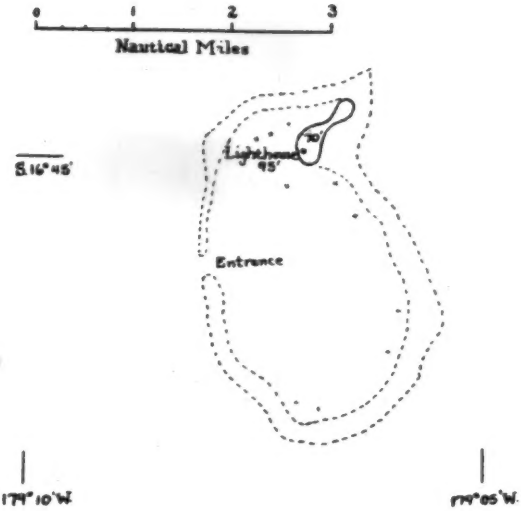

[p.80]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAITAUMBA I.

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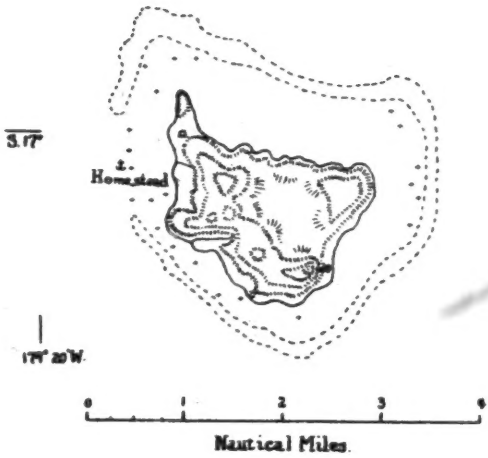
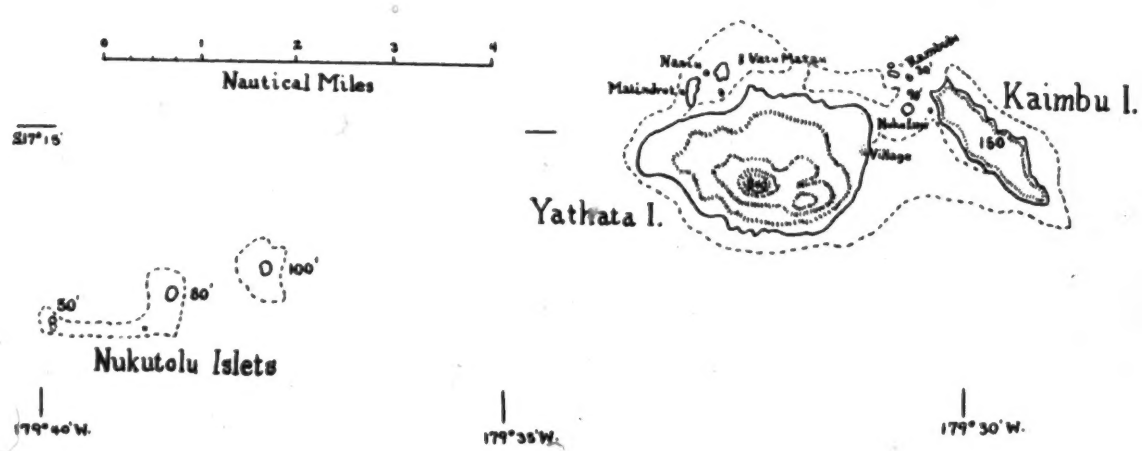


[p.82]

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

VATU VARA I.

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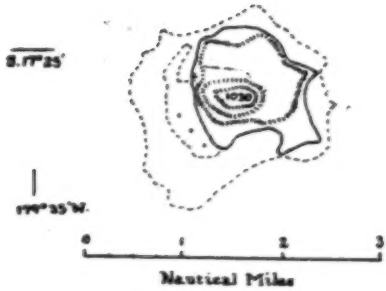

[p. 87]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

INTRODUCTION.

THE three better-known groups of the Pacific, namely, the Crown Colony of Fiji, the recently captured German Colony of Samoa, and the last remaining independent Pacific kingdom of Tonga, form roughly the three points of an equilateral triangle, and the Lau Islands lie about midway between Fiji and Tonga. 131

These Lau Islands are situated some two hundred miles to the east of Fiji, and act as a barrier against the heavy storms that sweep the Pacific in those months of the year when "the trades" are at their strongest. And as 174 might be expected from their geographical position 797 it is upon these islands that straying vessels and storm-tossed wrecks (not only the big ships of the white man for the last hundred and fifty years, from buccaneers to whalers, and from whalers to modern "tramps," but also from earliest times the fragile canoes of the wayfaring Polynesian) have from time immemorial been flung.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

• 131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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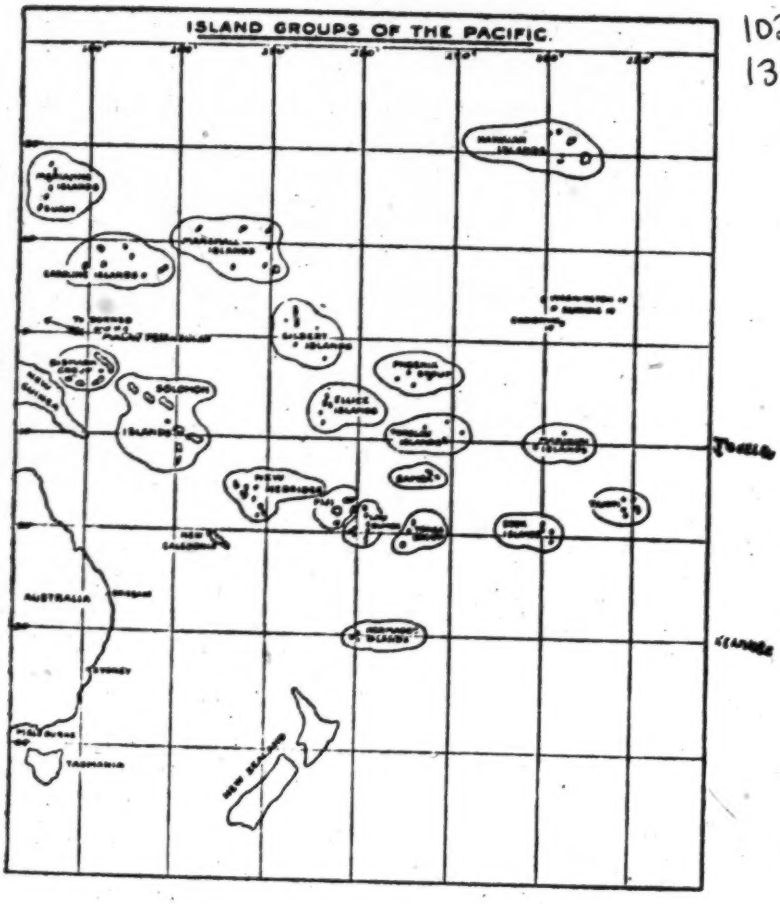

[p. 17]

B

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an impor-
262 tant part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

132 Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be col-
[312] lected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

361 The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

621 Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3
133 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and
[121] sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 514 [343] In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach, in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

●132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

AVERAGE RAINFALL IN LAU.

●132

Month	MUNIA (H.H.Steinmetz) Average of 29 years to 1924	MUNIA (H.H.Steinmetz) Average of 28 years to 1923	NAMBAVATU Average of 5 years to 1924	NAMBAVATU Average of 4 years to 1923
January	7.64	7.86	7.36	8.29
February	7.67	7.77	7.79	7.58
March	9.05	8.93	9.41	9.61
April	8.46	8.59	13.08	15.50
May	5.31	5.17	5.72	5.52
June	4.36	4.35	2.67	2.63
July	2.80	2.69	-	2.70
August	3.91	3.82	5.06	2.01
September	3.51	3.53	4.91	4.46
October	-	4.94	-	4.01
November	-	5.58	-	4.38
December	-	7.11	-	11.08
Annual Average	-	70.33		77.28

1924 was an unusual year and upset the previous general average.

Figures obtained in October 1924.

[p.8]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAKEMBA

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND VILLAGES

Lakemba is the chief island of the Lau Archipelago south of Naiau. (See fig. 2.) Its high chief bears the titles of Roko Sau and Tui Naiau (Lord of Naiau). The island is typical of those in the dry zone of Fiji. Except for one or two summits, the hills are without forests. Their red slopes are bare or covered with bracken, with here and there a *Casuarina* or screw pine (*Pandanus*). The good soil is in pockets near the coast, where tall trees grow, if allowed, but as most of the good land is period- 131 137

FIGURE 2.—Map of Lakemba (based on Admiralty chart).

ically fired before planting, the ground is mostly covered with reeds, long and strong, and useful for making walls and fences. There is level land only round the coast, a belt that varies in width and extends into the hills as flats suitable for irrigation. The largest of these is the fertile valley of the Nakula stream, which penetrates to the foot of Ulu i Kendekende, the highest hill. 133

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

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[161]

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country." Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

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Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p. 12. - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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[137] sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133 592

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair.
133 Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several
[312] houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabi-
133 tants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau,
712 before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south
133 of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara con-
[731 cerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

[712] Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-
● 133 shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the
172 natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thau-
kenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kam-
621 bara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on
[136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before
[173] the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 621 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity. 621 133 172

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village. 621 133 [439]

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth. [12]

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai. 621 133

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village. [221]

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village. [712]

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 ●133 [221]

both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (*27*, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

[317]

Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form
[134 small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geolog-
[438] ical types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokete*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

9: Bryan

Lau OQ6

131, 133, 136, 137

/Information in text on the location, topography, geology, fauna and flora of each of the forty islands in the Lau group will be found in category 13./

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

133 islets and rocks a characteristic "mushroom" shape. The surface,
[137] even on the small low islands,[2] is densely covered with forest, and is comparatively moist. The indentations are choked with mangrove swamps. The highland is marginal with the center a flat or basin.

133 137 In contrast to this, the islands of volcanic material are smoother with rounded ridges and peaks. The beaches are predominately sandy with small areas of dark basalt at the points. The slopes above the everpresent fringe of cocomut palms and cosmopolitan littoral trees are generally grassy with low scrub and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees. Although the slopes are dry there is usually a small stream in each valley. The highest elevation is in general toward the center. This summit may bear a tuft of trees, if of sufficient elevation (and also when not cleared off by the natives), but these are simply lowland species which have crept up the valleys.

133 Most of the larger islands, however, are a mixture of limestone and volcanic material. This typically takes the form of a ring of limestone hills enclosing a basin of volcanic material. Vanua Mbalavu is made up of a chain of volcanic hills tapering off into limestone at both ends. On some of the islands, such as Katafanga, the transition between the two is as sharp as if cut by a knife.

Plant Life.

137 The vegetation depends primarily on the geological formation. All the limestone islands and the limestone portions of the mixed islands support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and ~~shrub~~ tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of Piper (wangawa), bird's eye pepper (rokete), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxurience alone depends upon the size ~~of the~~ and elevation of the island. There is an interesting rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island, with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the

[2] [i.e. limestone islands--analyst]

136 A careful record of the bird life on each of the islands was kept by Mr. Jose' G. Correia, the assistant Ornathologist. According to his notes the principal birds throughout the Lau Group are as follows:

Land Birds		Water Birds
Large Hawk		Herons, blue and white.
Small Hawk		Heron, small gray.
Pigeon, common Suva		Tern, white
Pigeon, common Samoan		Tern, sooty
Pigeon, black		Plover, Golden
Doves, common		Tatler
Dove, yellow		Lesser Frigate
Dove, ground		Platus Booby
Gallinule		Booby, red-footed
Parraquit		Turnstone, ruddy
Brown-eye		Tropic-bird, yellow bill
Shrike		
Warbler		
Broadbill		
Honey-eater	Barn owl	
Swallow	Duck (Teal)	
Swift	Wild chicken.	
Fantail, gray		
Fantail, brown		
Kingfisher		
Yellow-eye		
Yellow-belly		
Flycatcher, sooty		
Red cap		
Rail		
Cuckoo		

●133 Most of the islands are surrounded by a barrier reef, which in many cases extends several miles off shore. The majority of the islands also have fringing reefs. There are also a number of reefs, some of which completely enclose lagoons, containing no elevated land. These supply the marine biologist with a rich collecting ground. But no opportunity was allowed on this hasty land survey to study marine life.

128 In the following summary of the individual islands, the subjects will be discussed in the following order:- 1, location, 2, dimensions, 3, topography and surface, 4, harbors, anchorages and landing places, 5, water, 6, special notes on vegetation and fauna, 7, inhabitants, 8, cultivation and other occupations, 9, historic, 10, prehistoric.

A sketch map, corrected in the field, is furnished of each island.

113

SUMMARY OF W. G. FOYE'S GEOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON LAU.

(Proc.American Acad.Arts & Sciences, 54:1, pp.43-44, 1918.)

● 133

1. The Lau islands are underlain by volcanics. formed during the second period of andesite eruptivity, then maturely eroded, and finally submerged.
2. During long submergence, coralliferous limestones were laid down unconformably on these volcanic rocks.
3. A later uplift elevated the coralliferous limestones above sea-level.
4. During a later basaltic period of volcanic eruptivity, olivine andesites or basalts intruded the elevated limestones.
5. With succeeding erosion a large amount of the elevated limestones disappeared, largely owing to atmospheric solution.
6. Most of the islands show a recent submergence.

According as the various islands have passed through all, or only a part, of these stages, the Lau islands may be classified as follows:-

I. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted and intruded or covered by volcanic rocks of the second period.
   A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesite hills of the first period were covered by limestone.
      1. Islands with limestone partly or wholly eroded from the summits of the andesite. VANUA MBALAVU, SUSUI.
      2. Islands with volcanic rocks of the first period still covered with limestone. KAMBARA.
   B. Islands whose tops were never covered by limestone. KANDAVU.

II. Islands depressed and covered with limestone and later uplifted but not affected by the second period of volcanic eruptivity.
   A. Islands depressed so deeply that the tops of the andesitic hills were covered with limestone.
      1. Islands with limestones eroded partly or wholly from the summits of the andesites. Malatta, Avea, Thikombia-i-lau, Tuvutha'.
      2. Islands with volcanic rocks still covered with limestone. VEKAI, FULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.
   B. Islands whose tops were never covered by limestone. LAKEMBA, ONO-I-LAU.

III. Volcanic islands of the second volcanic period built on platforms composed of coralliferous limestone overlying depressed hills of the first volcanic period. MUNIA, KANATHEA, ONO, MBENGHA.

SIMPLE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LAU ISLANDS VISITED BY FOYE.

1. Islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks:

VANUA MBALAVU	MALATTA	THIKOMBIA-I-LAU
SUSUI	AVEA	TUVUTHA'
LAKEMBA	ONO-I-LAU	KANDAVU [1]
	KAMBARA	

2. Islands composed of limestones alone: VEKAI, FULANGA, ONGEA, WANGAVA, VATOA.

3. Islands composed of volcanic rocks only: MUNIA, KANATHEA. (Ono-i-Kandavu and Mbengha [not in Lau])

[1] [This island is not in Lau--analyst]

[p. 6]

●133

SIMPLE GEOLOGIC CLASSIFICATION OF ALL THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

(As observed by E.H.Bryan,Jr., following the arrangement suggested by W.G.Foye, Proc.Am.Acad.A.&.Sci.54:1,p.44).

1. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF LIMESTONE ALONE:

Ongea	Marambo	Bacon	Kimbombo (1 of 3)
Fulanga /(4)	Wangava	Latei Viti	Kaimba
Yangasa Cluster	Tavunasithi	Latei Tonga	Vatu Vara (?)
Namuka-i-Lau	Aiwa (2)	Vekai	Vatoa (not seen personally)
Karoni	Vanua Masi	Sovu (3)	

2. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF BOTH LIMESTONE AND VOLCANIC ROCK:

Oneata	Thithia	Yathata
Kambara	Vanua Mbalavu	Ono-i-Lau (not seen personally)
Lakemba	Avea	
Katafanga	Malata	
Tuvutha	Susui	
Naisu	Thikombia-i-Lau	
Vanua Vatu	Naitaumba	
Mango		

3. ISLANDS COMPOSED OF VOLCANIC MATERIAL ONLY:

Mothe	Kimbombo (2 of the 3)	
Komo	Olorua	These two are composed of bedded tuff.
Kanathea		
Munia		

4. FLAT SAND ISLANDS (No elevated limestone or volcanic material):

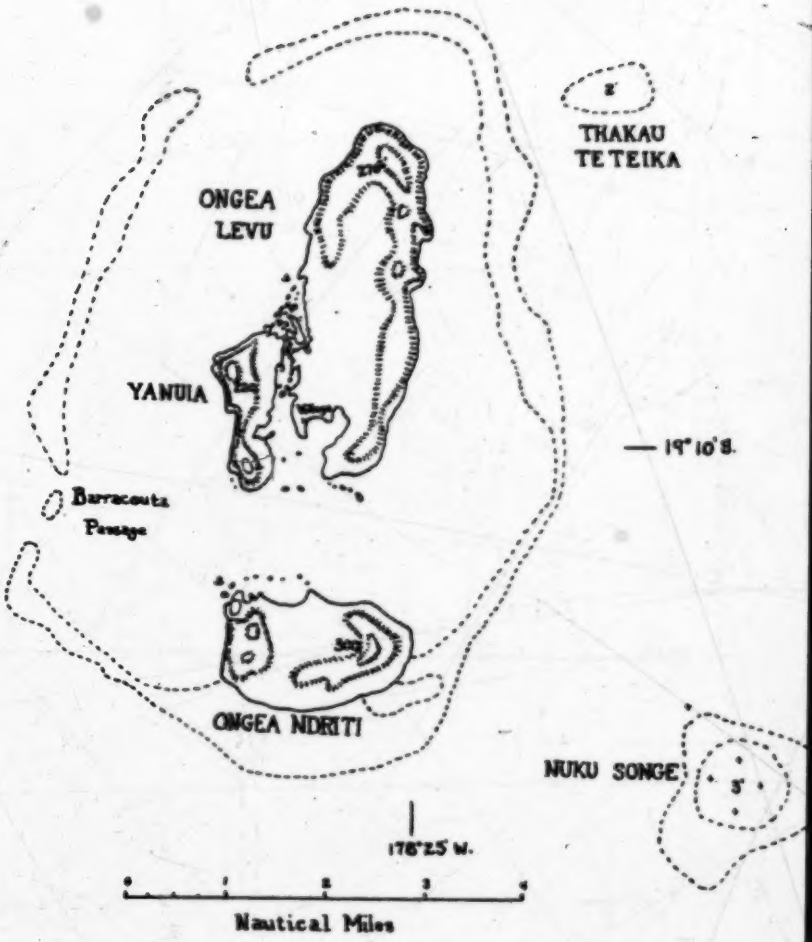
Naiambo
Yarona
Wailangilala
Nukutolu (3)

(The number of islands making up a cluster or group is indicated by the number in parenthesis).

[p.7]

ONGEA ISLANDS

102
133
361
131
103



[p. 10]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

Unmapped Channel Between

Ongea Levu & Yanuia.

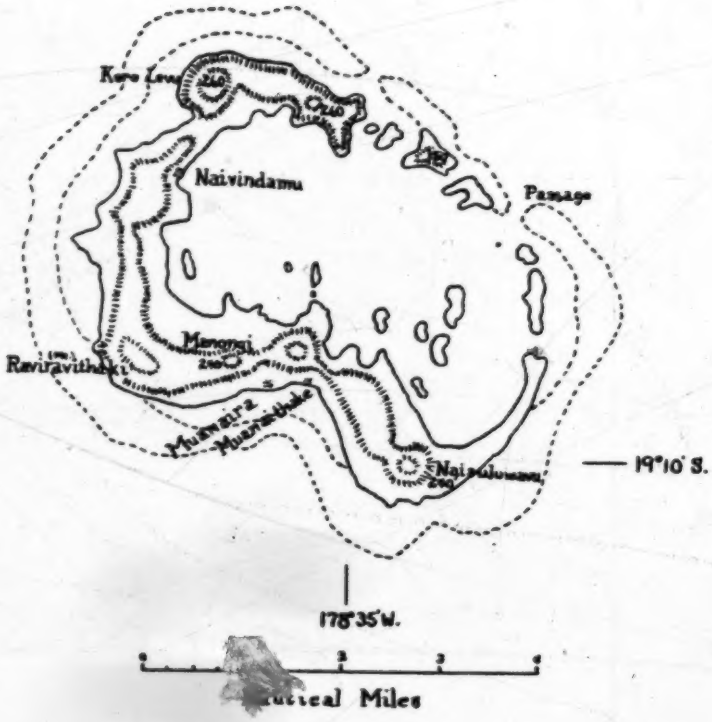
102
●133
361

[p. 11]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

FULANGA I.

102
131
●133
103
361



[p. 14]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAIAMBO I.

102
●133
131

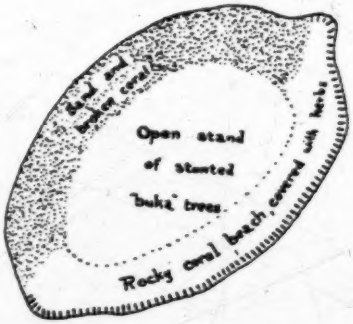
0 1 2
Nautical Miles

178° 26' W.

19° 00' S.

0 50 100 150
Approx. Scale of Feet.

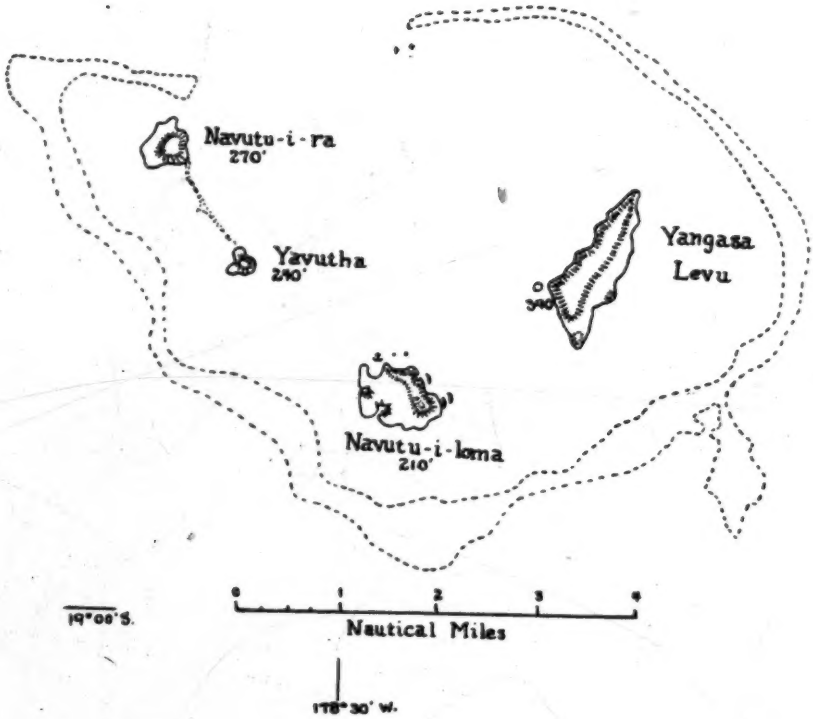
Elev. 25 to 30 ft. to tree tops.



[p.17]

YANGASA CLUSTER.

102
131
●133
103

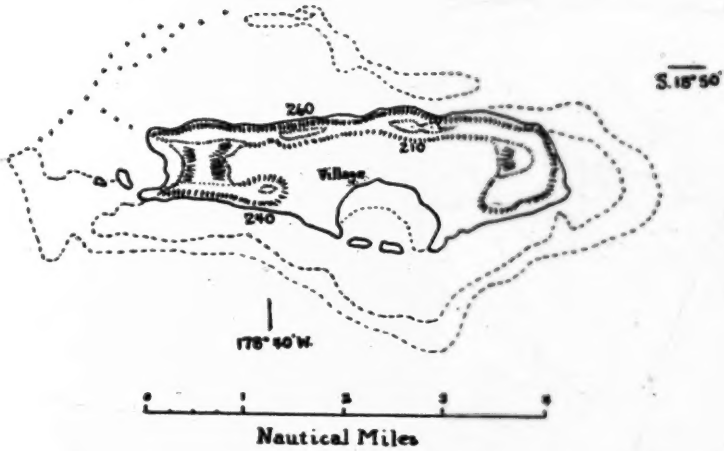


[p. 19]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAMUKA-I-LAU

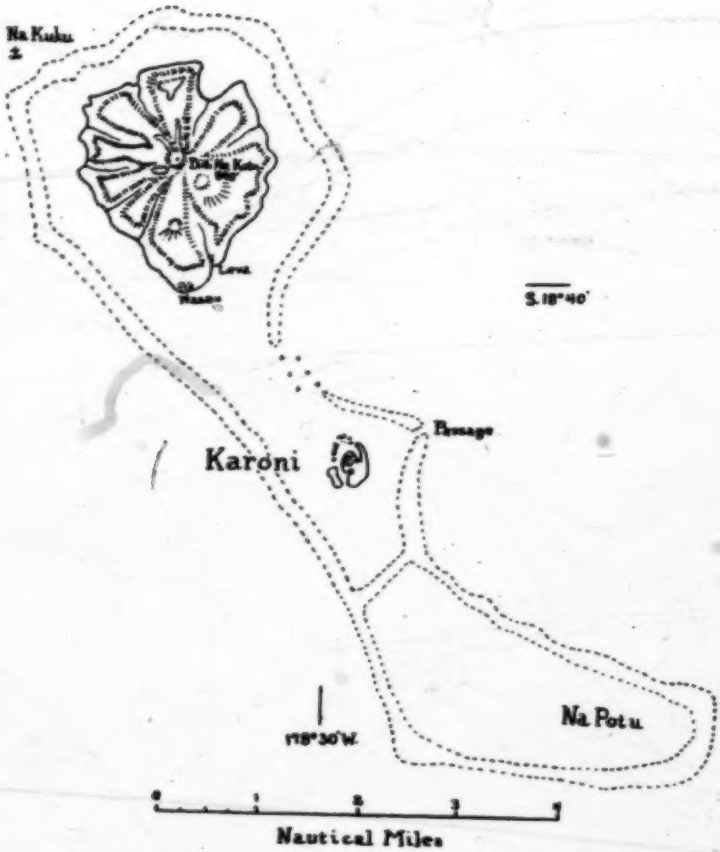
102
133
131
361



[p. 22]

MOTHE & KARONI

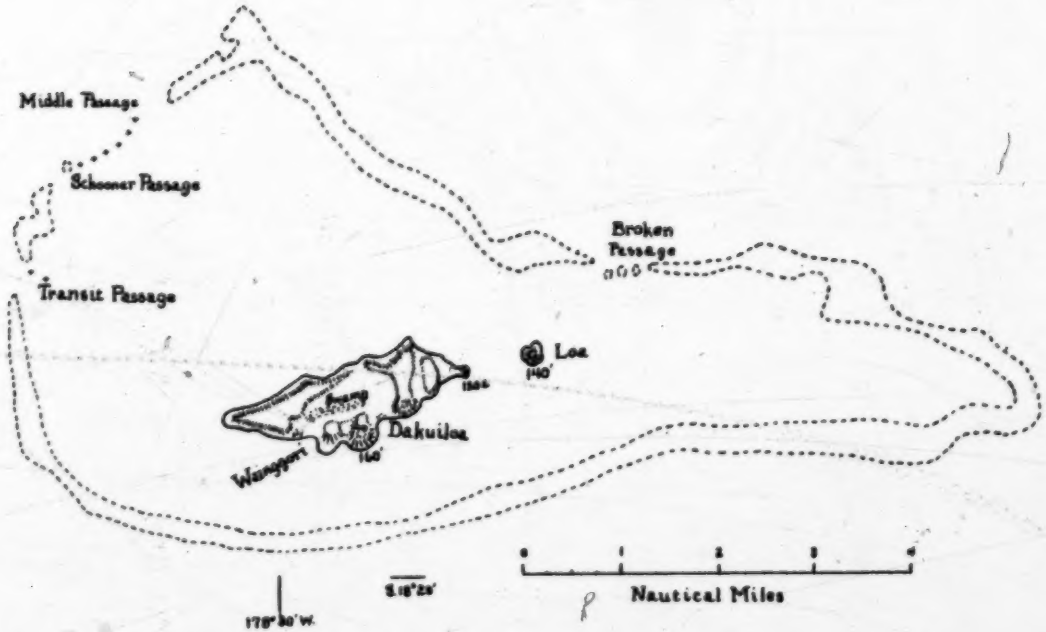
102
103
131
●133
361



[p.24]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6'

OITAVA I.



102
103
133.
361
131

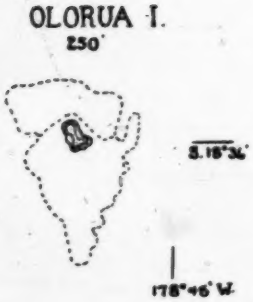
[p. 27]

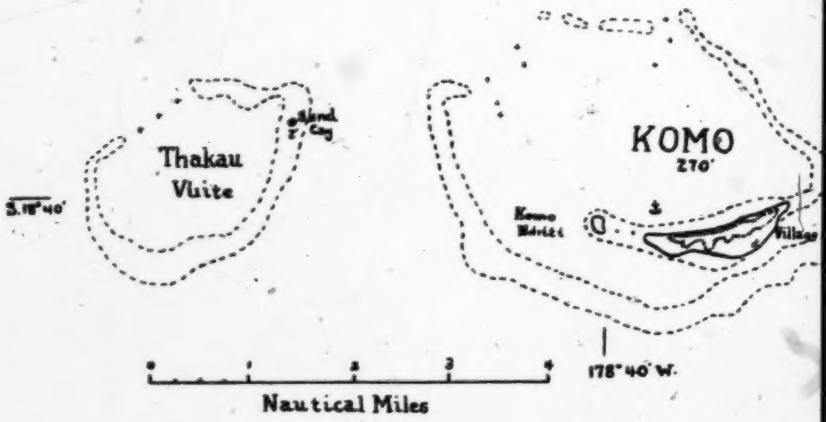
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OLOHUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

102
103
131
133
361



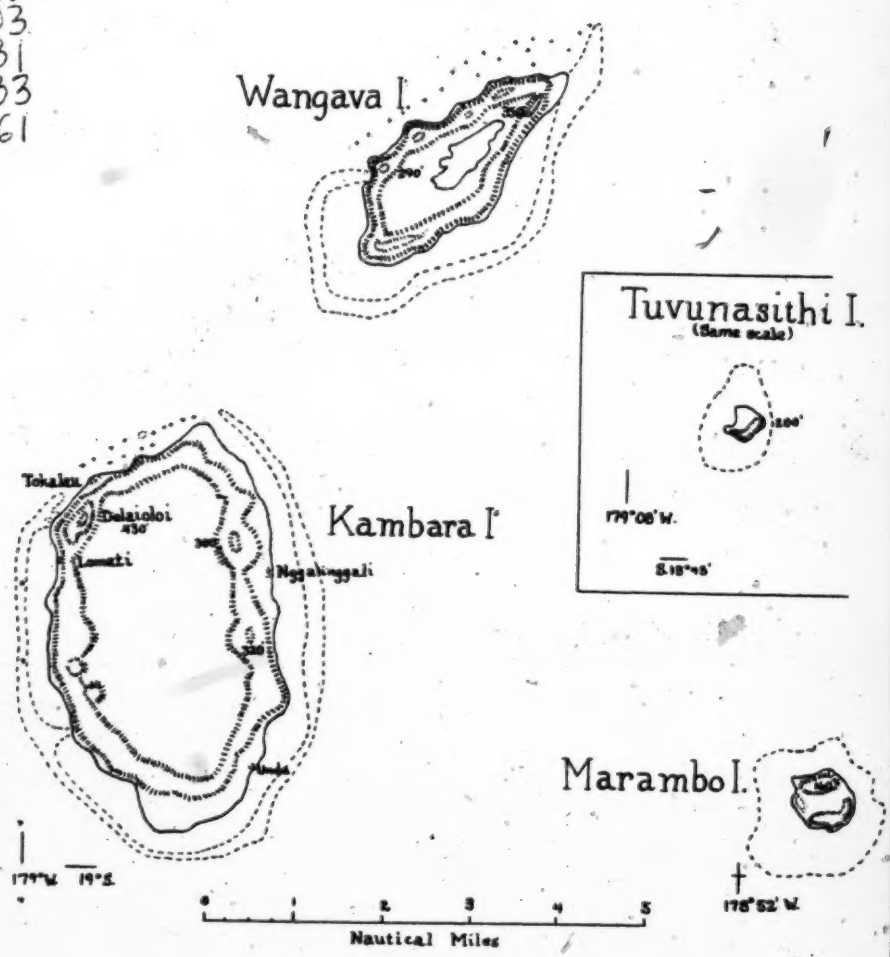


[p. 30]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
and TUVUNASITHI.

102
103
131
133
361

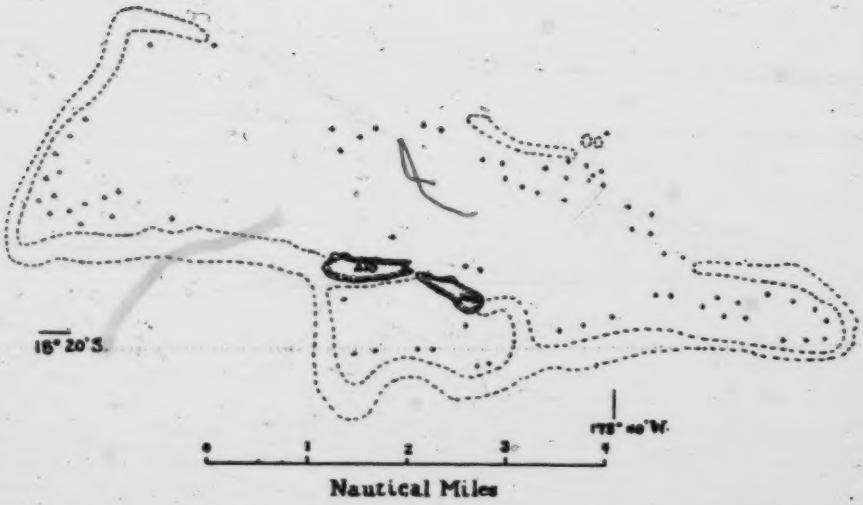


[p. 33]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

AIWA ISLANDS

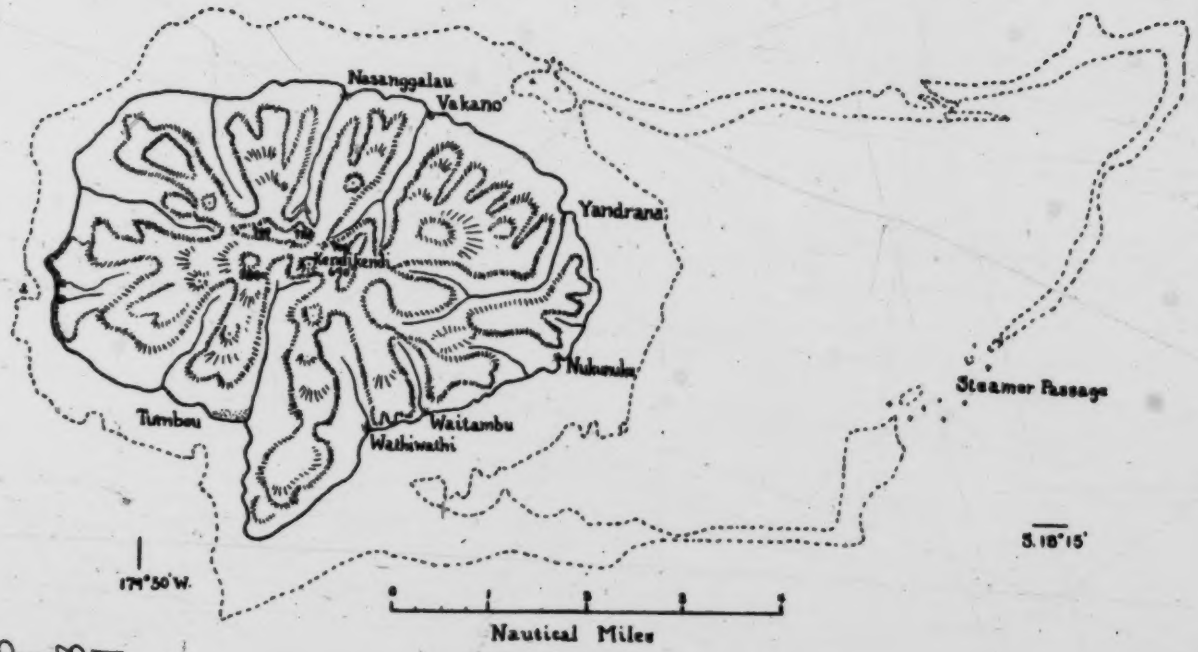
102
131
133



[p. 39]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

LAKEMBA I.



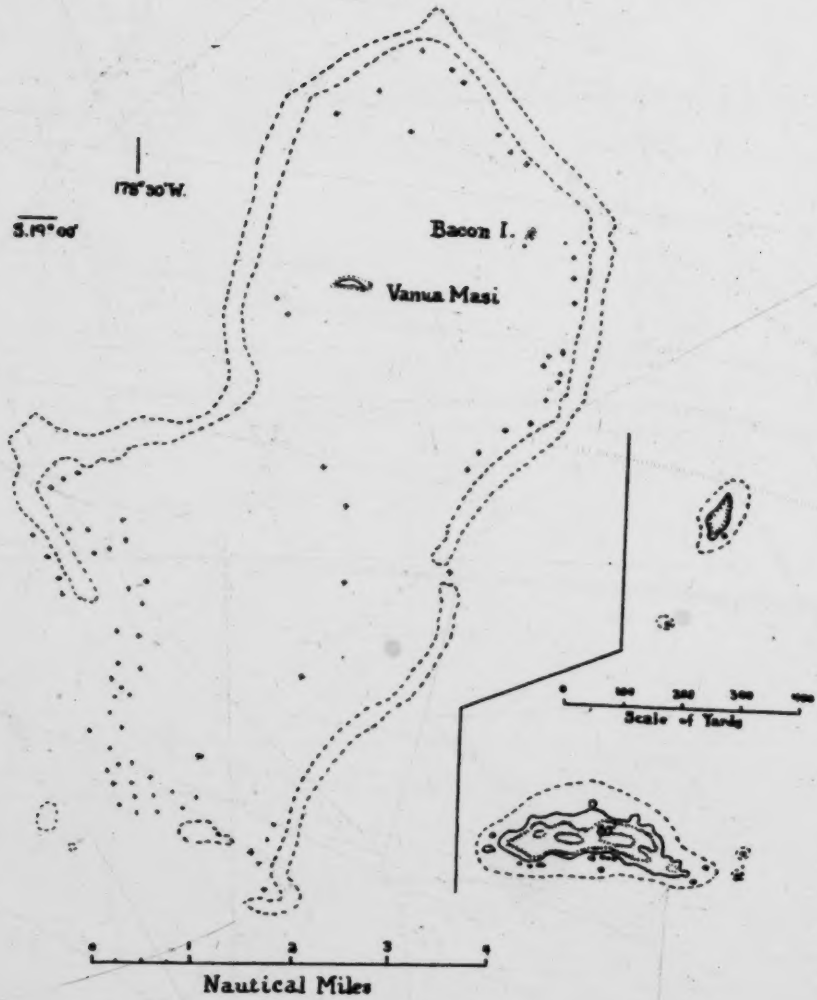
102
103
131
133
361

[p.41]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Northern Portion of
MSUKATATANOA (or Argo) REEF
and details of VANUA MASI & BACON I.

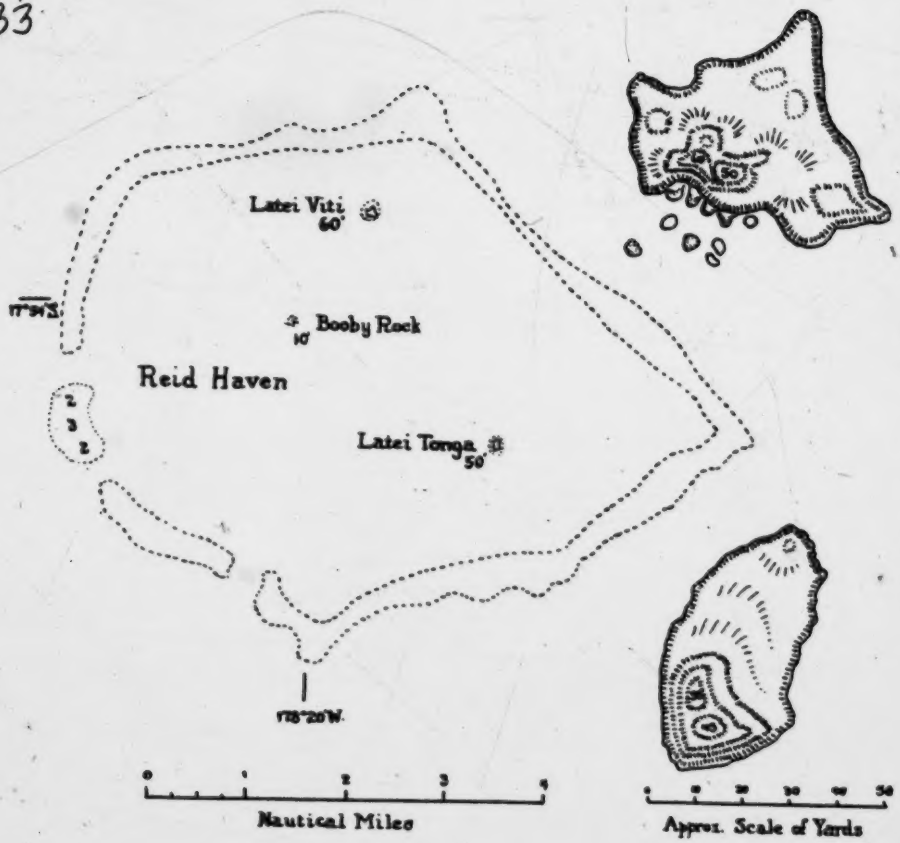
102
103
131
133



[p44]

REID REEF
Details of
Latei Viti & Latei Tonga.

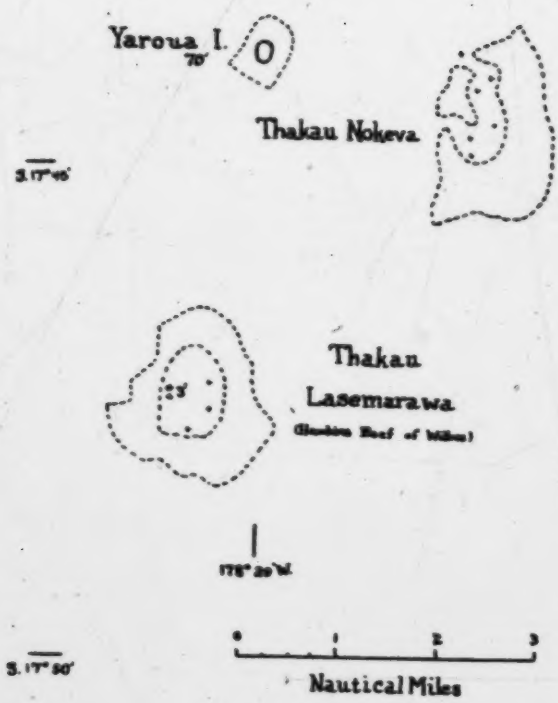
102
103
131
133



[p. 46]

YAROUA I. and Adjacent Reefs.

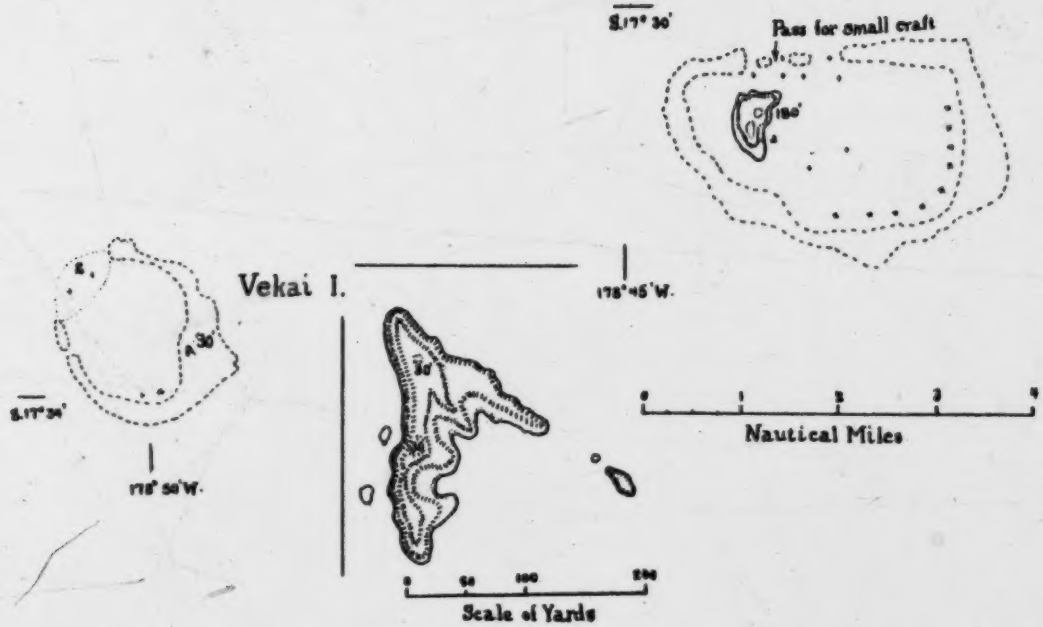
102
103
131
133



[p. 48]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KATAFANGA, VEKAI
Detail of Vekai.



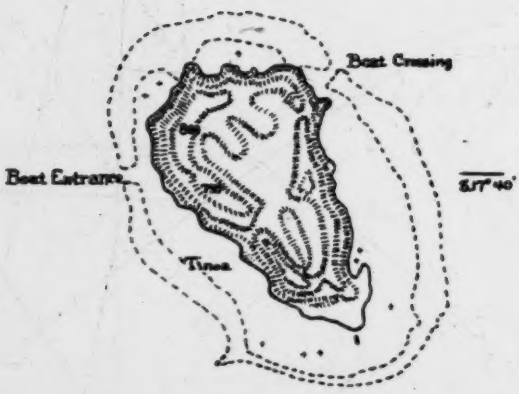
102
131
133

[p. 50]

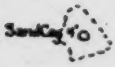
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

TUVUTHA' I.

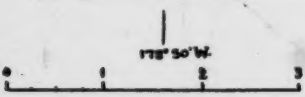
102
103
131
133
361



Tavunukui Wai
(Gunsin Reef of Wilkes)



Tavunukui Vanua
(Smith Reef of Wilkes)



Nautical Miles

[p.53]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

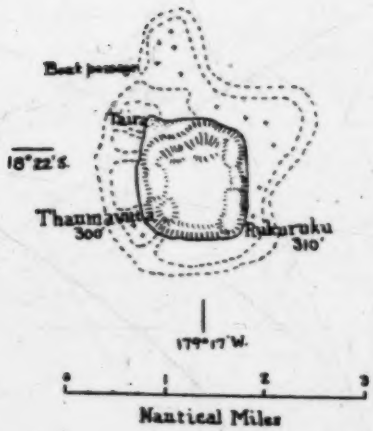
NAYAU I.

102
133
131
361

[p.55]

VANUA VATU.

102
103
131
133
361

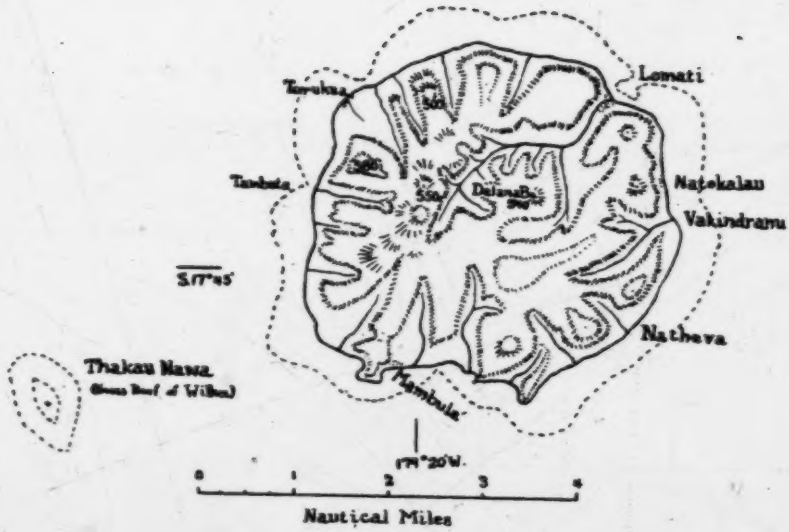


[p.57]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

THITHIA I.

102
103
131
133
361

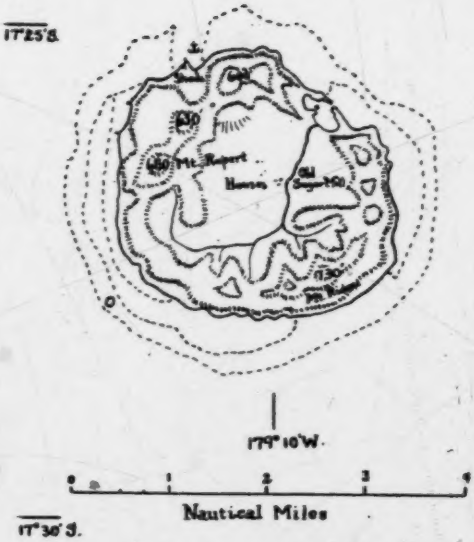


[p. 59]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

MANGO I.

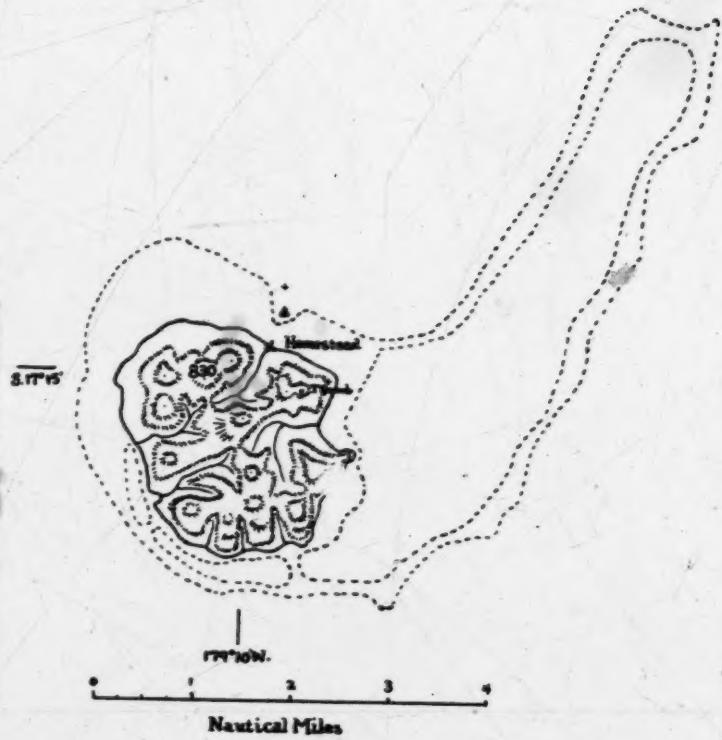
107
103
131
361
133



[p. 62]

KANATHEA I.

102
133
131
361



[p.65]

VANUA MBALAVU and nearby islands.

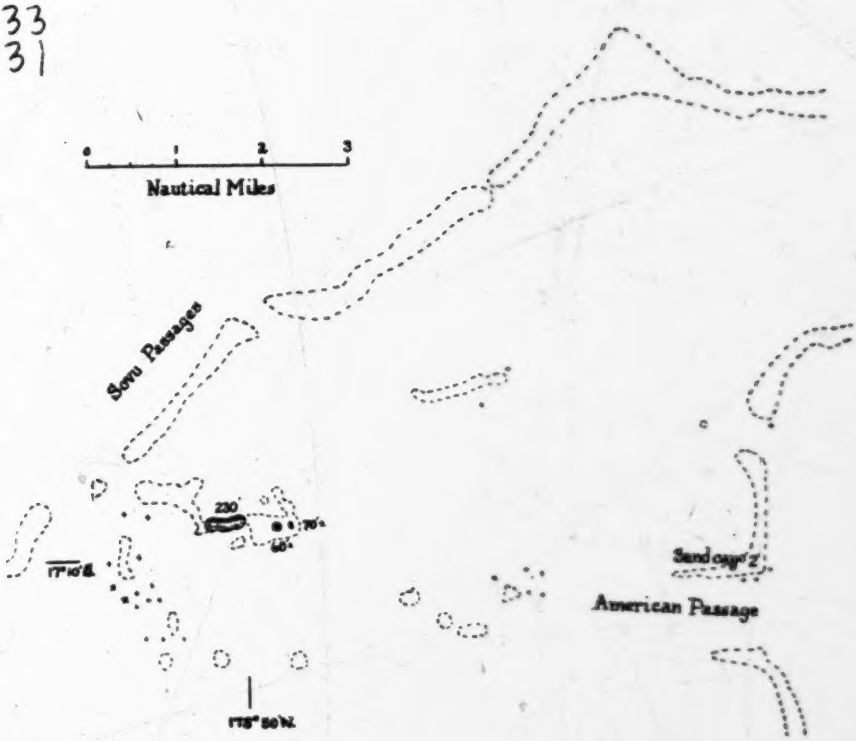
102
103
131
133

[p.72]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

SOVU ISLETS

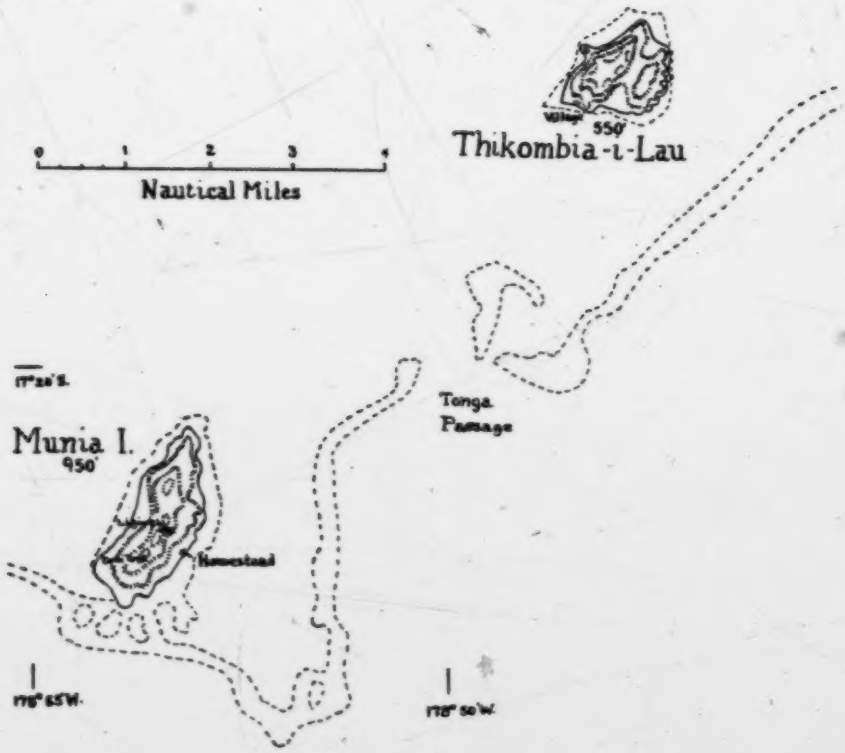
102
133
131



[p. 73]

MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

102
103
131
133
361

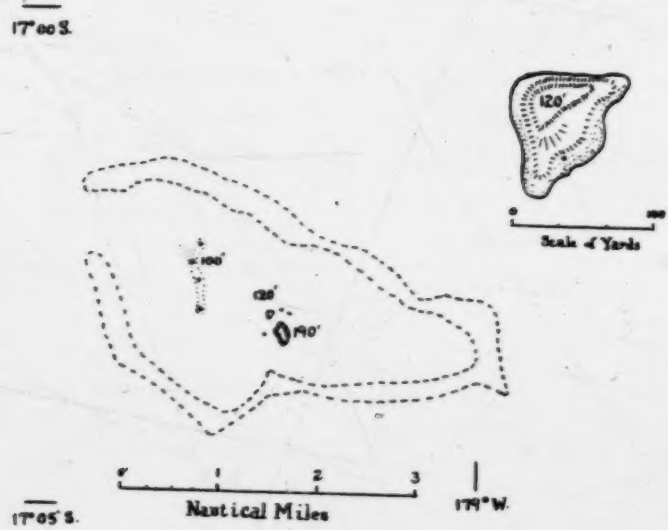


[p. 74]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KIMBOMBO ISLETS and detail of middle islet.

102
131
●133



[p. 78]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

WAILANGILALA I.

102
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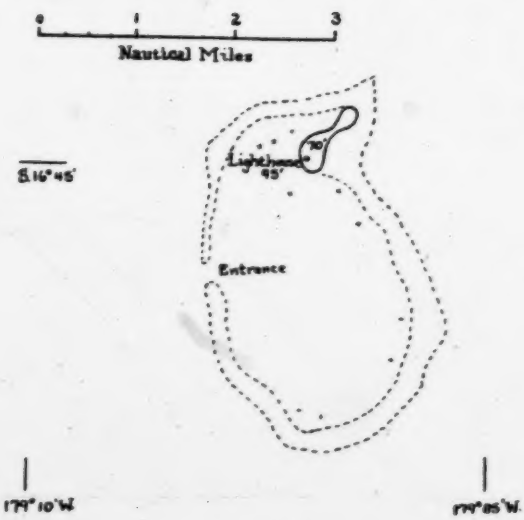

[p. 80]

NAITAUMBA I.

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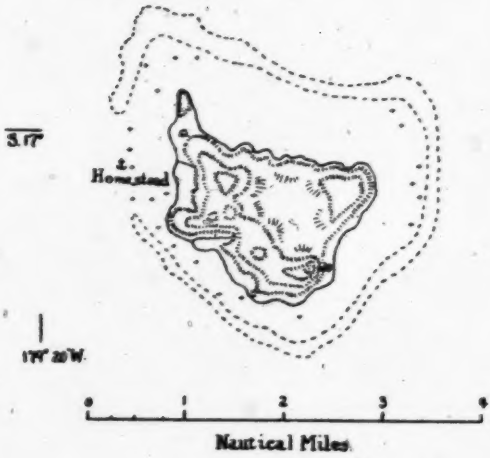
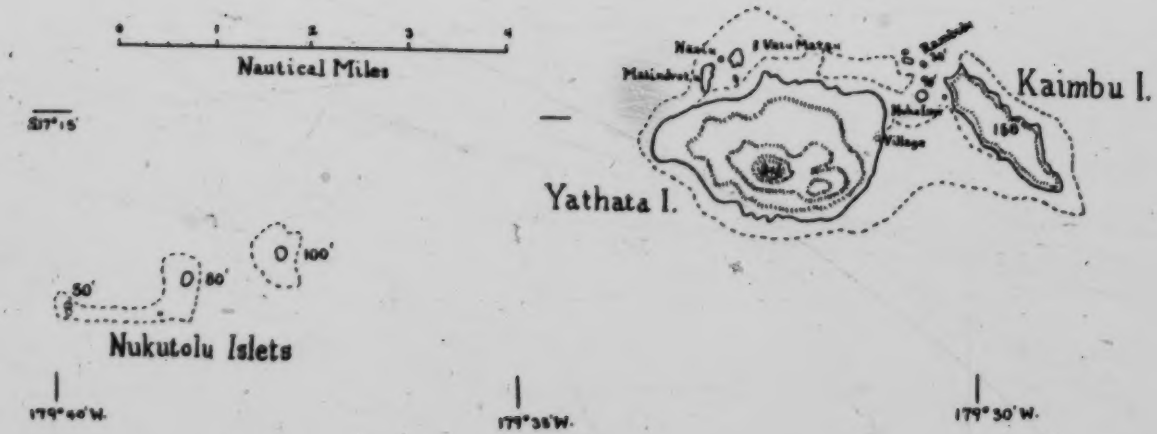


[p.82]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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[p.84]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

VATU VARA I.

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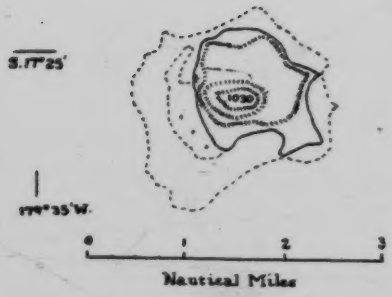

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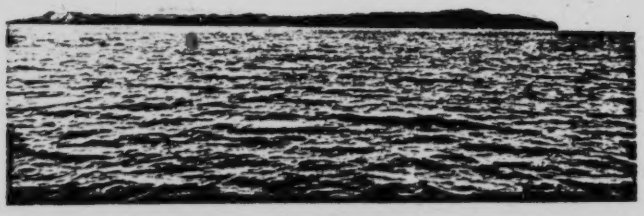

1. Most of the Coral Limestone islands are low and flat, without conspicuous elevations. Ongea Ndriti I., looking E.S.E. from a point about 200 yards inside Barracouta Passage.

2. A closer view of the N.W.side of Ongea Ndriti. Note the undercutting at the water level. The island at the left is covered with native fan palms, shown in fig.3.

[p.89]

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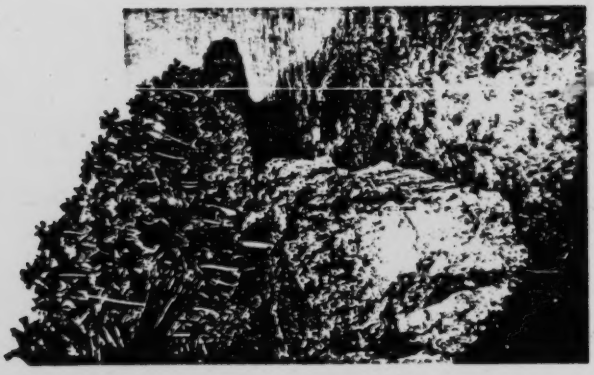
[137]



3. A typical small coral limestone island, off the N.W. side of Ongea Ndriti. It rises percipitously from the undercut ledge to a rough flat top covered with native fan palms.

4. The east face of Ongea Levu rises in a sheer wall, 100 to 200 feet high, covered with ~~stad~~ stunted scrub and occasional wind swept fan palms.

[p.90]

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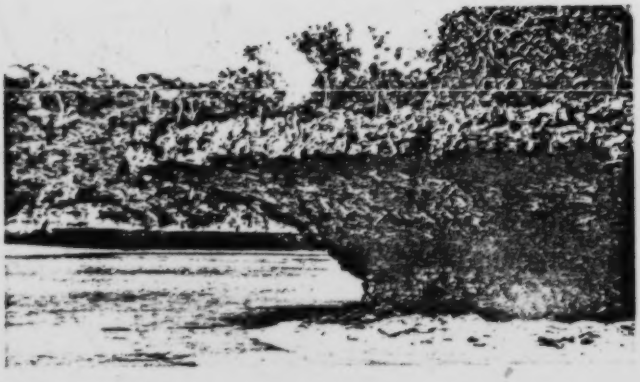
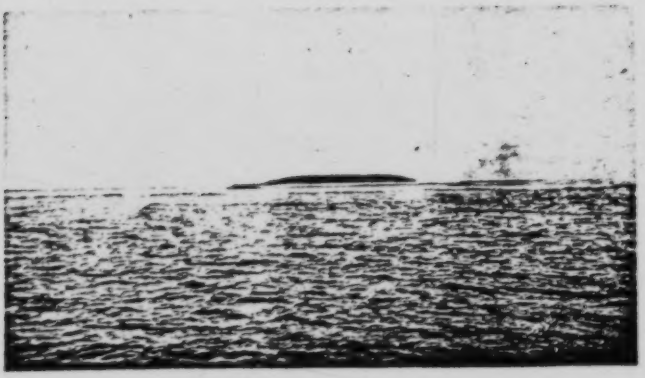
[137]



5. The undercut beach at low tide. This view is in the channel between Ongea Levu and Yamuia Islands. The lip of the ledge is about 9 feet above the sand flat or low tide level.

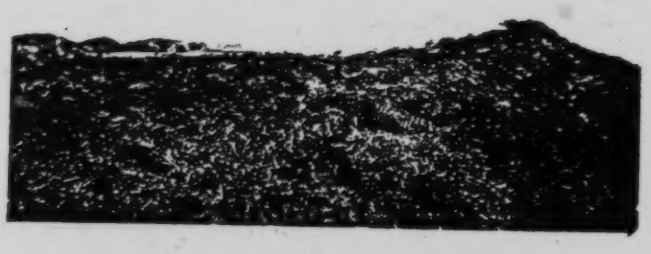


6. Naiambo islet from the W.N.W.

[p.91]

●133

7-8. Yangasa Levu I. and the N.E. bay of Navutu-i-Loma, Yangasa Cluster.



9. The heavily wooded N.E. ridge of Navutu-i-Loma I. with Yuvutha and Navutu-i-Ra in the distance. The N.W. bay is at the left.

[p.92]

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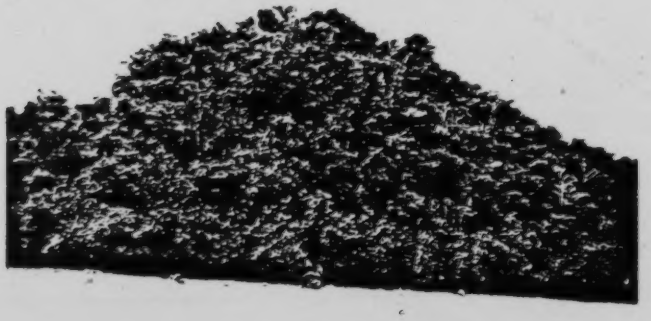
10. Mothe and the northern islets of Karoni I. from the summit of Karoni peak (120 feet), shown in 11. Note the little native cutter making for the passage.

[137]



11. The steep, wooded main limestone peak of Karoni I., 120 feet high.

[p.93]

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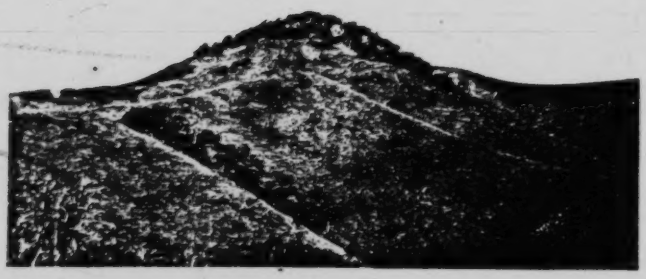
12. A typical valley on Mothe. In contrast to the heavily wooded limestone, the slopes of the volcanic islands are covered with grass, ferns, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees, with groves of coconut palms toward the sea.



13. The central knob of Mothe is capped with low-land forest, which has worked its way up the valley bottoms.

[p.94]

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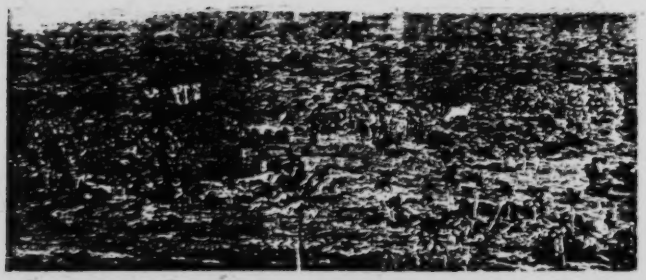
[241]

14. Delai oloi (470 feet), a volcanic peak on an otherwise limestone island. In the foreground are gardens cultivated by the natives. Kambara I.



15. From the summit of Delai oloi one obtains a fine view of the wooded central limestone basin of Kambara, stretching away to the S.S.E.

[p.95]

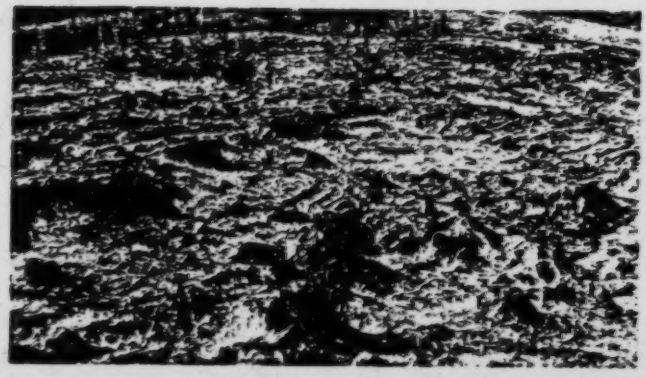
● 133

16. Tokalau village and the north limestone wall of Kambara from the summit of Delai oloi; Wangava I. in the distance. Between the volcanic slope and the coral limestone formation there is a marked depression, seen in the foreground.

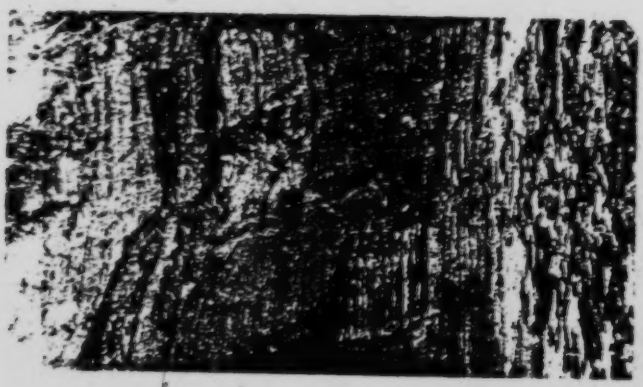
17. Olorua I. from the N.W. with Komo I. beyond (on the left).

[p.96]

● 133



18. Outcrop of bedded strata on the low divide between the two main hills, Olorua I.



(Bottom)

19. Bedded Tuff at the S.W. point of Olorua I. These strata dip to the S. by E. between 5 and 10 degrees.

[p.97]

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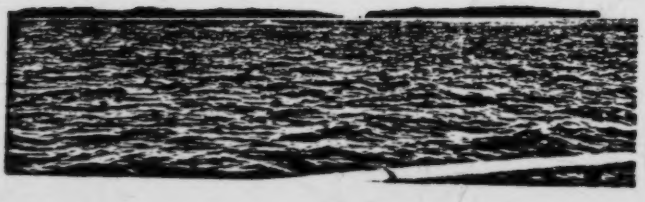
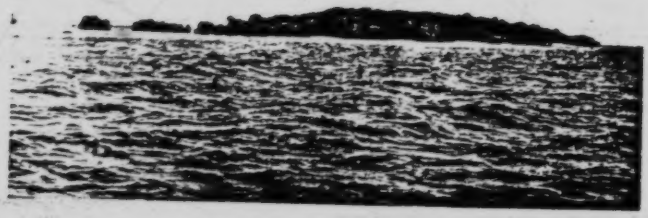


20. The Aiwa Islands, looking S. by W. from outside the line of reef and coral heads.



21. Vanma Masi I. from the N.by E.

[p.98]

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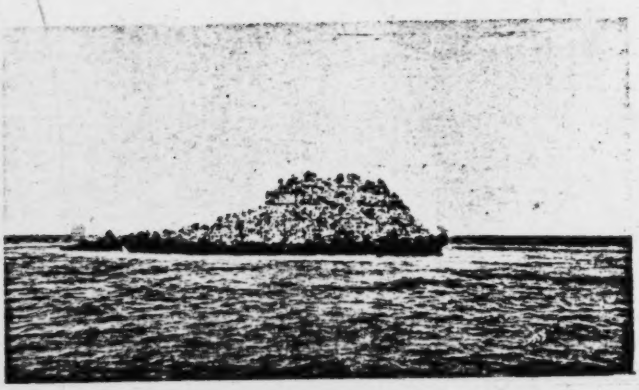
22. The west face of Bacon Islet.

23. Latei Viti from the E. by S.

[p. 94]

133



24. Latei Tonga, looking E.S.E.

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25. The northern third of Katafanga I. is of coral limestone formation, the southern two-thirds is volcanic. This is the abrupt transition between the two very distinct types; steep, heavily wooded limestone on the right; gentle, grassy volcanic slope covered with coconut palms on the left.

[p. 100]

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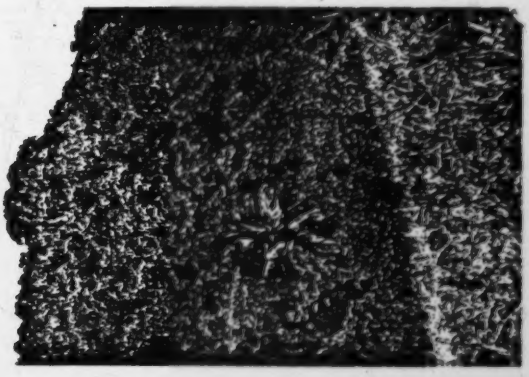
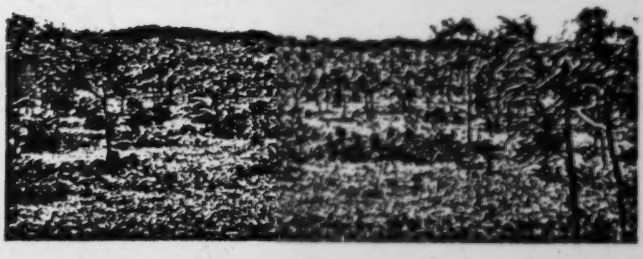


26. A highly elevated cliff of coral limestone, rising behind a grassy volcanic hill, on the N.E. side of Tuvutha'.



27. The volcanic basin, surrounded by coral limestone hills on the island of Vanua Vatu. This vegetation is typical of volcanic soil.

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28. The village on Vanua Vatu is one of the neatest in Lau.

●133

29. Volcanic and coral limestone hills near Tarukua village, Thithia.

[p.102]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 006 Lau 006

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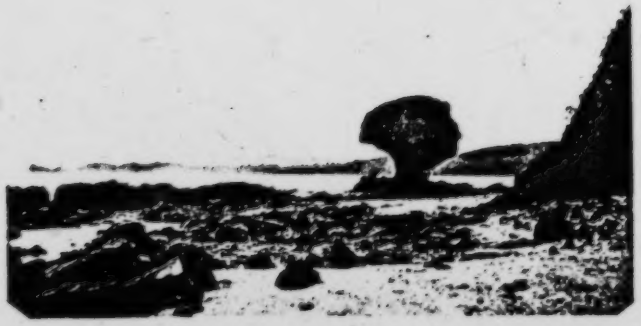

30. Curiously eroded lava rock, Mambula' Bay, Thithia.

31,32. Panorama of Lomaloma and islands to the S.E. Left to right:-
Munia, Yanu Yanu, Susui, Malata.

[p.103]

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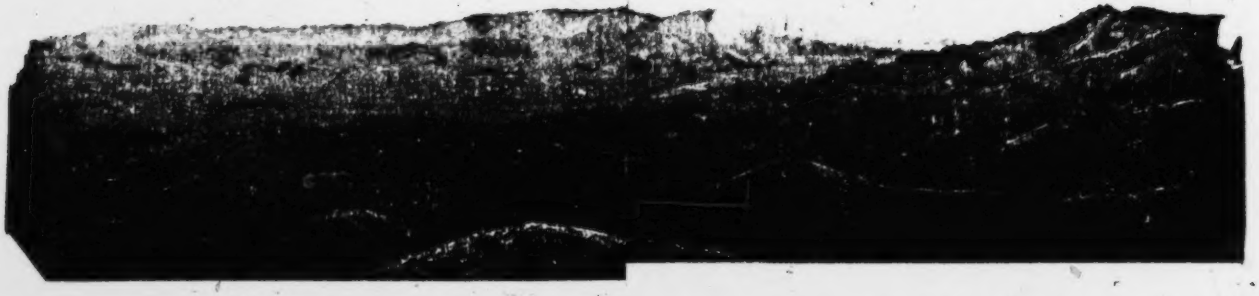

33-34. Panorama of Mango, from summit of Mt. Rider, 730 feet.

35-36. N.E. portion of Kanathea I. from the S.W. peak.

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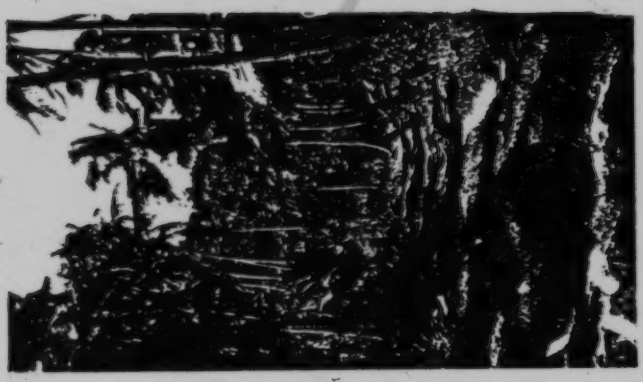
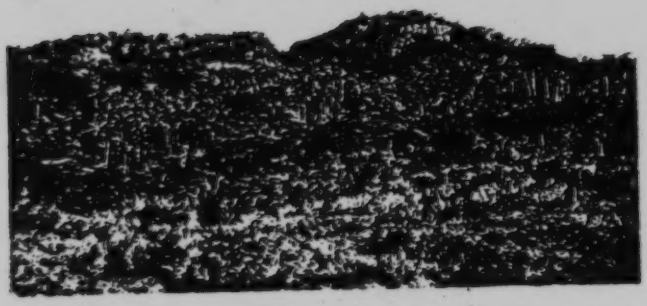


37. All the villages on Vanua Mbalavu are connected by good paths. This is a typical section of one, north of Lomaloma.

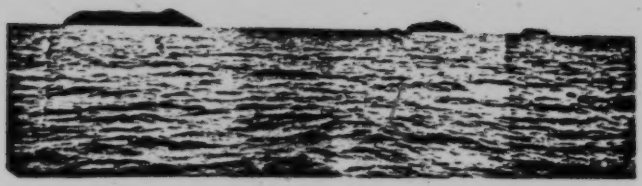
133



38. Central basin of Thikombia-i-Lau, of mixed volcanic and limestone formation. Looking east from near the center.

[p. 105]

●133



39. The Sovu Islets, looking N.W.

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40. Native fan palms on the smallest, eastern Sovu islet.

[p. 106]

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41. Middle Sovu Islet, looking west from the eastern islet. Large island of Vanua Mbalavu in the left distance.

42. The Kimbombo islets from the N. by S.

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43. The eastern Kimbombo islet is of coral limestone formation.

44. The middle Kimbombo islet is composed of bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The picture shows how close it is to the limestone eastern islet.

[p. 108]

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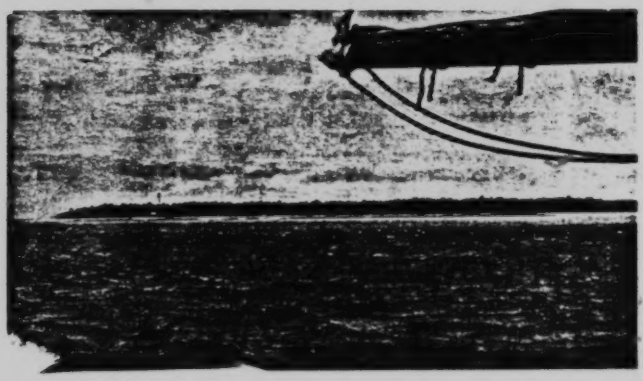
(Bottom)

45. Bedded tuff formation in the north cliff of middle Kimbombo islet.

[349]



46. Wailangilala I. from the S.W. The island is low and sandy, rising to a height of 70 feet to the tops of the coconut palms. The lighthouse is at the left.

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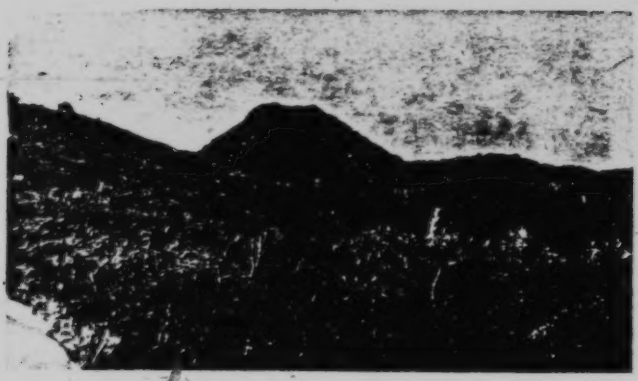
47. The 610 foot, flat-topped peak on Naitaumba, looking S.SW. along the eastern rim of the central basin.



48. Na Koro Levu, elevated limestone peak (840 feet), and the north slope of the grassy volcanic ridge, Dilla Thata, Kathata I.

[p. 110]

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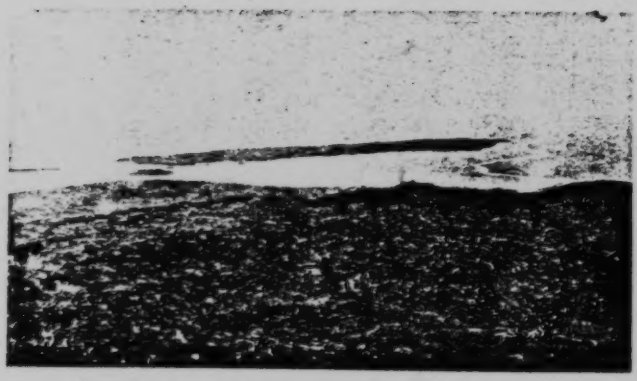

49. East slopes of Yathata and the island of Kaimbu, from the summit of Na Koro Levu, (840 feet).

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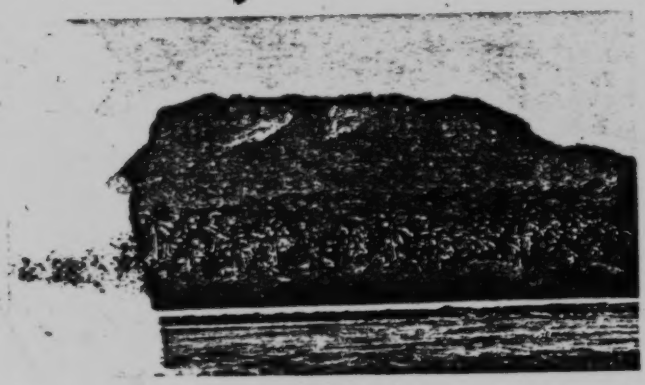

50. The highest elevation in Lau, Dillana, 1030 feet high, of upraised coral limestone, Vatu Vara'i.

[p. 111]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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A SOUTH SEA SYMPOSIUM.

THE look-out at the mast-head raised his hand to signify "straight on." The long, evil-looking zigzag passage between the reefs was hissing with white foam behind us, and the blue water of the open ocean lay ahead. Not one of the twenty odd souls on board the little government yacht "Annandale" but breathed a sigh of relief, for this passage at Ono Island was one of the worst in the Lau group, and the Lau group owns the most dangerous reefs in Fiji. The engines were "chugging" merrily on, and we had only a few yards to go. Suddenly there came a tremendous *loka*, or surf wave, from starboard, the current fairly boiling in the narrow strip of deep water, and at the same time a fierce puff of wind heeled the vessel's stern over to the port reef. The captain sang out "Hard over," the helmsman promptly responded, but the engines were not powerful enough to take the unexpected strain, and the next moment we were being dashed like a toy boat among the breakers on the lee reef.

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"Over with the life-boat," shouted the captain,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:
131

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

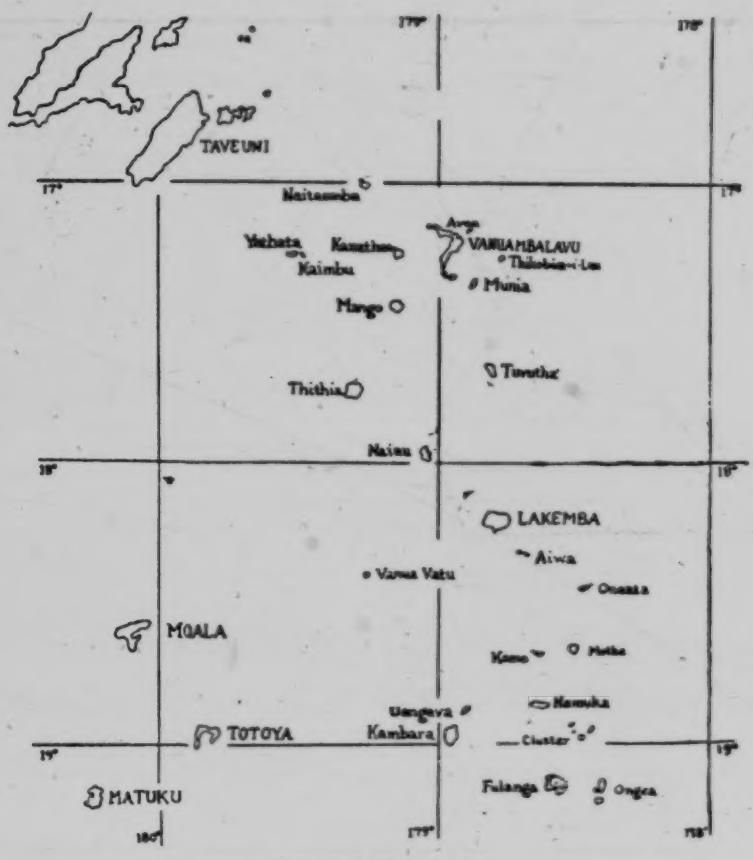

FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the
631 Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p.12. - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

582 618 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees. Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 134 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive correlation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 611 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common [134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6-Lau OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of exchange. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of

[1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[3] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pt. 1-151 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively [134 241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] See, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Fulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makola* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geolog-
[438] ical types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nauanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokete*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

13 12. **WANGAVA** island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [134] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 481 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

361 The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 161 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 245 trees have been felled in places.
484

[p.37]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E.ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W.of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W.side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p.54]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite 262 312 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 13 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 134 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

● 134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thō-thō-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, 60 yards wide but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 1119 [743] [759]

1 [Buli or chief - analyst]

[p. 60]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-
133 shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the
172 natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thau-
kenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

WANGAVA

133 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kam-
621 bara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on
[136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before
[173] the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *antimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [653] [272] [273] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots without testing them by this method. 245

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow. 245 252

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them. 245 136

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus. 249

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used.

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neighboring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the *kekeo,* a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo,* the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times. 262 231

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet. 224 [136] [656] [231]

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp. 222 [262]

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only. 231 262

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 312 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 136 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

137 grow if they were planted, and even on islands where under the post-Tongan system of land tenure the bush is free, the natives still know and respect ancient clan claims to bush land. Hence wild yams planted by a member of one clan would probably be unmolested by other clans.

136 A very important source of meat now neglected is the wild fowl which abounds in the jungle. Little effort would be required to teach the natives adequate trapping and snaring methods so that this food would be available even without the use of firearms.

231 Another important source of food now neglected is domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. Fulanga, the island with the poorest food resources in Lau, is outstanding for its chicken raising. By means of regular feeding and proper housing in chicken coops, hundreds of chickens are raised for local consumption and for export to other islands in exchange for vegetable food. There is no reason why other famine islands such as Kambara, if sufficiently stimulated and encouraged, cannot follow Fulanga's example in this respect. The main fodder for both chickens and pigs is coconut meat, of which there is an over-production in Lau since the copra slump. Hence there is no problem of fodder for animals reducing the island food supply.

The main consideration in the raising of domestic animals is labor. The consumption of pigs has decreased markedly since the regulation that pigs must be kept outside the village in pens has been enforced. Under present conditions the Lauans lack the energy to feed these domestic animals. A little encouragement in breeding, and the infusion of new life into the economic system by means of ceremonial exchanges involving feasts might supply the necessary stimulus to increase production. Moreover, the government could greatly aid the natives in poultry raising by importing new stock to improve the breeds. This is even more important in regard to pigs than to chickens. The Lauan pigs are of the long

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

While we lack the data to describe these two types of biotics, we do know 13
that their development in Lau has been influenced and limited by the following major factors.[9] First, rocks are of only two types: impervious volcanic and soluble limestones. Second, most of the islands are small, isolated, and closely surrounded by open sea at least 100 fathoms deep. They are separated from the main Fiji group to the northwest by a distance of some 200 miles and from Tonga to the southeast by some 400 miles. Third, located mainly between 17 and 19 degrees[10] south latitude and in the vicinity of 179 degrees west longitude, the Lau group has a tropical climate, the mean annual temperature being estimated at about 73 degrees Fahrenheit, the humidity range from about 70 to 90 per cent. Fourth, the islands lie in the belt of the southeast trade winds which prevail during the cool, dry season from April to November. This condition is strongly reflected in reef and island contours and in rock type distributions. During the remainder of the year, the warm, wet season, the southwest monsoon blows intermittently, especially from January to March when hurricanes may be expected. Fifth, practically all of the annual precipitation, which averages about 80 inches, falls during the wet season, much of it in the form of torrential downpours which erode basins and caverns in the limestone islands, and valleys in the volcanics. Sixth, the basic ecological balances of each island developed in the absence of large land animals, including man.[11]

By the time that the first men arrived in Lau in comparatively recent 13
times, the delicately balanced, natural ecological arrangements, characteristic 167
of southern Lau, had attained their basic patterns. The advent of man meant much more than the intrusion of a single species, namely *Homo sapiens*, as had been the case when many ocean- or air-borne species found their way to these islands. The advent of man meant the intrusion into the group of a whole complex of exotic species of both fauna and flora carried by man during his migration by canoe eastward into the Pacific basin. Culture-historical evidence in southern Lau[12] suggests that these included the pig, the dog, and the fowl, as well as various food plants such as yam, breadfruit and banana. Man brought, furthermore, various stone and shell tools such as adzes, gouges, awls and pounders with which he could somewhat alter the face of nature; various skills, such as fire-making, horticulture, stone-cutting, house-building,

[9] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Bryan, 1948; Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[10] Vatoa and Ono-i-Lau lie farther to the south, and accordingly have a slightly cooler climate.

[11] According to Bryan (MSS.): "Except for birds and insects there is a poverty of native 136
animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was the rat. About a dozen species of water-birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green *vokai*. Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large 'coconut' crab and hermit crabs, were present in quantity."

[12] Thompson, 1938.

9: Bryan

Lau OQ6

131, 133, 136, 137

/Information in text on the location, topography, geology, fauna and flora of each of the forty islands in the Lau group will be found in category 13./

137 splendid forests of Nambara, Nango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as Hernandia peltata, Fournefortia argentea, and a Ficus with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. Pandanus and Casuarina appear early in the scale.

The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, Eulalia japonica, called "nasau" or "ngasau" by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about half a dozen widespread species of shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina. The dominant littoral species are: dilo (Calophyllum inophyllum), vutu (Barringtonia speciosa), evu (Fournefortia argentea), evuevu (Hernandia peltata), nawanawa (Cordia subcordata), tatang-gia (Acacia lauriflora), veveddu (Scaevola koenigii), tavola (Terminalia litteralis), drala (Erythrina indica), etc. Besides these there are the usual Pandanus, numerous vines, and groves of coconut palms.

About 390 species of plants were collected in the outlying islands of Fiji, 233 being from Lau. This collection represents the majority of the common plants of the region.

Animal Life

136 Except for birds and insects there is a povety of animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was a rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green "vokai". Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large "coconut" crab and hermit crabs were present in quantity. The insect life will form the subject of a separate report, when the extensive collection has been mounted and identified.

136 A careful record of the bird life on each of the islands was kept by Mr. Jose' G. Correia, the assistant Ornathologist. According to his notes the principal birds throughout the Lau Group are as follows:

Land Birds		Water Birds
Large Hawk		Herons, blue and white.
Small Hawk		Heron, small gray.
Pigeon, common Suva		Tern, white
Pigeon, common Samoan		Tern, sooty
Pigeon, black		Plover, Golden
Doves, common		Tatler
Dove, yellow		Lesser Frigate
Dove, ground		Platus Booby
Gallinule		Booby, red-footed
Parraquit		Turnstone, ruddy
Brown-eye		Tropic-bird, yellow bill
Sarike		
Warbler		
Broadbill		
Honey-eater	Barn owl	
Swallow	Duck (Teal)	
Swift	Wild chicken.	
Fantail, gray		
Fantail, brown		
Kingfisher		
Yellow-eye		
Yellow-belly		
Flycatcher, sooty		
Red cap		
Rail		
Cuckoo		

133 Most of the islands are surrounded by a barrier reef, which in many cases extends several miles off shore. The majority of the islands also have fringing reefs. There are also a number of reefs, some of which completely enclose lagoons, containing no elevated land. These supply the marine biologist with a rich collecting ground. But no opportunity was allowed on this hasty land survey to study marine life.

128 In the following summary of the individual islands, the subjects will be discussed in the following order:- 1. location, 2. dimensions. 3, topography and surface, 4, harbors, anchorages and landing places, 5, water, 6. special notes on vegetation and fauna, 7, inhabitants, 8. cultivation and other occupations, 9, historic, 10, prehistoric.

A sketch map, corrected in the field, is furnished of each island.

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[MANGO I.]

233 of about 700 head of cattle are pastured on the grasslands. A herd
[136] are roamed by flocks of turkeys.

13 The east bay is of remarkable formation. It is about half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide, nearly entirely surrounded by a ridge of limestone, and with an entrance scarcely 100 yards wide thru which the flood tide attains a velocity of 7 knots. The tide inside is about half an hour later than outside.

There is a small islet near the outer edge of the reef on the S.W.

[p.64]

13 26. **KANATHEA** is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W.shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAKEMBA

PHYSICAL FEATURES AND VILLAGES

Lakemba is the chief island of the Lau Archipelago south of Naiau. 131
(See fig. 2.) Its high chief bears the titles of Roko Sau and Tui Naiau
(Lord of Naiau). The island is typical of those in the dry zone of Fiji. 137
Except for one or two summits, the hills are without forests. Their red slopes are bare or covered with bracken, with here and there a *Casuarina* or screw pine (*Pandanus*). The good soil is in pockets near the coast, where tall trees grow, if allowed, but as most of the good land is period-

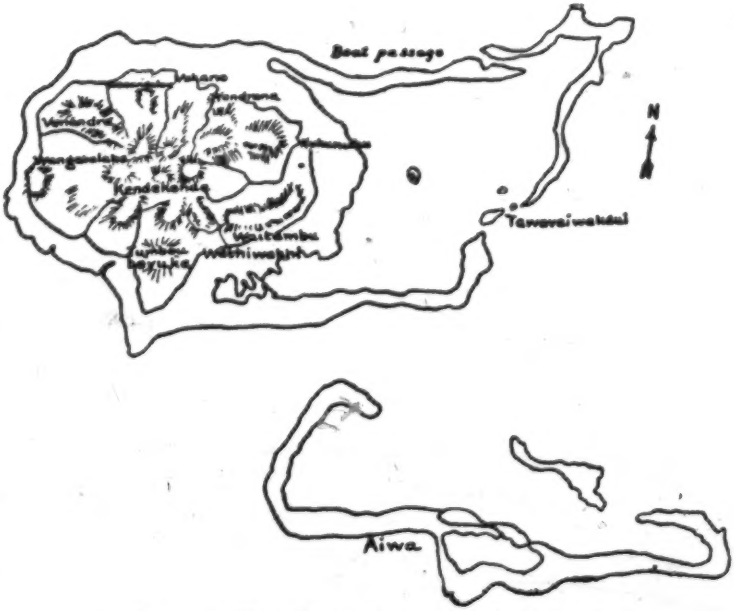

FIGURE 2.—Map of Lakemba (based on Admiralty chart).

ically fired before planting, the ground is mostly covered with reeds, long
and strong, and useful for making walls and fences. There is level land 133
only round the coast, a belt that varies in width and extends into the hills as flats suitable for irrigation. The largest of these is the fertile valley of the Nakula stream, which penetrates to the foot of Ulu i Kendekende, the highest hill.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an impor-
262 tant part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

132 Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be col-
[312] lected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

361 The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

621 Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3
133 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here
● [137] most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133

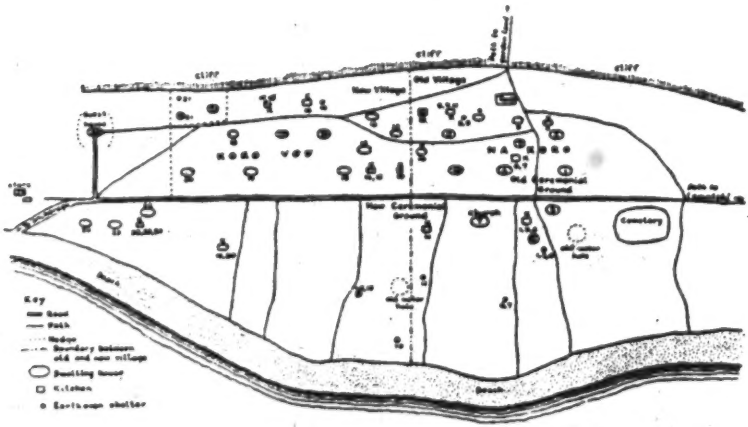

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 621 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity. 621 133 172

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village. 621 133 [439]

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth. [137]

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store. [439]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or
241 the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced
226 politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai*, which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

137 grow if they were planted, and even on islands where under the post-Tongan system of land tenure the bush is free, the natives still know and respect ancient clan claims to bush land. Hence wild yams planted by a member of one clan would probably be unmolested by other clans.

136 A very important source of meat now neglected is the wild fowl which abounds in the jungle. Little effort would be required to teach the natives adequate trapping and snaring methods so that this food would be available even without the use of firearms.

231 Another important source of food now neglected is domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. Fulanga, the island with the poorest food resources in Lau, is outstanding for its chicken raising. By means of regular feeding and proper housing in chicken coops, hundreds of chickens are raised for local consumption and for export to other islands in exchange for vegetable food. There is no reason why other famine islands such as Kambara, if sufficiently stimulated and encouraged, cannot follow Fulanga's example in this respect. The main fodder for both chickens and pigs is coconut meat, of which there is an over-production in Lau since the copra slump. Hence there is no problem of fodder for animals reducing the island food supply.

The main consideration in the raising of domestic animals is labor. The consumption of pigs has decreased markedly since the regulation that pigs must be kept outside the village in pens has been enforced. Under present conditions the Lauans lack the energy to feed these domestic animals. A little encouragement in breeding, and the infusion of new life into the economic system by means of ceremonial exchanges involving feasts might supply the necessary stimulus to increase production. Moreover, the government could greatly aid the natives in poultry raising by importing new stock to improve the breeds. This is even more important in regard to pigs than to chickens. The Lauan pigs are of the long

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of exchange. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of

[1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geolog-
[438] ical types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokete*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

9: Bryan

Lau QQ6

131, 133, 136, 137

/Information in text on the location, topography, geology, fauna and flora of each of the forty islands in the Lau group will be found in category 13./

133 islets and rocks a characteristic "mushroom" shape. The surface, even on the small low islands,[7] is densely covered with forest, and [137] is comparatively moist. The indentations are choaked with mangrove swamps. The highland is marginal with the center a flat or basin.

133 137 In contrast to this, the islands of volcanic material are smoother with rounded ridges and peaks. The beaches are predominately sandy with small areas of dark basalt at the points. The slopes above the everpresent fringe of coconut palms and cosmopolitan littoral trees are generally grassy with low scrub and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees. Although the slopes are dry there is usually a small stream in each valley. The highest elevation is in general toward the center. This summit may bear a tuft of trees, if of sufficient elevation (and also when not cleared off by the natives), but these are simply lowland species which have crept up the valleys.

133 Most of the larger islands, however, are a mixture of limestone and volcanic material. This typically takes the form of a ring of limestone hills enclosing a basin of volcanic material. Vanua Mbalavu is made up of a chain of volcanic hills tapering off into limestone at both ends. On some of the islands, such as Katafanga, the transition between the two is as sharp as if cut by a knife.

Plant Life.

137 The vegetation depends primarily on the geological formation. All the limestone islands and the limestone portions of the mixed islands support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and ~~small~~ tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of Piper (wangawa), bird's eye pepper (rokete), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxurience alone depends upon the size ~~of the~~ and elevation of the island. There is an interesting rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island, with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the

7 [i.e. limestone islands--analyst]

137 splendid forests of Kambara, Lango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as Hernandia peltata, Fournefortia argentea, and a Ficus with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. Pandanus and Casuarina appear early in the scale.

The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, Eulalia japonica, called "nasau" or "ngasau" by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about half a dozen widespread species of shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina. The dominant littoral species are: dilo (Calophyllum inophyllum), vutu (Barringtonia speciosa), evu (Fournefortia argentea), evuevu (Hernandia peltata), nawanawa (Cordia subcordata), tatang-gia (Acacia lauriflora), vevendu (Scaevola koenigii), tavola (Terminalia littoralis), drala (Erythrina indica), etc. Besides these there are the usual Pandanus, numerous vines, and groves of coconut palms.

About 390 species of plants were collected in the outlying islands of Fiji, 233 being from Lau. This collection represents the majority of the common plants of the region.

Animal Life

136 Except for birds and insects there is a povety of animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was a rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green "vokai". Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large "coconut" crab and hermit crabs were present in quantity. The insect life will form the subject of a separate report, when the extensive collection has been mounted and identified.

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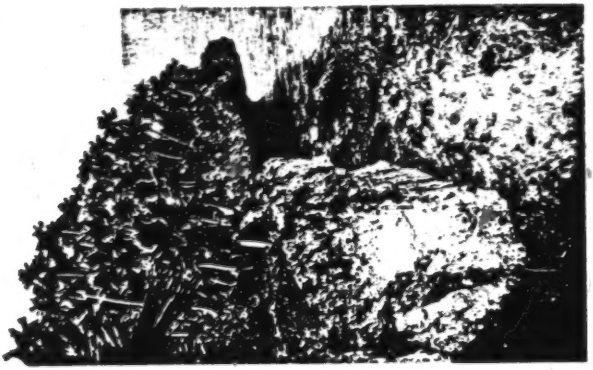
[137]



3. A typical small coral limestone island, off the N.W. side of Ongea Ndriti. It rises percipitously from the undercut ledge to a rough flat top covered with native fan palms.

4. The east face of Ongea Levu rises in a sheer wall, 100 to 200 feet high, covered with ~~[illegible]~~ stunted scrub and occasional wind swept fan palms.

[p.90]

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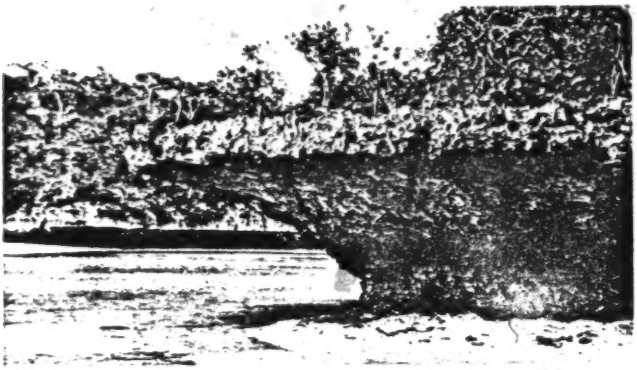
[137]



5. The undercut beach at low tide. This view is in the channel between Ongea Levu and Yanuia Islands. The lip of the ledge is about 9 feet above the sand flat or low tide level.

6. Naiambo islet from the W.N.W.

[p. 91]

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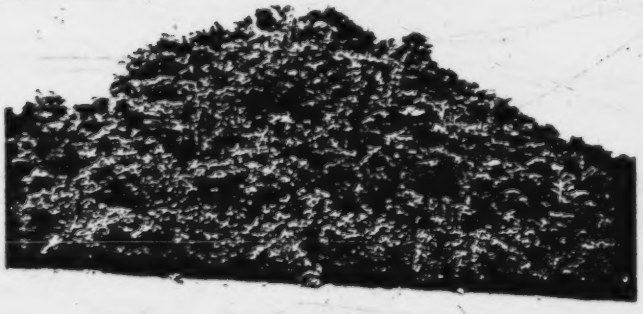
10. Mothe and the northern islets of Karoni I. from the summit of Karoni peak (120 feet), shown in 11. Note the little native cutter making for the passage.

[139]



11. The steep, wooded main limestone peak of Karoni I., 120 feet high.

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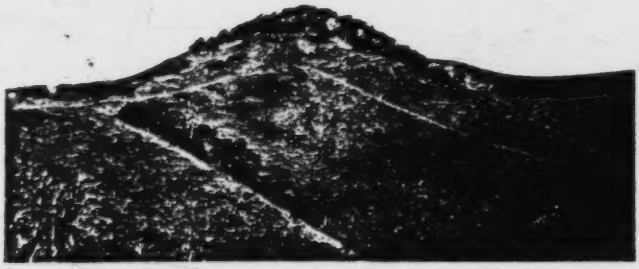
12. A typical valley on Mothe. In contrast to the heavily wooded limestone, the slopes of the volcanic islands are covered with grass, ferns, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees, with groves of coconut palms toward the sea.



13. The central knob of Mothe is capped with low-land forest, which has worked its way up the valley bottoms.

[p.94]

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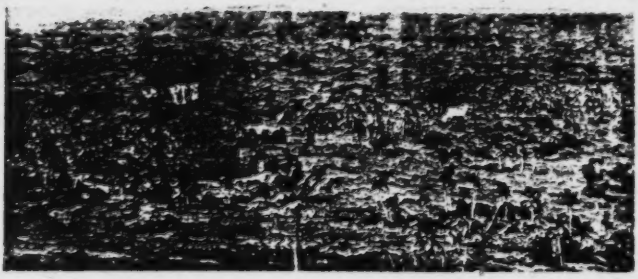
[241]

14. Delai oloi (470 feet), a volcanic peak on an otherwise limestone island. In the foreground are gardens cultivated by the natives. Kambara I.



15. From the summit of Delai oloi one obtains a fine view of the wooded central limestone basin of Kambara, stretching away to the S.S.E.

[p.95]

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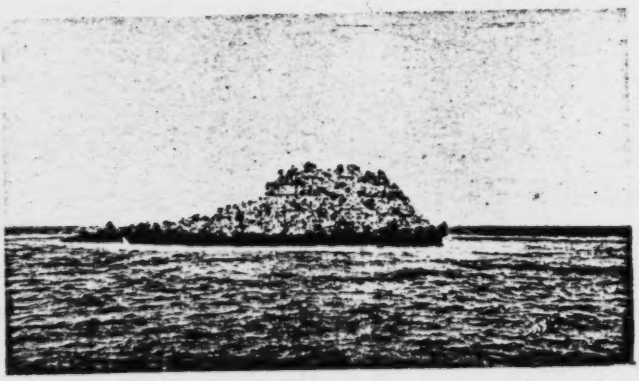

24. Latei Tonga, looking E.S.E.

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25. The northern third of Katafanga I. is of coral limestone formation, the southern two-thirds is volcanic. This is the abrupt transition between the two very distinct types; steep, heavily wooded limestone on the right; gentle, grassy volcanic slope covered with coconut palms on the left.

[p. 100]

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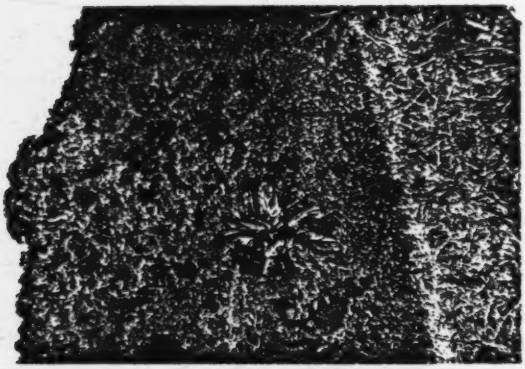

(Bottom)

26. A highly elevated cliff of coral limestone, rising behind a grassy volcanic hill, on the N.E. side of Tuvutha".

27. The volcanic basin, surrounded by coral limestone hills on the island of Vanua Vatu. This vegetation is typical of volcanic soil.

[p.101]

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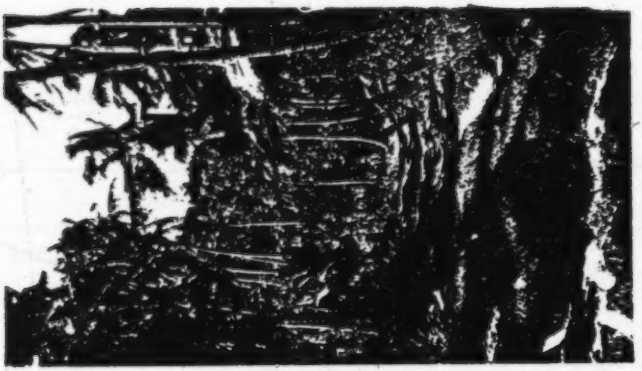

37. All the villages on Vanua Mbalavu are connected by good paths. This is a typical section of one, north of Lomaloma.

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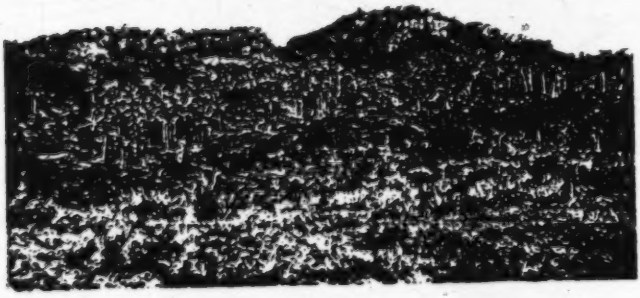

38. Central basin of Thikombia-i-Lau, of mixed volcanic and limestone formation. Looking east from near the center.

[p. 105]

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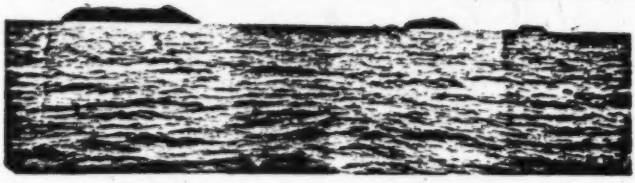

39. The Sovu Islets, looking N.W.

137

40. Native fan palms on the smallest, eastern Sovu islet.

[p. 106]

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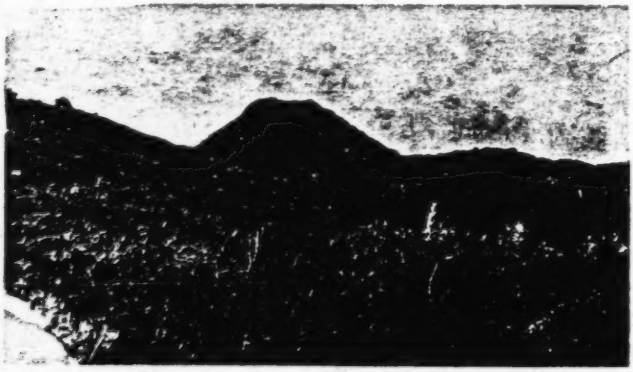
47. The 610 foot, flat-topped peak on Naitaumba, looking S.SW. along the eastern rim of the central basin.



48. Na Koro Levu, elevated limestone peak (840 feet), and the north slope of the grassy volcanic ridge, Dilla Thata. Lathata I.

[p. 110]

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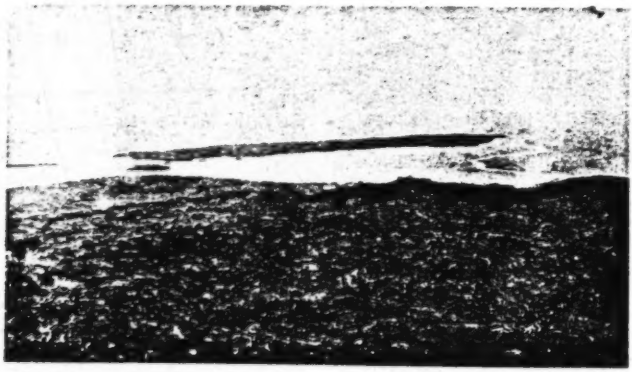

49. East slopes of Yathata and the island of Kaimbu, from the summit of Na Koro Levu, (840 feet).

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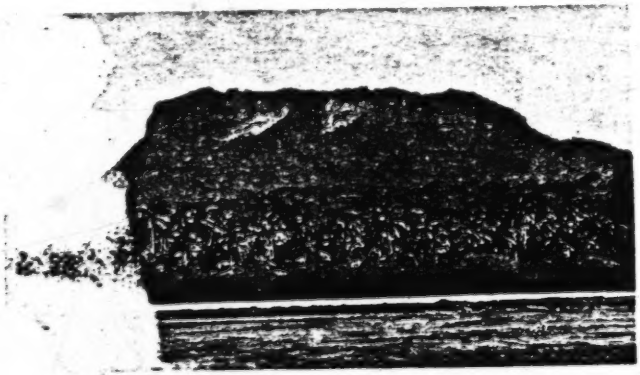


50. The highest elevation in Lau, Dillana, 1030 feet high, of upraised coral limestone, Vatu Vara'I.

[p.111]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

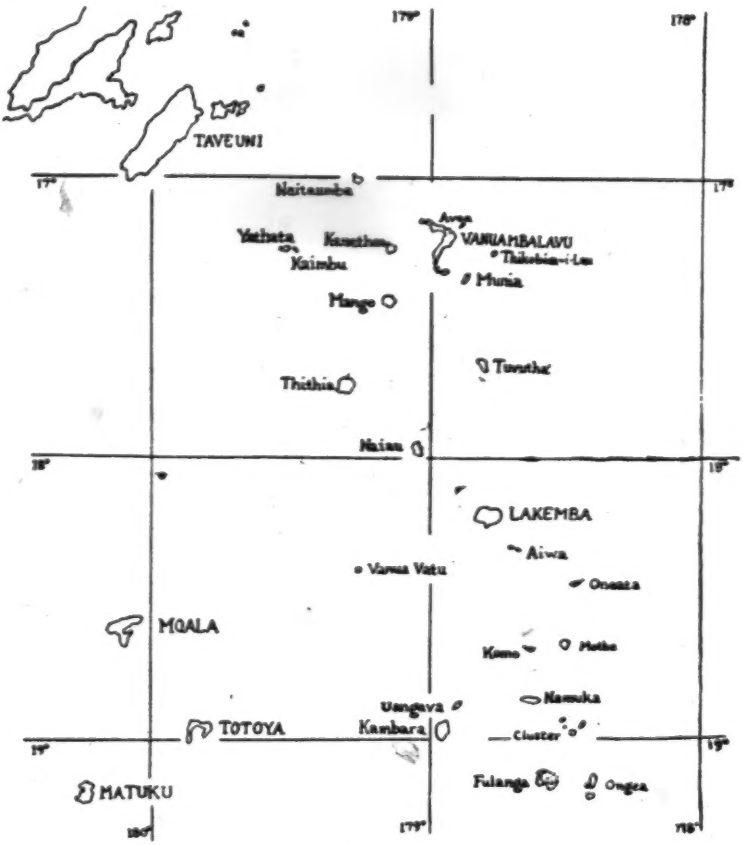


FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 172 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

172 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata. Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM FULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

[End Plate]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to the officials of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and Yale University for cooperation in making possible this study. I thank the officials of the Colony of Fiji who aided the work in the field, especially his Excellency, Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher, former Governor of Fiji; Mr. A. A. Wright, former Secretary for Native Affairs; Dr. Victor W. T. McGusty, Chief Medical Officer; Mr. A. J. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs; and also Mr. George T. Barker, Director of the Fiji Museum. I am very much indebted to Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna, District Commissioner of Lau and Chief Assistant of the Native Lands Commission, whose hospitality and whose knowledge of his people proved of great assistance. I thank Dr. A. C. Smith, Assistant Curator of the New York Botanical Garden for identification of native plant names; Dr. Harry S. Ladd, Regional Geologist, National Park Service, and Dr. J. E. Hoffmeister, Professor of Geology at the University of Rochester, for information concerning the geology of the islands; and Dr. Peter H. Buck, Miss Elizabeth Harrington, and Mr. Edward Y. Hosaka for help with the illustrations. I am grateful to my Lauan friends, especially Ratu Tchosaia, chief of Kambara, Iferemi Mbaraki of Undu, and Mathiu of Muanaithake for their assistance. I am most indebted, however, to Bernhard Tueting for assistance in the field, and for the use of field notes which I gratefully acknowledge.

PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Mothe, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *ezuezu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

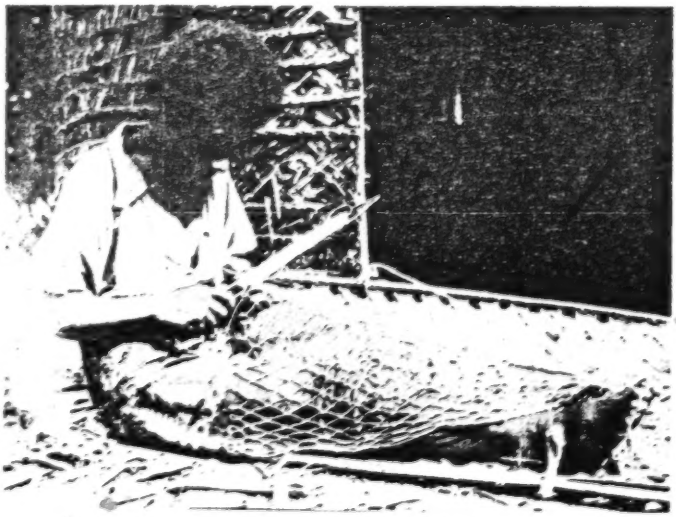
Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A



B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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302

A Young Man From Fulanga

[Facing p. iii]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down
a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

• 142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-
boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote [101]
culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

482
857
142
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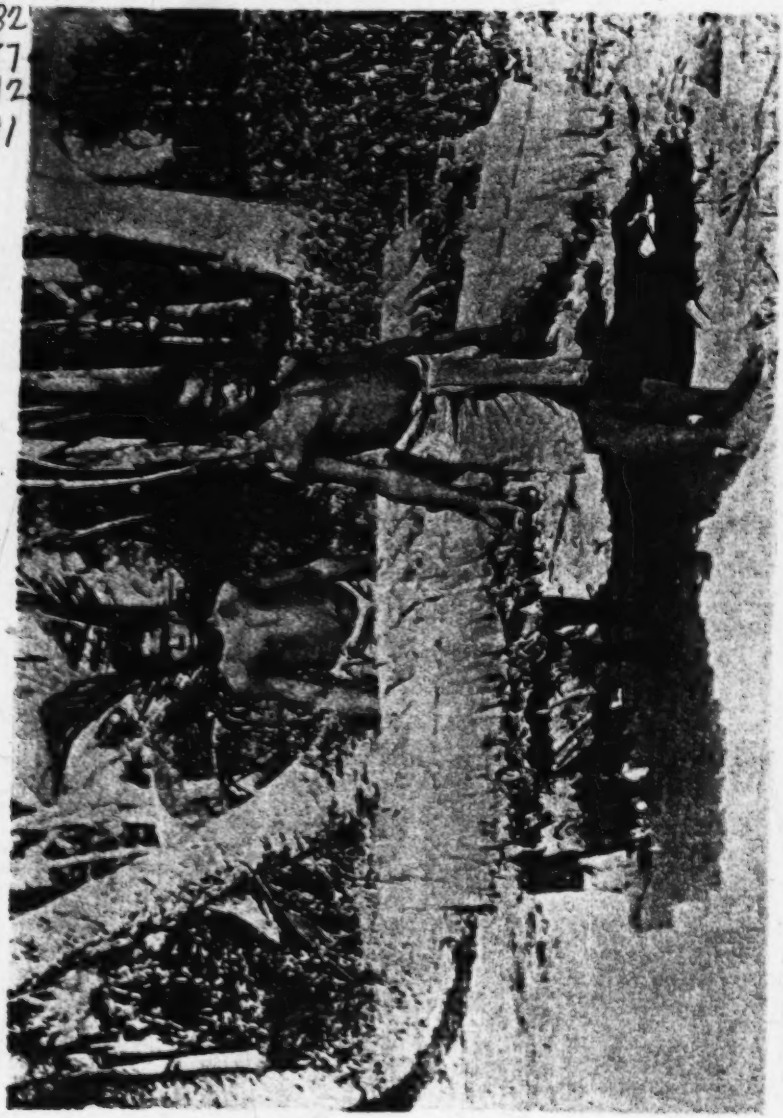

BOYS AT WORK

Two piles are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[FACING p. 44]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

142
291
302

A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

●142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 143 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old 764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have [142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage 585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock 177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy 144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the 302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
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The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-
boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the ● 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[487] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The cocoanut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320
285 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
287 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
231 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[161] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
197 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
194 noticeable Tongan element.

241 Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
181 yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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144 each other; but the path of the "Polynesian"
174 wanderers is not so easy to define. They have many characteristics which associate them with the Malayan type of people, and several authorities consider that they "drifted" with the south-west "monsoons" from the southern Malay regions through the Carolines and Marshalls as far north as the Hawaian Islands, and from there were driven by the north-east "trades winds" to the Phœnix and Tokelau groups about the equator (from whence it is but a short step to Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji); or by another route from Hawaii through Fanning, Christmas, and Malden Islands to Manikiki and Tahiti, and so *via* the Cook Islands once again to Tonga and Fiji.

It is possible even that the so-called "Papuan" people may have also originally come from the Malay stock, *via* Borneo to New Guinea, and there blended with the negroid type of man found in northern Australia, thus accounting for their negro-like characteristics before they arrived in western Fiji. And the fact that the "drift" away to the east, as far as Hawaii and then down south, encountered presumably desert islands in their track may account for the Malayan type, which ultimately became the Polynesian type, being far more true to the old Malay strain than the other "drift" *via* the great populated groups of New Guinea, the Solomons, and others.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192 854
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152
A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145
from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 941
they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576
out "*ninggo,*" it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the 145
tama quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304
ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis,* it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve,* but the word is not used before women; in 304
their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195
Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala,* to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304
circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881
at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to
provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a 1565
feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku,* a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku,* one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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PHYSICAL TYPES AND DRESS

The Lauans are a mixture of Melanesian and Polynesian physical types. As a group they are easily distinguished from the natives of Fiji proper and from the Tongans, but some individuals closely resemble the mountain people of Viti Levu while others look pure Tongan. They are a stalwart, well-proportioned and heavy-boned stock, slightly taller than the natives of Fiji proper. The men are muscular with particularly well-developed legs. The very young women have beautiful, slender bodies with upstanding breasts ranging from the Melanesian pointed type to the Polynesian rounded type. Lauans do not grow fat as they age, but develop a Negroid angularity.

There is great variation in skin color among Lauans, but in general they are lighter than Fijians and darker than Tongans. Skin color is usually correlated with type of facial features—light skin with fine features and dark skin with coarse ones. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, where Tongan influence is strong, and on Mothe, formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes for Tonga, one notices a strong Polynesian strain —lighter skins, finer features, and wavy hair. But on islands like Fulanga, inhabited mainly by the descendants of the early inhabitants of Lau, dark skins, coarse features, and frizzly hair predominate.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed 302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair 386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark [824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce 302 this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[18] 13 174

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions. 13 146 262

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[18] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 146 262 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 262 264 462 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 264 462 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262] trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151] a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 454 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati. 602

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives. 574 608

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry. 602

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57). 565

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere). 609

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

855 264 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 861 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 603 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857 868 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—[illegible]n early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. [illegible]ally this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen [illegible] sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

852 Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief. 152

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves. 145

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo,*" it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age. 341 576

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis,* it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom. 304

It is called in Lauan *teve,* but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala,* to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision. 304 195

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku,* a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku,* one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono. 304 881 [565]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman. [156]

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Rarama!"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work. 461 577

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*. 461 157

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait. 577 181

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name. 577 626

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by *mandua*. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest. 577 157

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on 157

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves 854 462
from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother 854
rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, 853
which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The 862
weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not [157]
observe any child sucking his thumb.

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One 855
informant said that children are occasionally burned on the [866]
arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told
that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk,
is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish
individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are 869
laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867
the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867
cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his
relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all 157
the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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867 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and
157 the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have
857 no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out
524 for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to
[776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the
534 rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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Kambara

Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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159 medicine and became pregnant. While she was with child
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When I knew Tarai he was about 28 years old, lighter skinned and smaller in bone structure and stature than the average Fijian. He looked like a half-caste, and since his father was pure Fijian, his mother must have had some European blood. His face was troubled, but his manner gentle. After many months he told me that as a youth he had begun to be visited in his dreams by his ancestor gods. They promised that if he would live a chaste life for seven years they would gradually reveal to him the truth about his people and give him "mana" to lead them to greatness. They said that Fiji had once been a powerful nation like Great Britain and had ruled the entire Pacific. Fiji was destined to reach these heights again, and if he carried out their instructions he was to be the leader. Tarai resolved to live a life of chastity, but in spite of his firm resolutions he failed again and again. However, the visions continued.

Meanwhile his father had remarried and returned to live on Kambara. He called for his eldest son to come home and help him cultivate his ancestral land, and Tarai returned as village teacher. He settled down and built himself a bachelor house. He was intelligent, industrious, and highly respected on the island, a good gardener and sailor. When I knew him his father was continually urging him to marry, for he had been betrothed for years to his cross cousin. Tarai delayed the wedding, however, and was still sure in his heart that if he carried out the instructions of his ancestors he would become a great leader. At the same time he felt that he

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara
Viti Levu OQ10

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Some individuals, however, have been able to make an adjustment between the new and the old religions with the minimum of conflict. The life of old Moto of Undu, for instance, is tranquil. Moto was born shortly after Christianity had been introduced to Kambara. His father became a Christian, and Moto grew up to accept the new faith wholeheartedly. However, in spite of the injunction against speaking of the old gods, Moto learned something about them from his father. As he grew older he thought more and more about the changes that had taken place in his lifetime, the old Lauan customs and how they had been altered by the coming of Christianity and the British rule. At about the age of 90, when we knew him, he was able to free himself sufficiently from the mission yoke to tell us what he knew of the old religion. In the course of our discussion one day, he said: "You know, when I was young I thought that the 'way of the devil' (as the old religion is called) was very different from Christianity, but now that I am old I see little difference between them." This statement is significant for it represents one native's carefully thought out conclusions of a lifetime.

Gradually native myths and tales which harmonized the two religions were created and spread through the group. The translation of a version of the creation of man, collected in Viti Levu by Mr. Brewster in 1893, follows:[52]

"Formerly there were two gods, Jehovah and Ndengei (the great snake god of Viti Levu), and at one time they had a dispute. Ndengei said, 'Jehovah, pay obedience to me.' Jehovah replied, 'Ndengei, serve me. Do you not know that I am the supreme Chief and Lord of Heaven?' To this

[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *ezuezu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158 828

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes.

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [262]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[22] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 89+]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[22] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
●158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262] trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151] a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank. 634 614 554 159

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20] 644 159 [191] [272] [276] [826]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory 159

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had 159 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554
of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622
every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614]
clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602]
the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622
an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

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old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177
sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

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[161]

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country." Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

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134

Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Wai ambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By LAURA THOMPSON
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122
from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellow- 121
ship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177
insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Ton , have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114
presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161]
island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

[Text continues on p. 5,-
Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

[161]

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423
enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578
and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands 423
has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in [161] the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423
the modern western economic system. He is economically 464
independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau. [167]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63] 161 164 731

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64] 168 744

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65] 165 744

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows: [162]

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

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162
592

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

		1921					1936						
Island	Village	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population	Male	Female	No. of houses	Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

744 Having reviewed the medical and health work being done in the colony and its effect upon the native population as a whole, let us turn to the specific region of southern Lau. These islands are perhaps the most isolated in all Fiji, and as we have seen are far from the nearest native medical practitioner, nurse, or hospital. The natives, therefore, have never had constant medical attention from doctors trained in modern medicine, and depend upon their native system of therapeutics for their daily needs. However, the government's systematic campaign for the improvement of native health has had a marked effect upon the natives of southern Lau. Since epidemics of infectious diseases have a tendency to spread throughout the colony their control has naturally reduced the death rate in the southern islands. Furthermore, medical officers visit each island at least once every year or two. They have organized the women into child welfare committees and instructed them in modern methods of child care. They inspect village sanitation and housing, and instruct the natives in hygiene and the village headmen in their duties as health administrators. However, housing conditions have not kept up with the population increase in Lau. The six islands studied show an average of 4.04 persons per sleeping house in 1921 and an average of 5.10 persons per sleeping house in 1936 (see Table 2), which is less, however, than the general average of 6.31 persons per sleeping house for the natives of the whole Fiji group in 1936.[68]

161 The population of the six islands studied in southern Lau has increased during the 15 year inter-census period (1921-35) at the rate of 154.99 per 1,000 (Table 2) as against 155.97 per 1,000 for Fijians in general.[69]

When we study the vital statistics in detail we note a great variation in rate of increase between the six islands. For Kambara the increase rate per 1,000 is 92, for Fulanga 258,

[68] Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.
[69] *Ibid.*

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

161 for Ongea 40, for Namuka 245, and for Mothe 95. Thus Fulanga and Namuka have relatively a very high rate of increase, and Mothe, Kambara, and Ongea a low rate. Even though the figures with which we are dealing are small and there is a probability of error in census reports among people who are still to a great extent pre-literate, such a wide variation has significance. All have been equally exposed to the government health campaign. Hence there must be other important factors contributing to the rate of population growth.

Besides direct health measures, other factors which may contribute toward social stability and population growth, such as the lack of inter-island warfare, the system of indirect rule, and peasant proprietorship apply fairly equally to all the islands. Other obvious factors which suggest themselves, such as the adequacy of the garden land, the loss of population by migration, disproportionate number of females to males in the population, and influence of the Tongans, fail to explain these differences. For instance, of Fulanga and Namuka, the two islands having by far the greatest increase in population, Fulanga has the least soil and garden produce of all the limestone islands, and Namuka has the most soil and enough food in excess of her needs to trade with the famine group. Moreover, of the other three islands, each of which shows a relatively small increase, Mothe has plenty of garden land and food, whereas Kambara and Ongea lack both. As far as migration is concerned, Fulanga, according to the genealogies, gains practically no inhabitants through inter-island marriage, for Fulangans on account of their low social standing are not sought in marriage by natives of other islands, and when such marriages do occur the couple usually does not settle on Fulanga but seeks better land on the island of the non-Fulangan spouse. Namuka on the other hand, because of her rich soil, gains inhabitants by marriage from all the famine islands. Of the islands having a disproportionately low increase, Mothe gains by marriage while Ongea and

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the in- 161
clination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make [464]
excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and
more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any
of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all
the islands show a disproportionately large number of females [162]
to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly
balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong
on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain
the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase 161
we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several 182
traits in common which are absent in the other three islands.
The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern
Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity.
Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than
the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently
the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and
maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands,
according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging
to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging
to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and
lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the
nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently
belong to the lower class. However, at least two other im-
portant factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of
increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on
Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other
islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in
the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but
also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

161 have been in closer contact with influences from the outside
182 world. Old tabus have broken down to a great extent on both islands and the morale is relatively low. The inhabitants are inclined to be self-pitying and to have lost a great deal of their energy. Moreover, these two islands are centers of the upper class and the conflict between the island chiefs and the colonial administration is reflected in unrest and political wrangling. These factors have probably played a rôle in retarding the rate of population growth.

It is clear from the above that any attempt to explain the increase of population of Fiji must take into account a complicated set of interacting factors, each of which contributes to the picture as a whole. From the analysis of population increase in southern Lau it seems fair to assume that, in this area at least, a factor of great importance in population growth is the presence of a spiritual force—a will to survive or zest for life—which grows out of a healthy and socially adjusted communal life. Here the greatest increase in population is found on islands least disturbed, not only by external influences but also by internal political jealousies.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Behavior Theory W3

L
13 the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing
431 Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions
438 which do actually tend to function toward just this end.
168 For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was
L reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The
[161] population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

B Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis
121 may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details see Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

312 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
247 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanairs are close together on the south ocean side. The former
[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[297] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[322] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
295
297

[p. 16]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
● 161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
295 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
291 but very little carving.
177
287
327
366

[p. 23]

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abruptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of coconut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the
● 161 natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut
313 into the interior.
487

[p.26]

13 7. ONRATA is a partly coral limestone, partly bedded sandstone island, lying about 12 miles north of Mothe. (S.18° 26', 178° 30' W.) It is 2 1/2 miles long and about 7/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends, and with three small wooded peaks up to 160 feet high on the south-east. Toward the east end there are two cross-ridges covered with forest. Off the east point a small conical islet, Loa, rises to a height of 140 feet. The west end has a sandstone hill, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina. A volcanic ledge borders the east point. The central portion of the island is occupied by a narrow brackish swamp. South of it (between the two villages) are to low knobs or ridges of sandstone. On the north side of the low central depression is a large area of cocoanut palms and cultivated patches.

The island is surrounded by a long triangular barrier reef, extending six miles to the eastward and four to the north-west. Thru it there are four passages, three on the west and one on the north. The water is moderately deep within the lagoon, except off the S.W. point of the island. There is good anchorage off the main village, Wainggori, in the S.W. bay.

312 Water is abundant. It is piped to Waing-gori from a spring in the west end sandstone hill, which is said to run all year round. There is also a fresh water bathing pool near the swamp. Rainwater is caught at Dakuiloa, the other village.

13 In addition to the usual lowland and littoral trees, noted "yasi" sandlewood. Land birds numerous, but no water birds seen. No snakes reported. Aquatic insects numerous, and mosquitoes very troublesome.

361 There are two villages, Wainggori (Waigori) and Dakuiloa, both
●[161] situated on the south side. The former claimed a population of 250 although the 1921 ~~ccccc~~ census gives the figure 138. There were

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
177 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
144 noticeable Tongan element.

241 Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
181 yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

13 KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 59' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 5/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

512 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
229
462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 81]

13 9. OLOKUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-frigging reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or miniature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 350 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with [161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but [368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and [161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qaliqali), the largest

[p.34]

[KAMBARA I.]

361 of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 130
[161] residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the
487 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the
241 three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have
396 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for
322 various kinds of carving.

This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would
13 be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
● 161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in
241 addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

1

[p.36]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [139] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 481 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 361 161 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 295 trees have been felled in places. 484

[p.37]

13 15. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is sub-circular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of coconut palms.

245 161 361 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is a small hut on the N. beach.

[p. 38]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
●161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 Zl. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E.ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small hor[illegible] There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W.of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W.side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
177 is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
487 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic
material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantat-on, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are ~~also~~ said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. 361 There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [161] [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 179 [143] [159]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

[THITHIA I.]

361 [161] [366] [177] is the largest village, with 123 ~~inhabitants~~ residents and a Chinese store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.

361 361 [205] [245] [466] Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous village with 115 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe, coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store, mainly for the ~~sake~~ convenience of his workmen.

423 Two sections of the island, Tambuta on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is

245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive groves of cocoanuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] ~~which~~ This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There
241 are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yamuthalos I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced.

[245] To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E. by S. of Susui and 15 miles E. by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E. side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E. to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is trregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 312 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being waught and stored in a cement tank at the village.

13 487 764 172 Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

[p. 76]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly tough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [312] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. [361] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a few small trees on the summit. A line of reef runs out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

114 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.74]

13 56. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 361 245 312 The island is privately owned by Mr. G.M. Henning, who resides at a homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~which~~ might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island. 487 161 464 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E. 13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p. 83]

13 39. NUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~[illegible]~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 464 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there [162] are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63] 161 164 731

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64] 168 744

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65] 165 744

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows: [162]

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

Island	Village	1921 Total population	1921 Male	1921 Female	1921 No. of houses	1921 Average number of occupants per house	1936 Total population	1936 Male	1936 Female	1936 No. of houses	1936 Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the in- 161
clination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make [464]
excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and
more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any
of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all
the islands show a disproportionately large number of females [162]
to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly
balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong
on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain
the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase 161
we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several 182
traits in common which are absent in the other three islands.
The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern
Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity.
Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than
the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently
the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and
maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands,
according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging
to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging
to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and
lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the
nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently
belong to the lower class. However, at least two other im-
portant factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of
increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on
Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other
islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in
the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but
also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

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SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LAU.
From 1921 Census.

District	Island	Village	Pop.	Fijians Res.	Fijians Strangers	Others	No. of Houses.
Fulanga	Ongea	Ongea	101	92	9	-	21
	Fulanga	Munaithake	205	199	5	1	40
	"	Muanaira	41	41	-	-	12
	"	Naivindamu	64	64	-	-	12
Kambara	Namuka-i-Lau	Namuka	216	187	29	-	53
	Komo	Komo	140	115	25	-	25
	Marambo	Marambo	8	8	-	-	1
	Kambara	Lomati	46	42	4	-	8
	"	Nggalinggali	130	123	7	-	28
	"	Tokalau	109	101	8	-	19
	"	Undu	89	83	6	-	19
Mothe	Mothe	Leva	75	74	1	-	17
	"	Nasau	187	152	35	-	51
Oneata	Oneata	Dakuiloa	85	70	13	2	21
	"	Wainggori	138	128	10	-	23
Lakemba	Lakemba	Nasanggalau	151	127	23	1	29
	"	Nukumuku	70	63	6	1	17
	"	Tumbou	283	235	38	10	76
	"	Vakano	70	50	17	3	14
	"	Wathiwathi	130	112	17	1	28
	"	Waitambu	76	69	6	1	15
	"	Yandrana	187	177	8	2	46
	?	Levuka	87	83	3	1	17
Naiau	Naiau	Liku	59	56	3	-	14
	"	Narothivo	117	104	12	1	33
	"	Salia	146	108	34	4	28
Thithia	Thithia	Lomati	113	102	9	2	28
	"	Mambula	123	118	2	3	23
	"	Natheva	41	37	4	-	12
	"	Tarukua	75	67	3	5	17
	"	Natokalau	65	57	7	1	15
Lomaloma	Tuvutha	Tuvutha	102	96	6	-	22
	Susui	Susui	67	64	3	-	21
	?	Futuna	3	3	-	-	1
	Vanua Mbalavu	Levukana	71	67	4	-	18
	"	Lomaloma	151	113	29	9	38
	"	Narothivo	60	48	12	-	15
	"	Ndakuilomaloma	52	46	2	4	12
	"	Sawana	121	105	16	-	28
	"	Uruone	66	61	5	-	15
Mualevu	"	Malaka	14	9	5	-	5
	"	Mavana	115	83	28	4	26
	"	Mboitathi	64	53	10	1	12
	"	Mualevu	196	151	45	-	37
	"	Muamua	30	20	10	-	8
	"	Ndalithoni	91	55	33	3	23
	Avea	Avea	63	53	10	-	20
	Thikombia	Thikombia	51	39	10	2	12
Ono	3 islands	5 villages	641	613	23	5	?
Matuku	Matuku	7 "	648	573	74	1	163
Moala	Moala	8 "	667	645	20	2	133
Totoya	Totoya	4 "	474	431	39	4	88
"	Vanua Vatu	Taira	162	145	15	2	28
			7402	6583	743	76	--#

1487 houses exclusive of those in Ono district.

[p. 9]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present
245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the
[248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The
[249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center
361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.
497

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the
423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive
464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended
162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills
13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 26. KANATHEA is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanna Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

13 Ml. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *waroworo;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *ernerw*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Today, of infectious

diseases, dysentery, influenza, pneumonia, and tuberculosis take the highest death toll. 744 [165]

Great efforts have been made to improve the sanitation and housing in the native villages. Attention is placed especially on purification of the water supply and on soil sanitation through the installation of latrines. The village headman is responsible for the enforcement of regulations dealing with sanitation, and the building and spacing of sleeping and kitchen houses.

TABLE 1. INFANT MORTALITY AMONG FIJIANS 165

Year	Under 1 month	1 month to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Total
1929	111	379	281	771
1930	125	500	549	1,174
1931	107	267	251	625
1932	90	236	140	466
1933	88	244	174	506
1934	99	368	290	757
1935	99	462	358	919
1936	98	424	514	1,036

(Annual Reports, Fiji.)

One of the most important native health measures is the child welfare service initiated by the government in 1927. 746 It has spread gradually through the colony until child welfare committees consisting of native mothers have been established in nearly every Fijian village. They are instructed in child care by the child welfare worker in charge of the district.[67] The child welfare service is laying a foundation for a higher standard of infant and maternal care. The results of the work can only be seen over a considerable period of time, since they may be counteracted by epidemics such as those of whooping cough, dysentery, and measles, which have increased the infant mortality in the last few years (see Table 1).

[67] Four trained European nurses and fourteen native nurses are engaged in this work. They are aided by district medical officers and native medical practitioners.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka,* the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau sàka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166●

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakarzia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423
enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578
and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands 423
has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy [161] and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423
the modern western economic system. He is economically 464
independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau. [167]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

While we lack the data to describe these two types of biotics, we do know 13
that their development in Lau has been influenced and limited by the following major factors.[9] First, rocks are of only two types: impervious volcanic and soluble limestones. Second, most of the islands are small, isolated, and closely surrounded by open sea at least 100 fathoms deep. They are separated from the main Fiji group to the northwest by a distance of some 200 miles and from Tonga to the southeast by some 400 miles. Third, located mainly between 17 and 19 degrees[10] south latitude and in the vicinity of 179 degrees west longitude, the Lau group has a tropical climate, the mean annual temperature being estimated at about 73 degrees Fahrenheit, the humidity range from about 70 to 90 per cent. Fourth, the islands lie in the belt of the southeast trade winds which prevail during the cool, dry season from April to November. This condition is strongly reflected in reef and island contours and in rock type distributions. During the remainder of the year, the warm, wet season, the southwest monsoon blows intermittently, especially from January to March when hurricanes may be expected. Fifth, practically all of the annual precipitation, which averages about 80 inches, falls during the wet season, much of it in the form of torrential downpours which erode basins and caverns in the limestone islands, and valleys in the volcanics. Sixth, the basic ecological balances of each island developed in the absence of large land animals, including man.[11]

By the time that the first men arrived in Lau in comparatively recent 13
times, the delicately balanced, natural ecological arrangements, characteristic 167
of southern Lau, had attained their basic patterns. The advent of man meant much more than the intrusion of a single species, namely *Homo sapiens*, as had been the case when many ocean- or air-borne species found their way to these islands. The advent of man meant the intrusion into the group of a whole complex of exotic species of both fauna and flora carried by man during his migration by canoe eastward into the Pacific basin. Culture-historical evidence in southern Lau[12] suggests that these included the pig, the dog, and the fowl, as well as various food plants such as yam, breadfruit and banana. Man brought, furthermore, various stone and shell tools such as adzes, gouges, awls and pounders with which he could somewhat alter the face of nature; various skills, such as fire-making, horticulture, stone-cutting, house-building,

[9] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Bryan, 1948; Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[10] Vatoa and Ono-i-Lau lie farther to the south, and accordingly have a slightly cooler climate.

[11] According to Bryan (MSS.): "Except for birds and insects there is a poverty of native 136
animal life in Lau. The only mammal noted was the rat. About a dozen species of water birds and over 28 species of land birds were encountered throughout the group. Two species of land snakes and one banded water snake were caught. Lizards of various species were abundant. The largest was the green *vokai*. Various sizes of geckos and skinks were more abundant. Land crabs, including the large 'coconut' crab and hermit crabs, were present in quantity."

[12] Thompson, 1938.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13
167 basketry and mat-plaiting; and he brought the sailing canoe with which he traveled between the islands and connected their heretofore disparate ecological arrangements.

13
174 Not much is known of these first human inhabitants of Lau but, on the basis of internal evidence in the present-day culture and of archeological findings,[13] we infer that they settled on the larger islands and formed small clan hamlets in the bush. On the limestone islands the aborigines subsisted chiefly on jungle fruits, edible green leaves from the bush, fish, pigs and fowl, while on the volcanics this basic diet was supplemented with such garden produce as yams.

After the first men arrived, a new ecological arrangement seems to have gradually taken form on the basis of the old; and recently introduced species of flora and fauna, including *Homo sapiens*, became a part of the total balance. The culture of the first human inhabitants of Lau indicates that, on the foundations of attitudes and behavior patterns which they had brought with them into Lau, the aborigines developed a culture which integrated the human group with the other species of the natural community in environmental context and which symbolically explained, validated and supported the group's way of life.[14] What the effect of the aborigines was on the environment we do not know. It has been suggested, however, that man's cultivation of the volcanic islands has been responsible to some degree for the fact that much of their flora has degenerated to rank grasslands and other low growth. The limestone localities, on the other hand, apparently were and still are less affected by man's presence. The soil is less fertile and less responsive to cultivation of food plants by means of technology available to the natives, while the low, dense, scrubby forest, its tangle of underbrush, together with the rough, pitted terrain, help to discourage change through human activity.[15]

The next major event in the culture history of the area was the conquest of the aborigines, apparently about fifteen generations ago, by a small band of warriors reputed to have come from northwest Viti Levu in west Fiji. Marrying aboriginal women who brought them parcels of land, the conquerors settled on the more fertile islands and founded new clans. The newcomers were very different in skills, interests and values from the aborigines. They were a raiding, fishing people who preferred to sail and gather their food from the sea rather than to till the soil. The conquerors, moreover, were fascinated

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[13] Thompson, 1938, 1940b.

[14] In time apparently the migration of their ancestors from the west was forgotten and the aborigines of Lau came to believe that they had originated locally in some natural phenomenon, such as a tree or an animal. The people of each island also had a species of bird and a species of fish which was sacred to them, and they believed in a local abode of the dead. Their deity was apparently a great, pervasive, spiritual power believed to be the source of all *mana* and was worshiped at sacred places such as caves, trees or stones.

[15] Bryan, 1948.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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[65] S. M. Lambert, *"The Depopulation of Pacific Races,"* Bishop Museum Special Publication 23, Honolulu, 1934, p. 22.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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L
13 the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing
431 Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions
438 which do actually tend to function toward just this end.
168 For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was
L reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The
[161] population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

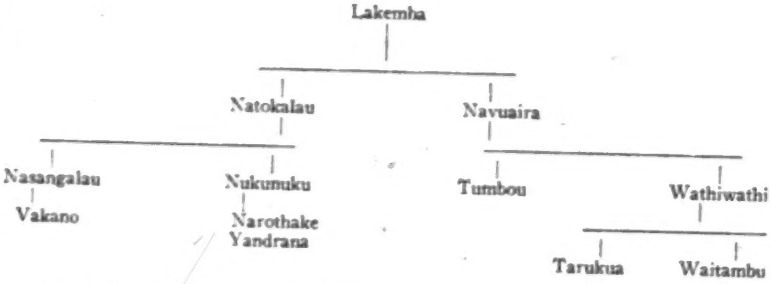
B Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis
121 may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veitalai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati,* to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena,* but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 757

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wazula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

755 757

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the [171] name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that [928] he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tumumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in [753] the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or
272 death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle
[372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco
276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to
527 both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served
[262 only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men,
[71 while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau ÔQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of 526
earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high.

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property [525]
was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows:

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed), [539]
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchinoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully [578]
through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other.

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy 526 171
wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

526
[171]

This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

[868]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau[illegible]na ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12). 321 412

Gouges

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs. 324 412

Comparisons

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining third may be classed as western-Polynesian. 171 324 412

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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Samoa,[5] Rotuma, Tokelau,[6] Futuna,[7] and Uvea,[8] but are absent in the small collection from Fiji proper.

Hence besides the specialization in carpentry, the position of the Lau islands on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia adds interest to a study of the cutting-implements. This marginal position is clearly reflected in the local types of adzes.

[5]See Peter Buck, "Samoan Material Culture," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 75, Honolulu, 1930, Plate 36 C (type 3, rectangular); Plate 37 B and figure 196 (type 6, triangular).

[6]Gordon Macgregor, "Ethnology of Tokelau," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 146, figure 24, 1937.

[7]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Futuna," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 138, Plate 5, A and C, 1936.

[8]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Uvea," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 145, figure 3, 1937.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

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174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much
157 of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian
●171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as
[576] far north as old Japan the same sign was used; while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

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with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to ?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day at Matuku, called the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 773 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Tongans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakabau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west. 171 773

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting, 773 539*

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others. 773 114 539*

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves hardly know the meaning of.

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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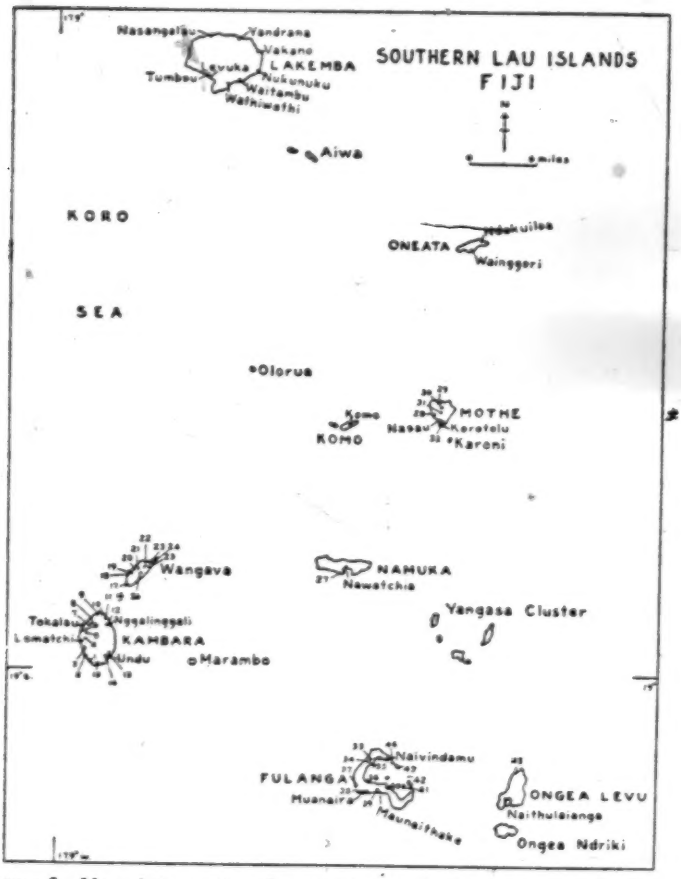

FIGURE 2.—Map of the southern Lau islands, Fiji (omitting Ono and Vatoa to the south). Names of inhabited islands are in capitals; of uninhabited islands and villages in capitals and lower case; the approximate location of archaeological sites and other named places, numbered as follows:

1. Votua
2. Salia
3. Nakoroyangai
4. Nakaka
5. Ndelaioloi
6. Vatuloaloa
7. Korokoroilulu
8. Naisevon and Nokorovusa
9. Naikeleangga
10. Ndaku
11. Naimarai
12. Nakoro and Mataundu
13. Nambewa
14. Thaukenaloa and Vakawangga
15. Nggaralevu
16. Vuthuninggase
17. Thimbathimba (Kambara and Wangava)
18. Saurai
19. Ndengei
20. Naivakevu
21. Korombalavu
22. Nambukua
23. Ndaitukavondo
24. Savena
25. Toyovu and Nawarowaro
26. Sauvanaroa Lake
27. Thimbathimba (Namuka)
28. Kamali
29. Nggali
30. Ndelaimakotu
31. Ndelaimothe
32. Leva
33. Tchinambua
34. Toka
35. Matafete
36. Vatuolo
37. Ndolealewanilomatchi
38. Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali
39. Nauluvatu
40. Yawalevu
41. Taluma
42. Salia
43. Nggilanggilalevu
44. Nggilanggilalailai
45. Thimbathimba (Ongea)

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 621 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity. 621 133 172

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Nai-votavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village. 621 133 [439]

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi, Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth. [137]

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass [751] a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 712 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mbu vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

NAISEVOU

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, pro-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tected by two outer walls (fig. 21, 1, 3). The walls consist of undressed limestone which supplements the natural protection afforded by the cliff. All four walls are parallel and extend inland from the edge of the precipice. They are well preserved. On the surface of the ground in the fortified areas (fig. 21, 1, 3) were found potsherds, an adz blade of Tridacna, and irregular lines of stones which the natives said marked burials.

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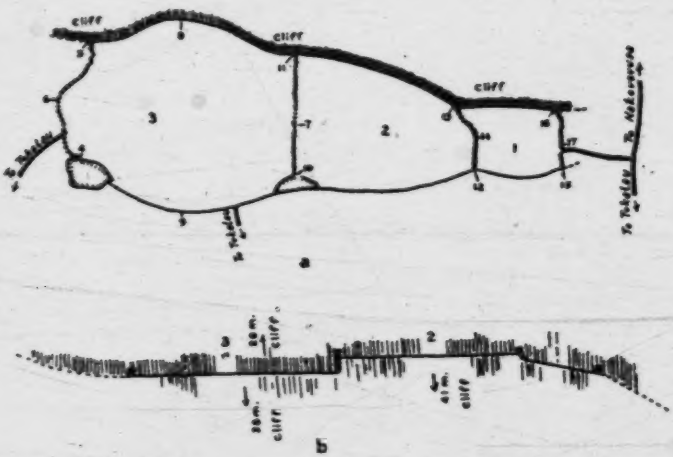

FIGURE 21.—Naisevou fortress site, Kambara. a, sketch map of site which occupies three levels (1, 2, 3), separated by rough limestone defense walls 1-2.60 meters high, 0.30-1 meter wide; 1 and 3 were outer fortified areas, house sites were located in 2. Measurements: 4-5, 37 meters; 6-7, 95 meters; 8-9, 60 meters; 10-11, 55 meters; 12-13, 20 meters; 7-14, 70 meters; 17-14, 32 meters; 15-16, 17 meters. b, profile of site (from west) showing three levels (1, 2, 3) and location of stone defense walls.

NAKOROVUSA

On the ridge about 28 meters above Naisevou is Nakorovusa, surrounded by a wall of undressed limestone. On the west this wall follows the edge of the cliffs, in places reinforcing and supplementing them to a height of about 10 meters. The wall on the south side is about 2 meters high and 65 cm. wide at the top. Much of the ground inside the wall is rocky and broken, but the level land has been made into a manioc garden. Most of the house sites have been destroyed but one site, an oval earth mound about 38 cm. high, faced with large stones, is well preserved. It is 8 meters long and 6 meters wide. The long axis of the platform is perpendicular to the shore line. Potsherds were found on the ground inside and outside of the house sites. Some sherds had incised designs on the outer wall surface or on the flat edge of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the slightly outward bent rim. A piece of brain coral, apparently used as a grater, was also found.

Ndelaioloi

Another fortress site, Ndelaioloi, is situated southeast of Tokalau village at the summit of Ndelaioloi, the highest hill on Kambara (143.3 meters) and the only one of volcanic formation. The site commands a view of the island of Kambara as well as 17 other islands. It is entirely surrounded by a well-preserved wall of basalt. About two-thirds of the site is used for a garden of yams and manioc; the remainder is overgrown by bush. A few of the house sites which have not been destroyed are roughly rectangular in shape.

Nakaka

North of Lomatchi village on the southern spur of Ndelaioloi is Nakaka. The site is surrounded by a well-preserved wall and is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut, *vala*, and Tahitian chestnut. On the steep hillside each house foundation forms a terrace, the south side built up with stone to 65 cm. to 1 meter high and the remainder of the mound filled in with stones to level the floor. Most of the house sites are elliptical in ground plan but one is square, 5 by 5 meters, with slightly rounded corners. A coconut tree estimated by its rings to be at least 75 years old, is growing in a stone-marked house mound of the Nakaka site.

Nakoro

Located on the edge of the ridge 60 to 75 meters above Nggalinggali is Nakoro, a natural fort. It follows the line of the ridge which forms a cliff wall. A break in this wall to the north of the fortress affords the only approach from the sea. About 4 meters below this break, a limestone wall has been constructed to guard the approach. The site of Nakoro, built up in terraces on the steep inner slope of the ridge, is now used as a garden; but many house foundations are well preserved. Informants say burials were found in some house mounds when they were disturbed for gardening. The skeletons were reburied. A group of five or six house mounds at the south end of the Nakoro series, called Matanaiundu, are said to have been used by the Undu group who were allies of the Nggalinggali people. Matanaiundu is separated from Nakoro by a high point and can be approached either from Nakoro along a razor-backed ledge, which forms the eastern edge of the point, or up a steep path leading from the interior. West of Nakoro and Matanaiundu the cliff drops abruptly from 10 to 25 meters. Here a flat, ovate section of the interior basin which forms the island has been isolated by cliffs. The fortified approach to Nakoro leads also to this plateau which has only one

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

other entrance, located at the northwest end and protected by a limestone wall. A path leading into the interior joins the two entrances. It is forked by another path leading to the Sautambu, an isolated burial mound (p. 222) located at the northeast end of the plateau. Between the rocks on both sides of this second path are pits, 2 to 4 meters deep, from which the soil for the house mounds at Nakoro was taken, according to the natives.

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Thaukenaloa

A strong fortress site, Thaukenaloa is situated 75 to 80 meters high on the ridge southwest of Undu. The site is said to have been named after four conspicuous ironwood (*thau*) trees crowning the point which commands a view of the surrounding ocean. Thaukenaloa occupies a steep, narrow slope between the edge of the cliffs and an inland ravine 8 meters deep. The site forms a natural fort, and protecting limestone walls have been built up only at the entrance. The site, which varies in width from 10 to 25 meters and extends about 120 meters along the ridge, is very rocky and somewhat overgrown so that it was difficult to determine to what extent house foundations had been built up. The house sites were formerly supported on the west side by a retaining limestone wall 1.5 meters high. Two foundations, situated on high points, apparently served as look-outs. Thin potsherds and one small Tridacna shell were found at Thaukenaloa.

Ndengei

The strongest fortress site on Wangava was Ndengei, built according to tradition, by Nggileso (table 2). Ndengei is located on the cliffs above Saurai near Wangava's highest point (100 meters). The only approach to the site is by a path leading from the north end of the beach on the northwest side of the island up the narrow, steep ravine to the top of the cliff and down again into a narrow valley surrounded by high inaccessible cliffs. The path up the cliff is protected by a series of three limestone walls. Each wall runs across the narrow ravine, a distance of from 4 to 7 meters. Ruins of the first wall (4 meters long) are located 5 meters above the sandy flat and about 35 meters from it. Its former height cannot now be determined. The second wall, 7 meters long, 3 meters high, 2.5 meters wide at the base, and about 30 cm. wide at the top, is located about 70 meters from the first and 10 meters above it. The third wall is 70 meters from the second and 6 meters above it. It is 6 meters long, 2 meters high, 1.5 meters wide at the base and practically pointed at the top. The natives say that formerly a hamlet was located at the top of the cliff in a level space about 8 meters wide, now covered with thick bush. No house foundations were seen here. The cliff rises rapidly northward to the highest point on the island where a round flat stone marks

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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172 a look-out point, according to informants. Here the entire island and sur-
712 rounding ocean can be seen. From the edge of the cliff, the path descends gradually through another rocky ravine. About 150 meters from the edge of the cliff grow wild yams, and 50 meters farther, at the blind end of the ravine are two coconut trees over 100 years old. No definite house foundations were found although many possible sites were examined. Gorges to a depth of 15 meters were common, many affording protection against the rain. It is possible that these were used as shelters.

Korombalavu

The only fortified cave visited was Korombalavu (Long-fortress), also called Koronggara (Cave-fortress), located in the limestone cliffs at the north end of Wangava. The natives say the cave extends to the north coast of the island and opens high in the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu. The inland approach to the cave through a deep, rocky ravine is protected by a series of eight limestone walls. Only the entrance to the cave, which is fortified with limestone walls, was examined. It was filled with flying foxes and dung.

HAMLETS

172 Hamlet (*tokatoka*) sites are located in or near the garden lands on all the inhabited islands. Their names and locations have been discussed (pp. 22-27).

Nawarowaro

Nawarowaro, located in the garden lands of northeast Wangava, is an example of a hamlet site. On this site, which is now used as a garden, many potsherds and shells were seen. The house sites have no mounds but consist of elliptical rings of stones, usually about 8 by 7 meters. Informants say that Nawarowaro was once occupied by the land people of Wangava.

Vakawangga

Vakawangga, a hamlet site which resembles a fortress, is located about 40 meters above Undu in a pocket in the cliffs, midway between the sandy flat and the top of the ridge. The hamlet, situated on a level space about 100 meters long by 30 meters wide, is surrounded by cliffs that rise on the east side about 10 meters and then drop to sea level. The cliffs on the west side rise abruptly 40 meters to the ridge. A path leads from the site southward and joins the path from Undu to Thaukenaloa and the interior. The entrance to the hamlet has been walled with limestone, probably in recent times to pen pigs. No other stone walls were seen. Since the site was overgrown with bush and fruit trees, including coconut trees, it was impossible to examine the house foundations without clearing, but one 5-meter by 6-meter house

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

mound was noted. The level platform was built up of limestone with a retaining wall 60 cm. to 1 meter high. Two corners of the walls were practically right angled. House sites seen here were larger and higher than those at Thaukenaloa. 172

Nambakua

Several coast sites, occupied by groups of clans in post-Christian times after the evacuation of the hamlet sites, have been noted (pp. 22-28).

On Wangava, about 30 meters above the northeast coast near Savena Point is Nambakua, an example of this type of site. It is said to be the first Christian village on Wangava. Although the site is used as a garden, several house mounds remain intact. A stone-faced mound with elliptical ground plan, called Vale Levu, is 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 30 cm. high. Two other mounds are 4 meters long, 3 meters wide, and 60 cm. high. A stone-faced mound with circular ground plan is 8 meters in diameter and 45 cm. high. Potsherds were taken from the house sites. A limestone wall 2.3 meters high, which the natives say belonged to Nambakua, is located 40 meters from the coast. It joins and builds up the natural wall of limestone. A second stone wall—2 meters high from the lower (Nambakua) side, 30 cm. wide at the top, and 2 meters wide at the base, also said to belong to Nambakua—reinforces the natural gateway of limestone rock. The path ascends through a break in this wall up the cliff. Both walls appeared to defend a fortress (probably pre-Christian) higher up on the cliff rather than Nambakua, but this could not be located. A few meters above the second wall on the point where the path begins to descend, stands a single upright stone, 1.3 meters high, 25 cm. wide at the top, said to be the seat of the guard (*niandra*). The path toward the interior leads through openings in two more walls, about 50 meters apart, of natural limestone reinforced by built-up stones. Lower and less carefully built than defense walls, these are said to form pigpens.

BURIALS

Burial Caves

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Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs and parts of canoes are found in many caves in Lau. For example, a famous cave called Noaruarua is located in the interior of west Wangava. It is reputed to be the burial place of Singambongi, who was treacherously murdered by Naialewakalou of Lakemba. Noaruarua consists of a ledge in the limestone wall about 1.3 meters above the ground. The bones of at least three skeletons were seen here. Eight conch shells, partly decomposed and covered with patina, were scattered about the ledge.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Isolated Burials

172 764 Unique in southern Lau is the Sautambu or chiefs' burial mound near Nggalinggali (p. 219). It is an isolated, truncated cone-shaped burial mound faced with unworked limestones. Built on a steep slope, it measures about 12 meters high from the lower side of the base and 5 meters high from the upper side. A large greenheart tree, about 3.3 meters in diameter, is growing on the flat, circular top of the mound. Here were found four conch shells, a bundle of dry kava, and a withered wreath. The Sautambu is tabu and is carefully avoided by the natives. Some say it is the burial place of Wetasau, Kelei, Mbuatoka, and Tawaketchini (table 2). According to tradition, it was built by a thousand men from Thakaundrove, each of whom contributed a stone and a handful of earth.

Cemeteries

Some informants say that each hamlet had a cemetery (called *mara* or *mbulumbulu*) in pre-Christian times (p. 102). The natives can locate a number of these, as for instance Tuvatuva, said to be situated on a point jutting into the Wangava lake not far from Vanuwai. Rasolo says that burials at Tuvatuva are marked by stone-faced mounds. No hamlet cemeteries were examined.

Isolated House Mounds

172 Isolated house mounds (*yavu*) are rare in southern Lau. West of Nggalinggali on the sandy flat, however, is located Naiviloa, an isolated, circular mound of earth 1 meter high and 8 meters in diameter. It is faced with large slabs of undressed limestone. The flat surface of the mound is covered with beach sand. The natives say that Naiviloa was the house mound of Mbuatoka (table 2). The mound contains two rectangular stone-faced burial mounds. One burial mound is 3.5 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 30 cm. high above the foundation. It is faced with a wall consisting of rectangular blocks of limestone dressed with right-angled corners. The mound surface is flush with the top of the wall and is covered with fresh beach sand. Eight conch shells, symbols of chieftainship, have been placed along the inner side of the east wall. The other burial mound has a ground plan similar to the first but it is faced with a single row of thin slabs of dressed limestone (about 60 cm. long, 30 cm. high, and 8 cm. deep), placed upright, their long axes parallel to the ground. This is reputed to be the grave of Sinula, a grandchild of Mbuatoka.

OTHER SITES

Sacred Places

Sites of sacred places (*na sava*), such as god houses (*mbure kalou*), sacred caves (*nggara kalou*) and sacred stones are found in Lau. Those visited have been described (pp. 108-109, 112-113).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambeiembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The 174
group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage.

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hard- [172]
wood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of
these defenses may be seen today.

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or [614]
bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

000 fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence
121 southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

127 Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. [172] Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

174 The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, 177 and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified 172 village—*(koro)* sites.

323 The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse 531 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. 172 The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .8 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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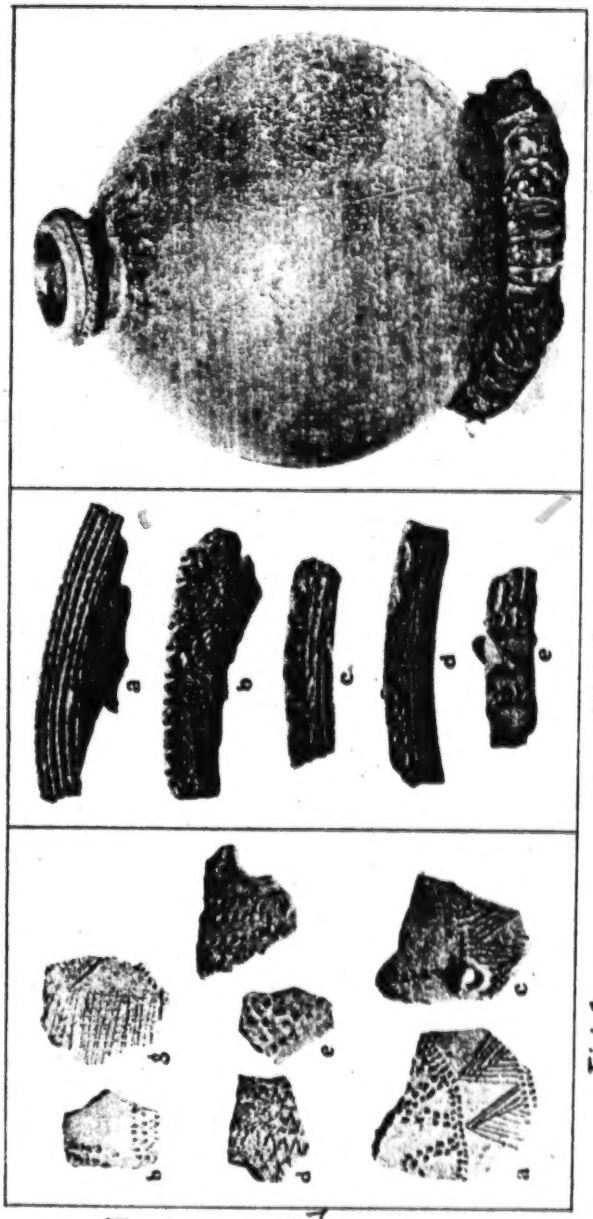

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

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FIGURES.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

PLATE A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
177 is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
487 no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [345] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

13 Kl. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good 13 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto 487 the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave 764 containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau. 172

[p. 76]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated.
[361] The small village is on the N.W. side.

The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1830 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

964 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.
312
241

[p.88]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. 114
Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford.

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired 126
from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me.

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop 004
Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do.

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin 538
with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The 173
narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back.

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, 173
various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complete subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of

[p. 3]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:
131

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 142 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

173 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau,* and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa,* a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before [173] the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawaroaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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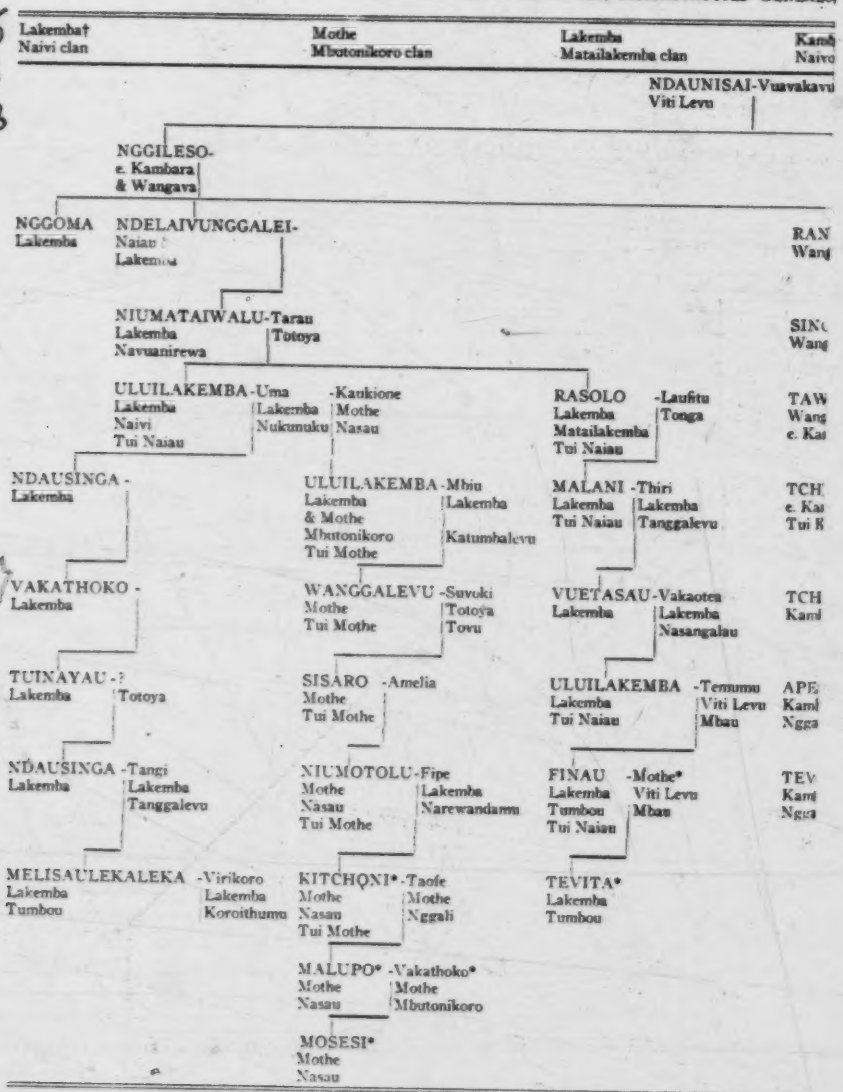
TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO



† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 38-
* Indicates those living in 1933.

38A

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tanggu clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
a	AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu		-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- e. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lumbathi w. Kambara Vuanikathu Kambara Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - e. Kambara	TUWAI -Maitonga w. Kambara Totoya Mbusa Natukosokoso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava Totoya	SUE -Ufia e. Kambara Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara Kambara Vanua
ufitu onga	TAWAKETCHINI - Vutu Wangava & e. Kambara Kambara Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Raloalou w. Kambara Thithia Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi e. Kambara Tui Kambara Kambara Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe e. Kambara Lakemba Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara Totoya Mousa Natukosakosa?
akaotea akemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara Kambara Mbete
A -Temumu Viti Levu Mbau	APETENIKO -Riniete Kambara Nggalinggali Kambara Undu Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Nggali-nggali Kambara Undu Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
e* Levu a	TEVITA* Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI* -Silai Kambara Nggali-nggali Kambara Nggali-nggali Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusione w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
		TCHONI* Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Tokalau Tui Kambara Kambara Tokalau Katoka
			TCHOSAIA* -Kafuate Kambara Tokalau Tonga Vavau
			INOKE* Kambara Tokalau

ned locally (see pp. 38-39).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away. 539

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

173 825 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 824 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder 173 825 of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini*, a large hawk.

173 771 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116). 173

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods. 776

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house. 776 539

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*. 776

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PERIOD 2

About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies of high ranking sibs, a group of warrior immigrants arrived in Lau. The folklore says that these people came from Nakauvandra in northeast Viti Levu, the largest island of the Fiji group. Nakauvandra is the traditional home of Ndengei,[20] the great ancestral god of Fiji. The immigrants worshipped Ndengei as their first forefather. They were led by the warrior hero, Ndaunisai, who came with his brothers in two large double canoes. Ndaunisai landed on Kambara Island. From here the immigrants spread through southern and central Lau and established themselves as the dominant social group. Although the newcomers were warriors, settlement was not necessarily by force. They were accepted as bringing rarama (light) to the inhabitants who had been living in mbutombuto (darkness).[21] 174 173

Upon the basic sib unit of the early inhabitants, the immigrants imposed a complicated system of rank, by which every sib stood in definite relationship to every other sib. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence sib genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary sib titles[22] depending on an historical division of sibs. Sibs descended from the immigrants formed the yavusa turanga (chief group). Sibs descended from the early inhabitants formed the yavusa vanua (land group). 174

The highest rank was held by the high chief, Tui Naiau,[23] who was directly descended in the first born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai. The high chief was sacred. His person was protected by many tabus and to break one of these meant death. He was surrounded by strict etiquette and elaborate ceremonial. The head of the chief, his headrest, and his comb were tabu. The head of the pig and the sea turtle were reserved for him. He was addressed by a special phraseology.[24] His birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and death were celebrated by all his

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[20] For further information concerning Ndengei see: Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. 3, p. 83; A. B. Brewster *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 81–82, 85.

[21] According to informants.

[22] Such as mata ni vanua (eye or face of the land), the chief's herald; ndau ni nggoli (master fisherman); vaka vanua (chief of crops). Sib titles are held by the sib headman.

[23] For a legend concerning the first Tui Naiau see: G. M. Hennings, *The Murder of the First Tui Naiau* (Transactions, Fijian Society, 1917), pp. 33–37.

[24] This phraseology was in the Mbauan dialect. See Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), Vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

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173 Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

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173 It is very difficult nowadays to get the people to speak of the old times, for the simple reason that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

869 797

[1] Christianity.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

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Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

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[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

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The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity. 539* 776

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long." [825]

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day. [173]

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku. 174 539*

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

SOON was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

[438] [824] [501] [285] [437]

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

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173 *539 a favourable wind from Vualiku,[1] let us return home while we may.' And a farewell feast was made, they launched the canoes, and on the morrow they started back for Ono.

"But that evening at dusk a *tokavuki* (small cyclone) sprang up and great was their alarm. The waves dashed over the canoes and the bailers never ceased their work all through the night. Fiercer blew the wind, and higher climbed the waves. Then shouted Tui Matokano, 'Throw over an offering of *Yaqona* to Ligadua, for it seems our time is near and he alone can save us.' [176] Ligadua, the one-armed, was the god of Matokano; but that, sir, was of course in the dark times, before the *lotu* (Christianity) had arrived," he explained, apologetically. "And he swore that should they ever see Ono again they would make such a *magiti* (feast) and present such offerings to the god as had never before been made. And then the waves began to abate and the winds grew quieter and more favourable, and in the morning they saw in the distance the hill-tops of Ono.

"And so they safely arrived home again, and great were the rejoicings when the people of Matokano saw the fine things that had been brought from Kabara. But Tui Matokano thought not of his promise, for he had many

[1] The north.

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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens. 173 539*

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand. [609] [576]

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu*,

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173 I must have been sleeping. That was a bad
*539 dream, that one. It seems to me it would be well to make a feast for Ligadua while I think of it.'

"So he turned to a man near by and told him to beat the great drum to summon a meeting of the people at once to discuss the matter of this feast. The man went over to the drum, and picked up the two heavy *yavayava* (mallets) and started to ring the call for a meeting of the people. But not a sound came forth. He looked at the sticks, and looked at the drum, and then he struck again. Still it was silent. Then he threw down the sticks in fear and fled. Tui Matokano was very angry, and shouted, 'Fool, why don't you do as I tell you,' and he himself went across to the drum and started to beat it. Still no sound came from it. Then Tui Matokano sat down in dead silence, and all the people waited, for they knew that it was truly Ligadua that they had seen. And as they waited they heard a faint sound from the direction of far away Tuvana Island, the home of Ligadua; and it was the ghost of their great drum that they heard, and it seemed to mock them as they listened.

773 "And never again would the true drum at
*539 Matokano speak, though often on a calm night one may hear his soul speaking from Tuvana, and it is said that Ligadua is summoning his

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

• 173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.
[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognized as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land." 173

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced. [276]

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those [516]

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

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173 of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of
[516] Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was
[846] very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.

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and Tuisala was seated there, spreading the *rerega*[1] on her young baby, as is our custom. And in jest she threw a little of the powder at Rasolo, and some stayed on his cheek. But Ului Lakeba entered the house just then, and saw this, and his anger grew hot within him, for he suspected Rasolo. And he straightway drove Rasolo and his brothers out of Lakeba, letting but one of them, Matawalu, remain—for Matawalu was then still a child.

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"And Rasolo journeyed first to Totoya Island, and stayed there for some years, as his father had done before him; and there he took for a wife one Laufita, and they had a son—Malani—who was my grandfather.

"Now, after a time, a great desire to return to Nayau arose within him, so he hewed a tall Vesi tree at Dravuwalu town, and made a big canoe, and with all his people set sail for Nayau; but he was driven by the winds to Moala Island on the way. And after a few weeks there he journeyed on to Nayau, and great was the joy of the people to see him. And not very long after this Matawalu, now a young man, joined him; but he brought with him the report that the hatred of Ului Lakeba for Rasolo still remained.

"Now, at Maumi, the old fighting town on the top of the cliff at Nayau, there grew a

[1] Powdered turmeric.

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173 Vuanirewa tree from a fissure in the face of the rocks, about half-way down. And on a certain day the god entered into the *beté*[1] of the temple at Maumi and spoke, and said that if Rasolo could leap on to a certain large branch of that tree without harm he should be *buli'd* as Tui Nayau. And the people gathered round to see this thing, for they thought no man could do it and live. But Rasolo accomplished it, and great was the wonder of the people. (And for this leaping of Rasolo to the Vuanirewa tree our tribe are called the 'Men of Vuanirewa' to this day.)

"And so Rasolo was *buli'd* as Tui Nayau in the ancient manner, for his fathers were truly sprung from the first Tui Nayau, the son of Tui Nawasara of Moala Island, who founded the town of Maumi in Nayau. For Delaivugalei was the son of Qilaiso, the son of Polini; and Polini's father, Kaloniyalewa, was the son of Tui Nawasara."

Here the old man was seized with a fit of coughing that quite alarmed me; but in a moment he was all right again, and simply said, smiling, "I grow old, I think"; and then he went on:

"But still was Rasolo restless and heavy of spirit, for his home was in truth at Lakeba, and Ului Lakeba ever kept him from returning. So he held counsel with Matawalu, and they

[1] Priest.

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resolved to sail to Vanua Balavu Island and seek the aid of the Ravunisa, the Chief of Loma Loma town there; moreover, a half-brother of theirs, named Kolimatua Kai Koso, was *vasu*[1] to the Loma Loma chief. 173

"Now Lakeba at this time was very powerful, and none of the other islands dared to rise against her; but Vanua Balavu was more daring than the others, being a long way off and half-way to Cakaudrove. (And the Ravunisa had no great fear of Lakeba, but even used to prepare a *dai*[2] for Lakeba, and cause her chiefs to bring him great stores of goods on the pretence that the mighty Cakaudrove chiefs were about to make war on her and needed conciliating.)

"So they came to Loma Loma, and stayed there with the Ravunisa, at the place called Na Kaniwai—where I have heard, sir, that you have lately caused to be built a fine dwelling-house of stone for your assistant. And great gales sprang up and lasted many weeks, as they do sometimes now, and when the seas abated the wind was not favourable for their returning; and then more gales arose, until it was over four moons that they had stayed with the Ravunisa. And Rasolo was *madua*[3] to have stayed so long, and so he promised to give his sister Sivoki to

[1] Nephew, and therefore by ancient right able to claim protection, assistance, or goods. [604]
[2] Trap. [3] Ashamed.

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173 *cola pupu*,[1] for the Ravunisa, and also it came to his mind that this would help to tie the Ravunisa to his cause. So he sent to Cakaudrove for her (for she was a widow of a Cakaudrove chief, though still but a girl.)

"And great was the delight of the Ravunisa when he saw her, and he promised to give his aid to Rasolo. But not long after this the men of Mualevu came down to *cola rara*[2] for the Ravunisa (for they were at that time subject to him), and they gave a *meke*[3] that afternoon. And Sovoki straightway fell in love with one of them, Tui Lekutu, a very handsome man; so much so that she ran off with him that very night, and they fled to the hills, fearing the wrath of the Ravunisa.[4] Thus, though the Ravunisa had no great anger for Rasolo he refused now to aid him; so Rasolo set sail once more for Nayau.

"And after he had been some little time at Nayau word came that most of the Lakeba chiefs had risen and slain Ului Lakeba, who was now an old man and whom they had always feared. Yet some at Lakeba would still have fought for Dranivia, the son of Ului Lakeba, and made him the 'Sau'; while others wished to send for Rasolo.

[1] A Lauan phrase; literally, "to fetch the vessels of water," one of a wife's duties; hence coming to mean "to marry."
[2] Bring firewood. [3] Dance.
[4] Qoroniasi, once a very famous District Chief of Mualevu, was one of their children.

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Thus there was much trouble on all sides. 173
And at this time the men of the Levuka tribe (who, as you know, sir, were never truly of our land, but came many years ago from Great Fiji) took council together, and with much cunning rose up and killed many of both parties, so that for some years Levuka ruled at Lakeba.

"Then one day the *Ramasi*, which is the title of him whose duty it is to *buli* the Sau, as his fathers have always done before him, met together with the *Tui Tubou* and the *Na Rewadamu*, who each also have duties when a *Sau* is *buli'd*, and they decided to go secretly to Nayau and bring back Rasolo to be the Chief at Lakeba. So one moonlight night they took a small canoe from Nasaqalau, and sailed over to Nayau, to fetch Rasolo. And they took *tabua* to him, and said, 'We have come, Tui Nayau, that you may lead us at Lakeba.'

"But, Rasolo, being now aged and of much wisdom, answered them and said, 'Of what use will it be for me to go yet to Lakeba? It is not now the time. Wait, and we will get more warriors and slay all the men of Levuka.'

"And so they returned to Lakeba; but Rasolo stayed on. And twice more they sailed to Nayau for Rasolo. And then at last Rasolo answered, 'Now truly is the time. We will go to Lakeba and there shall not be left a single man of the Levuka tribe.'

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"And many canoes they gathered together and they arranged that Matawalu should lead them in the fight. And much food did they prepare for their sailing. But before they left they *buli'd* Rasolo as the *Sau* of Lakeba; and the manner of it is as follows:

"From ancient time Lakeba has been divided into two halves (after Delanikoro, the first town founded by Tui Lakeba, the god, had been scattered), and these halves were called Na Tokelau and Vuira. And when a chief was about to be *buli'd* as *Sau*, *Yaqona* was prepared; and then Ramasi, who was always the Tui Nasaqulau (Nasaqualau being the leading town of the Na Tokelau half) took the right arm of the chief and bound some white *masi*[1] round it; and Tui Tubou (Tubou being the leading town of the Vuira half) took the left arm and did likewise, while Na Rewadamu placed a turban of the finest *masi* on the head of the *Sau*.

"And when they arrived at Lakeba they landed at a lonely place on the coast between Nasaqalau and Yadrana and quickly marched across the island and over the great hill, instead of coming by the usual road round the beach. And one of the Levuka men saw, through the open doorway of his house at Korovusa, something white fluttering in the distance over the shoulder

[1] Fine white gauzy *tappa* or native cloth.

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of the hill, and he called out to those sitting with him, 'What is that over there?' But they answered, ''Tis only the white under-leaves of a tree moving in the breeze.' And they were drinking *Yaqona* at the time, and paid no further heed. But it was the white *masi* of the warriors that they saw, though they knew it not. And so Matawalu and his men came round the back of the town and surrounded it, and slew nearly all the men of Levuka. 173

"And some few fled to the empty island of Aiwa, and from thence made their way to Oneata Island and took shelter there. And all the Levuka men of to-day are sprung from those who escaped thus to Oneata Island.

"Thus did Rasolo end his wanderings, and lived on to a great age in peace at Lakeba, and was buried at Korovusa.

"This is the story of Rasolo, sir, who was the first to be made both 'Tui Nayau' and 'Sau,'" said the old man. "But there is one other small thing perhaps you may wish to know. The people of Nayau to this day have it in their minds that their 'Tui Nayau' never left them, and that the real Tui Nayau is still with them —though they are fain to acknowledge the Chief of Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau,' since they are now but a weak people and dare not openly say otherwise. And they account for it in this way:

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173 "The men of Lakeba—so they say—were very anxious to get the 'Tui Nayau' to go and live at Lakeba. So they made a great *volau*[1] to Nayau, bringing with them many goods, carved wooden bowls, and yams, and fine mats from Ono. And in return, at the sharing out, they took away much *gatu*[2] and dried fish, and *wali wali*[3] from Nayau; but two brothers, Qilaiso and another whose name I know not, would take nothing. And these two went to the Tui Nayau and asked him to go with them to Lakeba and be their chief, and that that alone should be their share of the *volau*. But Tui Nayau would not listen to them, but said that they should take a basketful of the soil of Nayau instead, as a sign for the Tui Nayau.

So they agreed to this, and returning to Lakeba they landed at Navutoka and there hid this *qele tabu*.[4] And then they built a temple over the spot, and after that went up to the town and spread the tale that they had captured the 'Tui Nayau,' but that he would not show himself to the people, being too sacred, but would reside only in this temple.

"But this, sir, is of course but a tale of the men of Nayau. All know that the Tui Nayau henceforth came to live at Lakeba and his sons are here to this day."

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[1] Ceremonial visitation with interchange of gifts.
[2] Native cloth. [3] Coco-nut oil. [4] Sacred earth.

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So ended the tale of old Roko Malani; and after a little further talk he departed, erect and with firm tread, a splendid instance of the courtly old native of the Lau Islands—a true chief, who could proudly recount the doings of his ancestors directly back for ten generations; and who, even in these modern times, retained the complete respect of his people.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INFERENCES

I will confine my inferences entirely to the material already published whether in this book or elsewhere. It is my aim merely to sum up so that the facts which I hope sometime to record about the rest of Fiji may be more readily understood.

It follows that some of my suggestions will appear somewhat weak, because I am not availing myself of the decisive evidence that may be found in other parts. But these suggestions, weak or strong, are merely the first links in chains of arguments which cannot be completed until other tribes have handed in their facts.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE

174 Tradition says that the people of Kambara came from the west as part of the great migration which streamed down from the hills of Viti Levu and flooded all the east coast and the islands. From Kambara they extended to Lakemba. Tradition, however variable in details, never varies as to the general fact of an eastward movement. Samoan legend bears it out since it is full of chiefs and gods who came over from Fiji (16, Index; 9). Fijian legend, on the other hand, knows nothing about Samoa. It does know Tonga and tells of migrations both ways, but the penetration of Lau by the Tongans did not begin in earnest till the days of Rasolo, about 1800. On the other hand, titles which disappeared from Lau before the memory of man are to be found in Tonga.

Who were the people who occupied Lau before the westerners pushed them over to Samoa and Tonga? The people of Ono used to be Tongan in appearance, and still retain many Tongan traits. We may suppose that these Tongan-looking people were the last remnants of the original population, and that the Wathiwathi people who colonized Ono were the furthest and last ripple of the westward movement. The semi-Tongan appearance of the Lauans is better explained by an original Polynesian population than by the Tongan influx during the last century, for the pedigrees do not show enough inter-marriage with Tongans to account for the appearance of the Lauans who are seldom to be confused with westerners, but often with Tongans. I can find only seven inter-marriages; there must be many more that are not mentioned because there is no issue. In the five generations between Niumataiwalu and Finau there is recorded only one nobleman marrying a Tongan lady: there are ten descendants. Allowance must be made for Tongan blood coming in through women from Lau; but it is doubtful whether there is enough of it, especially taking into consideration

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Moala blood and western blood coming in directly or through Naiau, Vakano, and Yandrana. 174

Linguistic remains support the hypothesis of a Polynesian population. The name of Sinatelangi, the daughter of Tui Lakemba, who drifted to Mbau, is pure Polynesian: Sina is a common name for a chief's daughter in Polynesia; *te* is a Polynesian article; *langi*, heaven, is a common title of chiefs in Polynesia. The name reveals a dialect that is not Tongan, at least modern Tongan, since *te* is not the present-day article in Tongan. It is probable that this dialect retained the *s*, instead of changing it into *h*, like Tongan, though it is just possible that the Fijians changed the *h* back into *s*; the western Fijian, however, would not do so at the present day.

There are various old place names which look Polynesian: the people themselves admit that Moala is not Fijian and now try and Fijianize it as Muala. The following words have meanings in Tongan, but not in Fijian:

FIJIAN	TONGAN	MEANING
Vanga,	fanga,	bay
Liku,	liku,	rocky shore
Oneata,	one,	sand
	'ata,	shade
Onemato,	mato,	steep slope

The word *onemato* seems decisive since it also bears the name of *nuku*, the Fijian word for sand.

There are in Lakemban a large number of words which contain a *p*, which is a Polynesian but not a Fijian sound; yet these words are not found in the Marists' Tongan dictionary:

LAKEMBAN	MEANING
papa	board
paruparu	covered with rash
poko	body
sapila	smashed by a fall
sope	mud

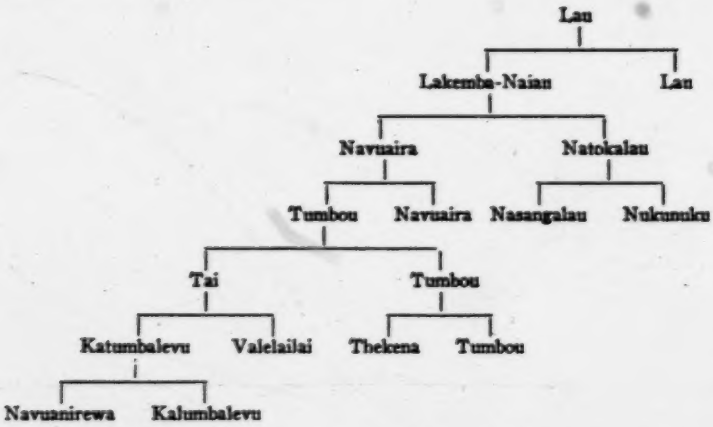
The exclamations *polopolo* and *palapala* were definitely said not to be Tongan; and Tongans do not know what *tupua* means, though they do use it in the expression *talatupua*. The word *i potani* (patch) is decidedly not Tongan, since it is translated into Tongan as *i mono*. These words therefore point to a Polynesian dialect, distinct from Tongan. This would explain forms like *papaku* (thick), *poroka* (body), *pura* (to bulge), *ripiripi* (angular), for they exist in Viti Levu with a *v*; as they are not found in Tongan, there is no reason why the Lauans should have changed *v* into *p*, so it must be concluded that the people of Viti Levu took them over from their Polynesian predecessors and turned the *p* into *v*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a*, but is unknown outside Lau.

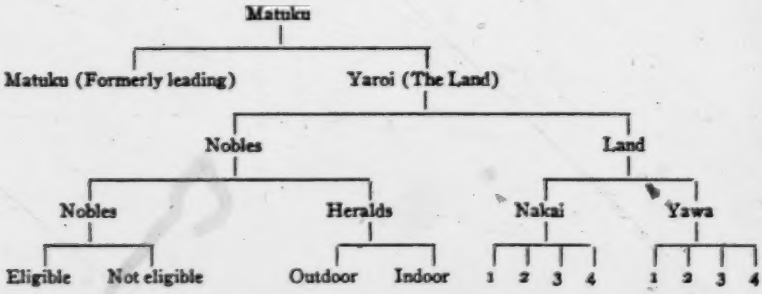
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus



The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

In Matuku it is the same.



The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

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Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

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The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi, nggali,* and *bai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term *"mbatchi"* means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term *"nggali"* means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.

Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.

Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.

Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.

Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

631

Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god). 769 778 618

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118). [775]

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena. [174]

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group. 769

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. 793 According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at 769 793 539

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stream of immigrants into Polynesia must have settled in eastern Fiji. 174

The islands of the Pacific may be divided into two groups: those of continental formation lying within the boundaries of the great submarine shelf which extends from Asia eastward as far as Fiji and New Zealand, and those of insular formation west of this boundary. The Lau islands extend north and south along the eastern edge of the shelf. The culture areas of Melanesia, Micronesia,[8] and Indonesia[9] lie east of this line, while that of Polynesia lies to the west. The island groups to the west, that is those on the submarine shelf, are relatively numerous and compact. To the east, however, island groups are less frequent and the distances are greater between them. This fact has been of utmost importance in the peopling of Oceania, for whereas the voyage as far as Fiji can be made almost continuously in sight of land, beyond Fiji great expanses of open sea, frequently over two thousand miles across, stretch between the Polynesian islands. Only the ablest and most daring navigators could sail these seas by canoe. 133 [101]

The aboriginal inhabitants of Lau were a dark, coarse featured, Melanesian type called the "land people" (*kai vanua*). We do not know how early they settled in Lau. They probably comprised the easternmost expansion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Fiji, who survive today in the mountains of Viti Levu. The "land people" were fishermen and collectors of roots, fruit, and leaves in the jungle. Probably they also cultivated gardens on the fertile volcanic islands, but were prevented from gardening to any extent on the limestone islands because they lacked food plants which would grow well in the shallow soil. They had a simple 174 [142]

[8] The term Micronesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area north of Melanesia. It includes the Marshalls and Gilberts, the Carolines and the Mariannas.

[9] The term Indonesia is used in this study primarily to denote the Oceanic culture area between Melanesia and the eastern Asiatic mainland. It includes the Malay archipelago.

[Text continues on page 21.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage. 174

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today. [172]

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan. [614]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 these defenses may be seen today. Their main weapons were bows, clubs, and spears. In the course of time they spread in the Lau group and established themselves on the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Mothe, as well as on Kambara.

There was a great deal of rivalry between the leaders of the upper class on the various islands. The influence of Kambara spread until the island held Namuka, Wangava (which was then inhabited), and Komo in tributary relationship, and also included Marambo and Tavunasithi among its possessions. Lakemba, the large fertile island in central Lau, also gained power. Finally, with the help of the Tongans who came to Lau from their homeland 400 miles eastward to build hardwood canoes, Lakemba held all the Lau islands south of Thithia in tributary relationship.

As the power of the chiefs expanded, their sacredness increased. Court etiquette and insignia became formalized and a court phraseology, still used today, developed. The person of the high chief was protected by strict tabus, and death was the penalty for infringement. Social ceremonial became more elaborate, and human sacrifice and cannibalism increased.

Social prestige, based not only on rank but also on personality, became the ultimate value. Rank by birth gave a man standing in society and defined his relations to others, but his success in life depended ultimately on personality. Even a high title, such as the headman of an important clan, did not descend automatically according to the Lauan rule of succession,[11] but was given to the man selected by the clan elders as qualifying not only on the basis of rank but also on the basis of personality.

There were two main channels for acquiring prestige. The first and by far the most important was success in the gruesome petty wars which ravaged the group. A war hero received immediate popular acclaim. He received a high

[611] [11] In Lau a title descends from the first son to his brothers in order of seniority throughout the generation and thence to the first son of the first son. This system is called Polynesian primogeniture.

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Kambara

status[12] in the community and this status was inherited by his offspring in the form of rank. In time he was elevated to the rank of an ancestor god. The second main channel for acquiring prestige was the giving away of wealth. Although the largest quantities of wealth were accumulated and distributed by the chiefs, anyone could gain social prestige through giving. Since the abolition of warfare due to western influence this method of acquiring prestige has received great emphasis and the overpowering drive for prestige based on distribution of wealth has given the Lauan cultural set-up the competitive, materialistic slant which is so strong today. 174

Wealth in the chiefdom of Lakemba came mainly from the islands of southern Lau. The sporadic distribution of important natural resources such as hardwood, the paper mulberry, certain fine types of pandanus, rare shellfish, and the sea turtle, combined with the scarcity of good garden land in the limestone islands, were factors which contributed toward the development of craftsmanship and industrial specialization in the southern islands. Based on these supplementary natural resources, a lively inter-island trade developed. The limestone islands which lacked garden land exchanged canoes, woodwork, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil for food from the fertile volcanic islands. These were the most important articles of exchange in Lau. After the coming of the upper class, industry was organized under hereditary specialists, and a high degree of skill developed. When political power was concentrated at Lakemba, products from the southern islands were paid to the high chief as tribute. They found their way through a system of ceremonial exchange to Tonga and to Fiji proper, and the islands of southern Lau became famous throughout the area for the excellence of their craftsmanship.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when the first historical records on Lau appeared, Tongan sailors had been

[12] The term "status" is used in this study to designate social position which is acquired and not inherited. The term "rank" is used to designate social position which is inherited.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

000 121 fertile soil. Here a relatively large amount of the old life survives. Hence southern Lau provides a good field for the ethnographer interested in understanding a functioning culture of Fiji in its historic background.

127 Like other South Sea peoples, the Lauans lack written records. Only a few documents, written by early navigators, missionaries, and government officials[7] are available for this region. Besides these, in reconstructing the history I have relied chiefly on internal evidence such as genealogies,[8] folklore, ceremonies, social structure, property rights, and technology. [172] Archaeological data[9] and selected statements of reliable native informants have been used as supplementary evidence.

The history of the Lau Islands may be divided into five periods: (1) the early period; (2) the period of cultural adaptation following the arrival of immigrants from the west (about ten generations ago); (3) the Tongan period (reaching its height in the middle of the nineteenth century); (4) the European period (beginning about 1835); (5) the period of readjustment.

PERIOD 1

174 The earliest known inhabitants of the Lau Islands are called kai vanua, "people of the land."[10] They had a simple social organization. They lived in scattered hamlets, called tokatoka, usually located near garden lands or in clearings in the bush.[11] Each hamlet consisted of a sib[12] led by a

[7] There is also an account of the culture on Lakemba Island twenty years ago by A. M. Hocart (*The Lau islands, Fiji*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 62, Honolulu, 1929).

[8] Genealogies of thirty-nine sibs, extending from five to ten generations, were recorded.

[9] To check the culture history, archaeological sites (including hamlet and village sites, hill fortresses, burial and fortified caves, gaming grounds, cemeteries, and temple sites) were examined on Kambara, Wangava, Namuka, Mothe, Fulanga, and Ongea. No excavating was done.

[10] Descendants of these early inhabitants are still called kai vanua. They have retained their sib units and sib dieties, and form one of the two main social divisions into which the Lauans are grouped. The descendants of the immigrants of Period 2 form the other division. This two-fold division has been obscured on many islands, especially on Lakemba and Mothe, due to Tongan and European influences, and on Namuka and Komo where the early population was destroyed and the islands were repopulated by colonists chiefly from Kambara and Wangava. It was worked out on Kambara by means of the sib genealogies, totems, dieties, holy places, hamlet sites, sketch maps of each village, legends, ceremonies, and the statements of old informants. Archaeological excavations should yield further information concerning Period 1.

[11] The natives know which hamlet sites belonged to the land people; for example, Vakawangga, Nawi, old Lomatchi, and Korokoroilulu on Kambara, and Nggilo, Tawali, and Toka on Fulanga.

[12] Each tokatoka was apparently composed of one sib. The tokatoka still retain their local unity though they are now consolidated into coast villages. They are called matanggali (sibs) and are divided into subsibs, called mbatchi ni lovo. The subsibs are composed of vuvale (households). Many sibs today are called by the place names of their old tokatoka.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

headman and from these groups have descended the patrilineal sibs of the yavusa vanua (land group) in Lau today. Political power was in the hands of the old men.[13] The land people had little interest in pedigrees[14] and chieftainship was absent. Their traditions contain no reference to warfare and there was apparently little rivalry between groups or individuals. 174

The land people believed in a great spiritual being or mana-giver, the kalou.[15] Each hamlet had also its own spiritual being, called kalou vu. The names of most of these hamlet dieties have been lost but those recorded are spirits rather than ghosts.[16] The dieties were worshipped by "priests"[17] in sacred places[18] such as caves. They were propitiated with offerings in times of trouble, such as hurricane or drought.[19] The land people had first fruits' and probably boys' initiation[20] rites. Their ceremonies centered in their religious life.

The early inhabitants of each island believed that they originated locally from some natural object such as a tree or an animal which was their vu (forefather). For instance, the people of Kambara believed that they originated from the ngingia tree.[21] There is only one ngingia tree on Kambara.[22] It is located near the beach north of Undu village, which is com-

[13] The title turanga which (according to A. M. Hocart, Man, No. 80, 1913) formerly meant "old man" and now means "noble, senior, father, old man," may have been applied to these old men. A form of gerontocracy is found in parts of Viti Levu.

[14] The land people remember not more than five generations of their sib genealogies.

[15] Information concerning the great kalou was derived from Moto of Undu. He was the oldest inhabitant on Kambara and a member of the land group. He says he was born shortly after Christianity was introduced to the island.

[16] The following kalou vu of the land people were obtained from informants of this group: Mberawalaki (Nangara sib, Kambara), Tutumatua (Matasoata sib, Kambara), Iri Mbuli (Tonganiuthi sib, Kambara), Nainggilo (Nggilo sib, Fulanga), Rongoua (Nasava sib, Fulanga). Informants say that the above kalou vu are spirits, not ghosts.

[17] The "priest" was a sort of possessional shaman. Organized priesthood was apparently absent.

[18] Called na sava like Nggara Kalou, a sacred cave on Kambara, and Kalou, a sacred stone at Toka, Fulanga. I do not know whether the land people had mbure kalou (houses of the gods; see footnote 43) in Period 1, but they had them when the missionaries came, according to informants and to the archaeology.

[19] According to native informants of the land people.

[20] According to Moto, the land people had a secret society called Nanga. Lorimer Fison (*The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosures of Wainimala, Fiji*, Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 14, pp. 14–30, 1884) describes the Nanga of western Viti Levu as a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was the induction of the men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular enclosure, and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits, circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and the distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. Such enclosures were not seen in Lau.

[21] Informant, Moto of Undu. [22] According to native informants.

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174 posed of sibs descending from the early inhabitants of the island. Men of Undu still offer food and kava here in times of distress. According to the natives, the ceremony was last performed in 1929 when a severe drought threatened the food supply on the island. The wanggawangga ni vu (shrine of the forefather) of Kambara is the red shark, called by the title tui natakala or simply ratu. The red shark is the guardian of the land people, and it is still strictly tabu for a descendant of this group to kill, harm, or eat the red shark, or to defend himself against it. The shark is still propitiated with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea. Its appearance is considered to be a good omen. The land people of Fulanga believed that they originated from a hen, those of Mothe from an ivi[23] tree, and those of Namuka from a white dog.

The early inhabitants believed in a local abode of the soul after death. The traditional abode of the ghosts of the Kambara land people is Nggara Levu (great cave),[24] a burial cave located near the ngingia tree. The natives say that when a Kambara man died his soul went with a hissing sound to this cave. There is a story that from Nggara Levu the soul went to a high, roof-shaped rock on the reef of the island. The dead of the land people were buried in caves.

The early inhabitants subsisted chiefly by fishing and collecting tubers, fruits, and nuts from the bush.[25] Gardens were much smaller than they are today. Manioc[26] and sweet potato,[27] the main garden products today,[28] found their way into Lau during historic times.

Little definite information was obtained about the technology of the early inhabitants. Probably they lived in caves[29] and in small huts. We found no evidence of pottery or the tapa craft before Period 2.

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[23] *Inocarpus edulis*, Forst.

[24] Also called Nggara-ni-mate (cave of the dead).

[25] On Kambara the chief food besides fish was the wangiri (unidentified) nut, which was preserved by fermentation in salt water. Other bush foods were probably the ivi (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.), ndawa (*Pometia pinnata* Forst.), aumitha (*Malaisia scandens* Lour. Pl.), mbawaki (unidentified), and wild yam. On Fulanga the chief food was yambia (*Tacca pinnatifida* Forst.).

[26] Forms of the cultivated manihot. [27] *Ipomoea batatas*.

[28] Uvi (yam, *Dioscorea sp.*) and ndalo (taro, *Colocasia antiquorum* Schott) do not grow well on the southern islands. We do not know whether the land people of the fertile volcanic islands (where these tubers grow today) raised them in Period 1, but the number of varieties of each in Lau indicate that the plants have not been introduced recently. (See C. H. Wright, *A List of Fijian Plant Names*, Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, Fiji, No. 10, Suva, 1918.) Kawai (sweet yam, a form of *Dioscorea sp.*), was probably cultivated.

[29] According to informants. We found adz blades, fire holes, shell heaps, potsherds, house-posts, and canoe hulls in caves which they said had been inhabited.

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PERIOD 2

About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies of high ranking sibs, a group of warrior immigrants arrived in Lau. The folklore says that these people came from Nakauvandra in northeast Viti Levu, the largest island of the Fiji group. Nakauvandra is the traditional home of Ndengei,[30] the great ancestral god of Fiji. The immigrants worshipped Ndengei as their first forefather. They were led by the warrior hero, Ndaunisai, who came with his brothers in two large double canoes. Ndaunisai landed on Kambara Island. From here the immigrants spread through southern and central Lau and established themselves as the dominant social group. Although the newcomers were warriors, settlement was not necessarily by force. They were accepted as bringing rarama (light) to the inhabitants who had been living in mbutombuto (darkness).[31]

Upon the basic sib unit of the early inhabitants, the immigrants imposed a complicated system of rank, by which every sib stood in definite relationship to every other sib. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence sib genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary sib titles[32] depending on an historical division of sibs. Sibs descended from the immigrants formed the yavusa turanga (chief group). Sibs descended from the early inhabitants formed the yavusa vanua (land group).

The highest rank was held by the high chief, Tui Naiau,[33] who was directly descended in the first born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai. The high chief was sacred. His person was protected by many tabus and to break one of these meant death. He was surrounded by strict etiquette and elaborate ceremonial. The head of the chief, his headrest, and his comb were tabu. The head of the pig and the sea turtle were reserved for him. He was addressed by a special phraseology.[34] His birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and death were celebrated by all his

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[30] For further information concerning Ndengei see: Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. 3, p. 83; A. B. Brewster *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 81–82, 85.

[31] According to informants.

[32] Such as mata ni vanua (eye or face of the land), the chief's herald; ndau ni nggoli (master fisherman); vaka vanua (chief of crops). Sib titles are held by the sib headman.

[33] For a legend concerning the first Tui Naiau see: G. M. Hennings, *The Murder of the First Tui Naiau* (Transactions, Fijian Society, 1917), pp. 33–37.

[34] This phraseology was in the Mbauan dialect. See Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), Vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

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174 people with ceremonial presentations of tribute, formal dances,[35] and kava[36] drinking customs with carefully prescribed rituals and precedence.[37] He had one chief wife and many secondary wives.[38] At his death some of these were strangled.[39] The chiefly ceremonial pattern was duplicated less ostentatiously for other members of the group, depending on rank and wealth.

The ranking system was interrelated with a hierarchy of sib ancestor gods called kalou vu. At the top of the hierarchy stood Ndaunisai and his ancestors. The position of each god was determined by his mana, expressed by success in warfare while on earth and by success of his living descendants. In other words, his rank was determined by his pre-mortem and post-mortem prestige.

The stress on rank and its supplement in ancestor worship threw the emphasis in religion from the spiritual "high god" concept of the early inhabitants to the sib ancestor gods of the newcomers.[40] However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestral gods as sib dieties, the descendants of the early inhabitants retained their sib gods as well as their sib units.

The ancestor god of each sib was embodied in a species of animal or plant which was sacred to the sib. Although much knowledge of sib totems has been lost, at least half of the thirty-seven sibs studied possessed three totems: a species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. The totems were propitiated with ceremonial offerings of food and kava. Each species had a title and its generic name was tabu to members of other sibs in the presence of the owners. The Vuanikathu sib on Kambara, which traces its genealogy ten generations directly to Ndaunisai, owns the mavinda[41] tree, the ongo fish, and the kaisevou bird.[42] Even today the mavinda trees of

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[35] Called meke, especially war dances for men and sitting dances for women.

[36] Yanggona (*Piper methysticum* Forst.).

[37] According to the so-called Fijian custom, which is characterized by great formality, hand clapping, and kava meke singing. The old men told Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141) that the true Fijian mode was characterized by the grating of the root on a piece of fine coral.

[38] Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–33) states that the chief had from ten to fifty or one hundred wives.

[39] As described by informants, by Wilkes (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 98–100), and by Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 200–201).

[40] The interest of the early population, expressed in their mystical outlook on life and religious ritual, was focused on the inner content of life, while that of the immigrants, expressed in the rank system, ancestor worship, and social ceremonial, was focused on outer form. Even today the land people are less restricted in daily life by formalities and jealousy than the chief group. They seem to be more modest and liberal and to have more sense of humor than members of the chief group.

[41] *Erythrospermum polyandrum* Oliver.

[42] Information concerning the Vuanikathu sib totems was obtained from the sib headman. It is tabu for other members of the sib to discuss them.

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the island are cared for by the sib and their fragrant flowers may not be picked. It is tabu for members of the sib to catch or eat the ongo fish. Kaisevou birds, caught by sib members, are rubbed with perfumed oil and released. The ancestor god and his totems were propitiated for mana in order to enhance the social prestige of the sib, the highest social value of the immigrants. They were worshipped by hereditary priests in small temples called mbure kalou.[43] Frequently the priests used their power to enhance the power of the chiefs.[44]

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When a man from the immigrant group died, his soul went to Nai Thimbathimba, a jumping-off place on or near each island. Nai Thimbathimba usually faced the west or northwest. In this direction lies Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu, one of the two large islands of Fiji. From Nai Thimbathimba the soul was ferried by canoe to Nai Thombothombo. Members of the yavusa turanga (chief group) today are not aware that the early inhabitants had a local abode of the dead. They believe that the land people also go after death to Nai Thombothombo, but whereas ghosts of the chief group board a hardwood or chiefly canoe, those of the land group journey by a softwood or inferior one into eternity.[45]

The immigrants married women of the land people[46] and since these

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[43] House of the god. According to statements and drawings in historical sources, to archaeological sites, and to native informants, the mbure kalou in Lau consisted of a small, oval or rectangular building with a disproportionately high, thatched, gabled roof. The building was raised on a foundation mound, usually oval or round. Fragant plants grew around it and still grow on the old sites, and ceremonial and other weapons were kept in it. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 86; J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific* (London, 1853), p. 168; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 215, 222–23.

[44] On account of his direct contact with the ancestor gods, the priest had considerable power. He presented offerings from the people to the gods before a raid and in times of trouble. He was possessed by the kalou vu. This information was obtained from many informants and checked by the sources. See Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 86–90, 209; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 223–37; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925–26, p. 30.

[45] This is a general belief in Lau. It is also found in Fiji proper. The belief that souls of the departed go to Nai Thombothombo on Vanua Levu was reported in the nineteenth century from other parts of Fiji, and these reports state that from here the soul was believed to go to Nakauvandra, the abode of Ndengei, the great ancestor god in northeast Viti Levu (Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 85; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 225). It is probable that this belief of a return of the soul to Nakauvandra, the land of origin, also formerly existed among the immigrants of Lau.

[46] Today the two groups are mixed physically. However, since the immigrants founded their own sibs and the land people kept theirs, the two groups have maintained their identity through patrilineal descent. Moreover, in spite of the intermarriage between them, the natives claim to be able to see to which group a man belongs by his bearing, manners, and physical

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174 brought land as dowry,[47] the immigrants also became land holders. During the last two generations land has not been transferred from sib to sib.[48] Cross-cousin marriage[49] is the rule. Sibs of the land people still own most of the land, including the larger part of the fertile patches.[50] They take more interest in their gardens than the immigrants, but the latter are by far the better sailors and are also expert fish spearers.

Although fishing, collecting, and gardening[51] continued to furnish the basis for subsistence, production was organized under the immigrants and industry developed a high degree of skill. The chiefs stimulated craftsmanship by attaching specialists, particularly carpenters[52] and fishermen, to their courts and extracting heavy tribute in the form of trade articles from their subjects. Lau became known in Tonga and Fiji for the quality of her materials and workmanship.[53] A lively interisland trade grew up between the coral limestone islands and those of volcanic formation. The fertile volcanic islands exchanged food for manufactured articles such as canoes, woodwork, tapa, and mats from the infertile islands, since the former lacked the natural resources and specialized skills necessary for these crafts.

In the latter part of Period 2 the Levuka people,[54] a group of sailors and potters, were expelled from Mbau. Some of them fled to Levuka, Lakemba, which became a pottery-making center. The Levuka women traveled through the southern islands and made pots wherever they could find potter's clay[55] and a market. They used the lump technic.[56]

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features (see footnote 81). Most villages today are composed of sibs from both groups but tend to be predominantly (80–20%) either one or the other. A few villages are composed of sibs from the land group only. No villages composed entirely of sibs from the chief group were found.

[47] The land was called sovisovi ni ndraundrau (place to collect leaves), for the women are responsible for collecting edible green leaves daily.

[48] These statements were checked by the genealogies and the distribution of garden land. [49] In the classificatory sense. [50] Checked by plans of garden land.

[51] A digging stick was used. Garden tools are described by Williams (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 63–64). [52] See footnote 89.

[53] Extracts from Cook (p. 115), Wilson (p. 210), and Bellinghausen (pp. 231–32) in G. C. Henderson, *The Discoverers of the Fiji Islands* (London, 1933).

[54] For information concerning the Levuka group see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61, 63, 175; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 133–34; Transactions, Fijian Society, 1925, p. 24; Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 18–19. [55] I.e. on Kambara and Oneate.

[56] According to Levuka women who have witnessed the process. The art is now lost. Formerly cooking was done by the men, either by steaming in the earth oven, by roasting, or by stone boiling. After the introduction of pottery the women took over a share of the cooking. Daily the men secured, prepared, and steamed the garden produce while the women gathered, prepared, and boiled the fish, jungle greens, and coconut cream mixture, which is part of the daily diet. Food was frequently cooked twice a day in pots instead of once in the earth oven. (See Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 139.)

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Rivalry between the high ranking social groups led to strife, and fortifications were built on every island.[57] Natural defences, situated on the edge of coral limestone plateaux or at the summit of volcanic hills, were reinforced by stone walls or by a series of ramparts of earth, surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds and often by a moat. Inside the walls were houses used only in times of danger by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets. Clubs, spears, bows, and slings were the principal weapons.[58] 174

Gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger ones.[59] There arose small chiefdoms like Kambara, which held Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and perhaps at one time Fulanga, in tributary relationship. Finally Kambara was absorbed by Lakemba, which became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.[60]

PERIODS 3 AND 4

The periods of Tongan and European influence, which overlap historically, will be discussed in one section because it is impossible to understand one without the other. 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders began to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer.[61] At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu, and Somosomo, Mathuata, and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms

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[57] The following fortresses were examined: on Kambara—Nakorovusa, Naisevou, Nakoroyangai, Nakaka, Nakoro, Matai-Undu, Thaukenaloa; on Wangava—Ndengei, Korombalavu, Nambakua; on Mothe—Ndelaimakotu, Ndelaimothe; on Fulanga—Nauluvatu, Tchinambua.

[58] For the fortifications of the chief's village on Lakemba see Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For general information concerning fortifications and arms see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 78–81; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–59, 76; extracts from Cook (p. 108), Bligh (pp. 163–64), and Wilson (p. 210) in Henderson, *op. cit.*

[59] There were three grades of dependency between groups: imbatchi, nggali, and kaisi. The mbatchi included those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; the nggali included conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce; and the kaisi included defeated groups reduced to slavery.

[60] The tributary relationships in southern Lau cannot be reconstructed in detail with the available evidence until the islands came under the supremacy of Lakemba.

[61] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Berthold Seemann, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* (London, 1862), p. 405; *Journal of William Lockerby, 1808–09* (Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, No. 52, 1925), p. ix.

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167 basketry and mat-plaiting; and he brought the sailing canoe with which he traveled between the islands and connected their heretofore disparate ecological arrangements.

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174 Not much is known of these first human inhabitants of Lau but, on the basis of internal evidence in the present-day culture and of archeological findings,[13] we infer that they settled on the larger islands and formed small clan hamlets in the bush. On the limestone islands the aborigines subsisted chiefly on jungle fruits, edible green leaves from the bush, fish, pigs and fowl, while on the volcanics this basic diet was supplemented with such garden produce as yams.

After the first men arrived, a new ecological arrangement seems to have gradually taken form on the basis of the old; and recently introduced species of flora and fauna, including *Homo sapiens*, became a part of the total balance. The culture of the first human inhabitants of Lau indicates that, on the foundations of attitudes and behavior patterns which they had brought with them into Lau, the aborigines developed a culture which integrated the human group with the other species of the natural community in environmental context and which symbolically explained, validated and supported the group's way of life.[14] What the effect of the aborigines was on the environment we do not know. It has been suggested, however, that man's cultivation of the volcanic islands has been responsible to some degree for the fact that much of their flora has degenerated to rank grasslands and other low growth. The limestone localities, on the other hand, apparently were and still are less affected by man's presence. The soil is less fertile and less responsive to cultivation of food plants by means of technology available to the natives, while the low, dense, scrubby forest, its tangle of underbrush, together with the rough, pitted terrain, help to discourage change through human activity.[15]

The next major event in the culture history of the area was the conquest of the aborigines, apparently about fifteen generations ago, by a small band of warriors reputed to have come from northwest Viti Levu in west Fiji. Marrying aboriginal women who brought them parcels of land, the conquerors settled on the more fertile islands and founded new clans. The newcomers were very different in skills, interests and values from the aborigines. They were a raiding, fishing people who preferred to sail and gather their food from the sea rather than to till the soil. The conquerors, moreover, were fascinated

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[13] Thompson, 1938, 1940b.

[14] In time apparently the migration of their ancestors from the west was forgotten and the aborigines of Lau came to believe that they had originated locally in some natural phenomenon, such as a tree or an animal. The people of each island also had a species of bird and a species of fish which was sacred to them, and they believed in a local abode of the dead. Their deity was apparently a great, pervasive, spiritual power believed to be the source of all *mana* and was worshiped at sacred places such as caves, trees or stones.

[15] Bryan, 1948.

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by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[18] 13 174

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions. 13 146 262

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[18] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

114 3. There is no clear-cut division in the social system of southern Lau which corresponds to the *yavusa* group as defined by Capell in the *New Fijian Dictionary*, but the phratry seems to come nearest to it. Apparently the Native Land Commission has superimposed its own formula on the area without regard for the actual functioning social structures.

4. The clan division in the area is relatively clear-cut and conforms to a marked degree to Capell's dictionary definition of the term *matanggali*.

[174] 5. A detailed examination of the points enumerated above leads to the conclusion that considered separately and as a whole they substantiate the hypothesis first suggested by the writer in 1936 and again in 1938 and 1941 that, viewed historically, there are three basic cultural strata in Lau: an early one which is primarily Melanesian in type, a second one which is "general Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," and a third one which is "western Polynesian" in type and affiliated with the Tongan immigrants. The major premises of this hypothesis have now been corroborated independently by the work of Capell and Lester.

6. The findings to date suggest that on the extreme south-eastern margin of Fiji, namely in southern Lau, especially on the island of Fulanga, may still be found a functioning culture (perhaps the only one left in Fiji) which in many respects resembles that of the early Melanesians of Viti Levu. The opportunity which it offers the researcher to gain first-hand insight into this complicated problem should not be underestimated.

LAURA THOMPSON.

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ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D., Honolulu.

439 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
824 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
322 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for
439 the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
1574 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1] The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

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the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE three better-known groups of the Pacific, namely, the Crown Colony of Fiji, the recently captured German Colony of Samoa, and the last remaining independent Pacific kingdom of Tonga, form roughly the three points of an equilateral triangle, and the Lau Islands lie about midway between Fiji and Tonga. 131

These Lau Islands are situated some two hundred miles to the east of Fiji, and act as a barrier against the heavy storms that sweep the Pacific in those months of the year when "the trades" are at their strongest. And as might be expected from their geographical position it is upon these islands that straying vessels and storm-tossed wrecks (not only the big ships of the white man for the last hundred and fifty years, from buccaneers to whalers, and from whalers to modern "tramps," but also from earliest times the fragile canoes of the wayfaring Polynesian) have from time immemorial been flung. 174 797

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174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

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they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

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174 on and on, day after day, with unabated fury, for possibly a week or more, till the few survivors were cast up exhausted upon some unknown island hundreds of miles away. (It is known that Tongans have been blown in this way to the New Hebrides, a thousand miles off; and there is the famous voyage of Captain Bligh of the "Bounty," who was thus carried in an open boat for three thousand miles. Some years ago four natives from Wallis Island, five hundred miles away, were cast up starving and "in fear of cannibals" at a point not very far from my house; while in the previous year I myself was nearly blown to Tonga in the Provincial yacht, by a westerly gale.)

The few survivors, then, would settle down and found, willy-nilly, a fresh colony at their new home. In course of years, generations, sometimes centuries, the same thing would take place once more, the prevailing wind taking the second "drift" some hundreds of miles still further from the original home of the race, and so the wanderings would continue; though the main characteristics, manners, and customs of the people, undisturbed by outside influences, would remain comparatively true to type throughout the whole process. But here again the question of time, and always the possibility of mixture with a prior race, must never be lost sight of.

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me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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174 astonishment, and many others, all of pre- 171
missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there 173
will be seen running a strong thread of clinging 539
belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the 144
meeting-place of two quite distinct types of 174
Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

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144 each other; but the path of the "Polynesian"
174 wanderers is not so easy to define. They have many characteristics which associate them with the Malayan type of people, and several authorities consider that they "drifted" with the south-west "monsoons" from the southern Malay regions through the Carolines and Marshalls as far north as the Hawaian Islands, and from there were driven by the north-east "trades winds" to the Phœnix and Tokelau groups about the equator (from whence it is but a short step to Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji); or by another route from Hawaii through Fanning, Christmas, and Malden Islands to Manikiki and Tahiti, and so *via* the Cook Islands once again to Tonga and Fiji.

It is possible even that the so-called "Papuan" people may have also originally come from the Malay stock, *via* Borneo to New Guinea, and there blended with the negroid type of man found in northern Australia, thus accounting for their negro-like characteristics before they arrived in western Fiji. And the fact that the "drift" away to the east, as far as Hawaii and then down south, encountered presumably desert islands in their track may account for the Malayan type, which ultimately became the Polynesian type, being far more true to the old Malay strain than the other "drift" *via* the great populated groups of New Guinea, the Solomons, and others.

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The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

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174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity. 539* 776

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long." [825]

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day. [173]

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku. 174 539*

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174 One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks,
*539 and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly intro-
823 duced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and
776 there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially 754
"Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the 184
fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; [177] even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs a ' ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very 174
well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, 177
or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, 695
and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands. 114

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows: 177 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

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177 chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became
175 powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

177 Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

636 The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

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the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

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175 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

177 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship, and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

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Rivalry between the high ranking social groups led to strife, and fortifications were built on every island.[57] Natural defences, situated on the edge of coral limestone plateaux or at the summit of volcanic hills, were reinforced by stone walls or by a series of ramparts of earth, surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds and often by a moat. Inside the walls were houses used only in times of danger by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets. Clubs, spears, bows, and slings were the principal weapons.[58] 174

Gradually the small, poor islands became dependent upon the larger ones.[59] There arose small chiefdoms like Kambara, which held Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and perhaps at one time Fulanga, in tributary relationship. Finally Kambara was absorbed by Lakemba, which became the most powerful chiefdom in Lau.[60]

PERIODS 3 AND 4

The periods of Tongan and European influence, which overlap historically, will be discussed in one section because it is impossible to understand one without the other. 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders began to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer.[61] At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu, and Somosomo, Mathuata, and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms

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[57] The following fortresses were examined: on Kambara—Nakorovusa, Naisevou, Nakoroyangai, Nakaka, Nakoro, Matai-Undu, Thaukenaloa; on Wangava—Ndengei, Korombalavu, Nambakua; on Mothe—Ndelaimakotu, Ndelaimothe; on Fulanga—Nauluvatu, Tchinambua.

[58] For the fortifications of the chief's village on Lakemba see Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 168. For general information concerning fortifications and arms see: Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 78–81; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 43–59, 76; extracts from Cook (p. 108), Bligh (pp. 163–64), and Wilson (p. 210) in Henderson, *op. cit.*

[59] There were three grades of dependency between groups: mbatchi, nggali, and kaisi. The mbatchi included those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; the nggali included conquered groups from whom the chief extracted regular tribute in food and industrial produce; and the kaisi included defeated groups reduced to slavery.

[60] The tributary relationships in southern Lau cannot be reconstructed in detail with the available evidence until the islands came under the supremacy of Lakemba.

[61] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 95; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 235; Berthold Seemann, *Viti, an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* (London, 1862), p. 405; *Journal of William Lockerby, 1808–09* (Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2, No. 52, 1925), p. ix.

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175 and western military tactics into Fiji.[62] This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power.[63] Larger war forces were used, and cannibalism and human sacrifice increased. Thus it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau to become dominant in Fiji in the first half of the century.[64]

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans into Fiji. Contact of the Fiji islands with Tonga[65] began before the eighteenth century. The missionary Williams[66] states that the recollection of the first voyage from Tonga was lost more than a hundred years before his time. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans,[67] mainly on account of the hardwood of southern Lau. They remained months and even years in Lau while they built large double canoes, far superior to their own.[68] They also visited Mbua for sandalwood,[69] which they used to perfume their oil, and Taveuni for red paroquet[70] feathers, which they traded to Samoa for decorating fine mats.[71] They gave in return Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs. They also paid in services, such as the loan of their women and help in warfare.[72] Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Fijian chiefs in order to learn it.[73] In return for services in warfare the Tongan warriors were given land occasionally, and colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.[74]

[62] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 62; Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 457 footnote; Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3. [63] Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 272. [64] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 61–65.

[65] The voyage to Tonga took two to four days (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 3). [66] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

[67] The Tongans were more daring sailors than the Lauans, who seldom ventured with their canoes out of sight of land. However, they did accompany the Tongans to Tonga occasionally (William Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, 2nd ed., London, 1818, Vol. 2, pp. 263–64). Cook met Fijians at Tongatabu on his third voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

[68] Wilkes, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 167; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–40; Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 265. The Tongans learned a great deal about canoe building from the Lauans (*ibid.*, Vol. Vol. 2, p. 263). [69] Yasi (*Santalum yasi* Seem.).

[70] Kula (*Coriphilus solitarius* Latham), Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[71] Samoan fine mats and kilts were ornamented with red paroquet feathers usually obtained from Fiji (T. R. Hiroa, *Samoan Material Culture*, Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 75, 1930, pp. 256, 281).

[72] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 45, 94; Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241.

[73] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 66–70, 307.

[74] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 45. The greatest migration of Tongans was to Lakemba and the neighboring islands (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 4–5). Calvert states that Lakemba

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By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan chief, Maafu,[75] to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He secured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. Traders also helped him by extending credit to be repaid by the conquered in coconut oil, bêche-de-mer, and tortoise shell.[76] He was first to use canon on canoes in Fiji.[77] By the clever policy[78] of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, and as a last resort Thakombau,[79] the high chief of Mbau, applied to Great Britain for help. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.[80]

Tongan influence in Fiji reached a peak just before British annexation. Its effect upon the culture was weakened by the growth of western influence so that it was never thoroughly assimilated. It was strongest in Lau, especially on Lakemba, the residence of the chief. The Lauans are

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had three Tongan settlements (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 15). Informants on Kambara said that a Tongan settlement was located at Naimarai on the beach near Vunisinu between Ndaku and Nggalinggali. Here they built their double canoes from Kambaran wood. The hull was placed over a trench dug in the ground. The workers stood in the trench, which was examined. For other Tongan settlements in Fiji see G. C. Henderson, *Fiji and the Fijians, 1835–1856* (Sydney, 1931), p. 51.

[75] Concerning Maafu see Seeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–55; Basil Thomson, *The Fijians* (London, 1908), p. 53.

[76] Seeman, *op. cit.*, p. 252. [77] Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 53 footnote.

[78] First used at Lomaloma, Vanua Mbalavu, a large island in northern Lau (Seemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–43).

[79] Thakombau was not only troubled by the Tongans but also blamed for outrages against life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded $45,000 indemnity. In 1858 Thakombau negotiated with the British consul in Fiji for cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land on condition that the debt to America be paid (Seemann, *op. cit.*, p. 246). The end of the war between the Fijians and the Tongans really came in 1861, however, when Commodore Seymour drew up an agreement between the chiefs concerning Mathuata (Vanua Levu) in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade (*ibid.*, pp. 269–73).

[80] Smythe, sent by Great Britain to investigate the annexation question, recommended acceptance of Fiji for three reasons: (1) as a station for mail lines; (2) as a potential cotton source; (3) as a means of acquiring security in the Pacific (Mrs W. J. Smythe, *Ten Months in Fiji*, 1864, p. 205). Thakombau was given a pension of £1500 per year. He died in 1882 (Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

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175 taller than the inhabitants of the rest of Fiji. They have markedly lighter skins, less negroid features, and many individuals have wavy hair.[81]

The main influence of the Tongans on Lauan culture[82] has been in the social life and in technology. The Tongan concept of divine chieftainship and rank, expressed in social ceremonial, elaborated that of the Lauans. The whale's tooth won exceptional significance.[83] It became the object of greatest ceremonial and economic value in Lau, a means by which wealth could be condensed, exchanged, and preserved, a symbol of social prestige.[84]

Women, especially those of rank, began to play a role in social life. The rank of a chief was reckoned no longer exclusively through his father, but also through his mother.[85] Women participated not only in the ceremonial preparation and serving of the kava root, but also in drinking it.[86] The chastity of girls of rank was emphasized, and chiefs' daughters were

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[81] Tongan mixture alone, however, does not seem to account for the strong Polynesian strain in Lau, most apparent in the chief group. Even today members of the land group are usually smaller, darker, more frizzy-haired and coarser featured than the descendants of the immigrants. This is most striking on islands such as Fulanga where the population is composed largely of land people.

[82] Less canibalism, widow strangling, and burying alive were found in Lau than in Fiji proper. Henderson (*op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32) attributes this fact to Tongan influence.

[83] Jackson, who was two years in Fiji about 1840 and who learned the language, said he was always told that the tambua ndamu (red whales' teeth) were introduced to Fiji by Tongans. They were substituted for yanggona (kava) in ceremonies and called tambua, as kava had previously been called when presented ceremonially. Jackson estimated that there were twenty times as many white as red whales' teeth in Fiji. Frequent oiling and handling turned the teeth red. Whales' teeth, especially red ones, held the highest value in ceremonial exchange, and life and death depended upon them (Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 439). Also Williams and Calvert (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 94; Vol. 2, p. 5) state that the Tongans brought whales' teeth to Fiji. Hocart (Man, No. 96, 1914) states that a whale's tooth is called kava in the tauvu presentation ceremony of the Dhakaundrove, Vanua Levu, and evidently kava formerly was the offering.

[84] Mariner (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 302) states that it was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth, but this is not true today.

[85] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 32.

[86] Hocart states that the Fijian mode of ceremonial kava drinking at state occasions was discontinued under the rule of Maafu (who died in 1881) but it was restored later under the fourth Lord of Naiau (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 63). The Tongan method is less formal than the Fijian. In the former the kava root was formerly chewed by youths (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141). A four-legged Tongan type of bowl is used. There is less hand clapping and no kava mekes are sung. In Lakemba the Tongan method, described by Hocart (*op. cit.*, 1929, pp. 60–63), is used on important occasions. The Fijian kava ceremony is used in the wading ceremony and at the installation of chiefs (*ibid.*, p. 63). In southern Lau the modified Fijian ceremony is used on all formal occasions. Since chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government, the root is either pounded with a stone hammer on a flat slab or with an iron bar pestle in a wooden mortar.

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isolated, fattened, and forbidden the sin in preparation for marriage.[87] Perhaps it is also through Tongan influence that Lauan women do not work in the fields, whereas in other parts of Fiji they are responsible for a large part of the gardening.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, probably also came into Lau from Tonga. It is an exotic belief, unrelated to the beliefs of either the early inhabitants or the immigrants, but similar to a concept found in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.[88]

Tongan carpenters,[89] sent to Lau to build canoes, had a marked effect on Lauan technology. Not only did the canoe and all woodcrafts gain in importance, but the oval Tongan house was introduced and pushed out the old Lauan form.[90] The oval house was raised on an earth mound and the height of the mound reflected the rank of the owner.[91] With the increased importance of woodcrafts, the prestige of professional carpenters was enhanced.

Another Lauan technic greatly influenced by the Tongans was tapa making. The Tongan rubbing method[92] was introduced and combined with the Fijian stencil method.[93] The women of Mothe and Namuka formed

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[87] A custom still practised on Kandavu Island.

[88] Mariner, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 99, 101–102; E. W. Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales* (Bulletin, Bishop Museum, No. 8, Honolulu, 1924), pp. 153–80.

[89] During Period 2 a group of carpenter sibs called Matai Sau monopolized the carpentry craft. According to the Lauan lore, the founder of this group, Rokola, came from northeast Viti Levu to Lau before Ndaunisai. Rokola is known in Viti Levu as the god of the carpenters (Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 249). Each chief had a number of the Matai Sau attached to his retinue, but gradually the chiefs began to employ Tongan carpenters, who competed seriously with the Lauan group. Finally a group of carpenters called Matai Lemaki became established as the high chief's carpenters. This group traces its pedigree to Lemaki who, according to his descendants, came from Samoa through Tonga to Lakemba.

[90] The change was in process when Bligh saw Ngau Island in the Koro Sea west of Lau, on his second voyage (Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 164).

[91] Today the height of the house mound depends not only on rank but also on wealth and energy.

[92] Used to make ngatu vaka Tonga (Tongan tapa). Strips of barkcloth, up to about seventy-five meters long, are rubbed with Lauan rust-brown dyes over raised geometric or naturalistic designs called kupetchi. Some of the kupetchi now being used were made in Tonga. Others were made on Lakemba, Ono, and Vanua Mbalavu (islands where Tongan influence has been strong). They are rare and highly valued.

[93] The result is called ngatu vaka vitchi (Fijian tapa). A large, rectangular sheet of fine tapa is decorated, partly by the Tongan rubbing method, partly by the Fijian stencil method. Geometric design units are used for stenciling. Only a few women know how to make ngatu vaka vitchi, which calls for originality and is the most valued tapa in Fiji. It is made well on Matuku and Lakemba (see Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 65–67).

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175 guilds, according to the Tongan pattern, in order to supply the demand for Lauan barkcloth. Quite likely the naturalistic designs found in Lau and not in Fiji proper are the result of influence from Tonga, where naturalistic designs prevail.

The Tongan chiefs stimulated the production of perfumed oil by exacting large quantities as tribute from the southern islands.[94] To meet the demand, coconut plantations were systematically planted and these served later as a basis for the copra trade.

Turning to European influence, we find that the Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries.[95] They came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga and established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They brought Tongan teachers with them[96] and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans.[97] During the first fifteen years the Lakemba mission made slow headway along the Lauans, but finally in 1849 the high chief of Lau was converted[98] and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Chapels in charge of native missionaries were built on each island and Sunday was introduced as a day of rest, prayer, and feasts. From the beginning the missionaries waged a death struggle against the houses of the gods, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, cave burial, and the tattooing of women.[99] In this undertaking they were aided by the colonial government. Warfare soon ceased in the group. The people were forbidden to live in hamlets in the interior of the islands and they moved to new villages along the coast.

Christianity had a great influence on the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native dieties were said to be devils and the word tevoro (devil) was introduced to the culture.[100] So Christianity compensated for the loss of a hierarchy of old gods with a hierarchy of new devils. For some time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared

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[94] Southern Lau is known for its perfumed coconut oil, prized also in Tonga. To cope with the increased production, large wooden bowls called papasia were used. A few of these may still be seen in Lau.

[95] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 5–8; Henderson, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 32.

[96] Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 12. Six years before the arrival of the first missionaries two Tahitian teachers were sent from Tonga to Lakemba. They were persecuted there and later settled on Oneate (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 9 footnote).

[97] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 10–12. [98] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 138.

[99] The missionaries, however, tried to uphold the system of chiefly tribute (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 75). [100] Hocart, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 185.

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to have more mana. But the old gods were still feared and secretly propitiated, and the natives were tormented by a conflict of loyalties. Gradually, as the natives adapted western ideas to their own, lotu (the gospel taught by the missionaries) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. 175

The immediate result of mission influence, however, was the undermining of the ancestor cult, the basis of the social system. In spite of the efforts of the government and the mission to uphold it, the institution of chieftainship was weakened. Its inner structure depended on the ancestor cult and its outer form was determined by the rank system. Although the government officials tried to appoint local chiefs as their representatives, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was to split the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs between the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries. So there arose a secret society called luve ni wai, which was forbidden by the government. The members of this organization secured a guardian spirit with whose help they predicted the future, discovered new medicines, and originated new dance forms. Many individuals tried in this way to regain their lost prestige.

Under British rule the Mbauan dialect became the official language. Missionaries and officials used it in communicating with the natives, so that today we find spoken in Lau a mixture of the Lauan and Mbauan dialects with a few additional Tongan words.[101] In time schools were started on most islands under native masters, who taught the children to read and write Mbauan. Teachers were trained not only in mission schools but also in a recently established government training school on Viti Levu. An attempt was made to introduce a few simple methods of hygiene, particularly regarding child birth and care.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export product of the Fiji group. As the industry grew, the coconut acreage was increased and the Lauan plantations, which had supplied tribute to the Tongan chief, began to be used commercially. In exchange for copra the Lauans received tobacco,[102] cloth, soap, tinned beef,

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[101] Hocart (*op. cit.*, p. 231) has pointed out that Polynesian words which are distinctly non-Tongan occur in the Lauan dialect. These words may be due to contact with the immigrants from the west in Period 2, but the point cannot be determined without examination of the linguistic evidence.

[102] Tobacco smoking was introduced at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 161).

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175 rice, tea, and oil. As they acquired a taste for European trade goods, they began to neglect their other economic pursuits such as fishing, gardening, canoe building, and interisland trade. Men, women, and children worked on the plantations belonging to their sibs. There followed a period of prosperity which lasted until the copra slump after the World War.

Then the copra trade in Lau ended abruptly. Communication with the outside world was cut, and the natives found themselves no longer in a position to secure many trade goods upon which they had become dependent.

PERIOD 5

A new period began. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts began to flourish, trade between the islands revived, and the whole daily routine resembled olden days. The hereditary master fisherman, whose title is determined by rank, regained control of the communal fishing. The first fruits of the harvest were again presented, but now to the old chief and the native colonial official jointly,[103] while in the first and second periods they had been offered to the gods and in the third to the chiefs. Large, single sailing canoes, with improved rigging due to western influence, have replaced the cutter but the double canoe has disappeared. Wooden bowls are made in large quantities but with less skill than in olden days. The tapa and mat making industries are again flourishing and native rope, fish lines, and fish nets are replacing imported articles.

Now the natives have regained most of their old economic independence. A few articles are still imported. Metal axes and bush knives have become quite indispensable, and it would be very difficult for the Lauans to give up trade cloth and cooking pots. Today axes, bush knives, cooking pots, and trade cloth form practically the only economic ties which link southern Lau with the outside world.

British political control is being adjusted more and more to the old order, high ranking families are receiving more attention, and a new pattern of social values is in process of formation.

As far as religion is concerned, the outer forms of Christianity have been incorporated into the native ceremonial life, but the inner conflict, caused by the weakening of the ancestor cult, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. This conflict tends to sap vitality from the culture. It is to a great extent responsible for the restlessness of the natives, in spite of their growing economic and social stability.

Reviewing the culture history of Lau we find:

178 The first great merging was of a simple, indigenous Melanesian type of culture with a highly organized, intrusive Micronesian-Polynesian

[103] Witnessed in Tokalau, Kambara.

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174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

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they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

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*539 754 for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

● 175 565 614 When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still
convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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175 565 614 [763]

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

175 754

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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afterwards transpired that Tui Na Turuku had, with two men called Bavatu and Vili, been tried by the Government of Maafu (the Tongan conqueror of Lau, who handed over his kingdom to England when Fiji became a Crown Colony) fifteen years previously for "killing a man by *vakadraudrau* at Cicia Island," and that Bavatu had been found guilty and executed; and further, that Vili on his death-bed in exile at Levuka had acknowledged that he had been the cause of several deaths by *vakadraudrau* at Lomaloma. And further, that since that time Tui Na Turuku had been under strong suspicion of being the cause of the death of a man named Livai at Lomaloma, through whose body a stake was found pierced after death! The people dismantled and removed Livai's house, and found a small vessel, containing the ingredients mixed with a piece of Livai's clothing, buried under the doorway of the house.

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In a case happening within recent years it is said that the suspicious relatives shrewdly placed a sheet of iron under a thin layer of earth covering the grave, and that the murderer, on trying to spear the grave, was so upset by the mysterious power that broke his spear that he was turned insane. But this happened before I came to Lau, and I can find no authentic record of it.

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754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] [262] white men "eat different food" (which, to a native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything 175 754 towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

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the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

175 754

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).[1] [262]

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Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

[1] [Two kinds of fish.—Ang/gst]

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

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Here we came to a level stretch of smooth, hard sand and our horses raced along at the water's edge, as glad to stretch their limbs as we were to feel the cool breeze. Presently we drew up where some cliffs went straight down to the sea, and here we took a track that led inland for a little way towards the town of Mabula.

"You may have heard, sir," said Wiliami, chuckling, "concerning a former native magistrate named Samani, and of his giving to the Mabula people their *lotu*[1] by means of a club. This was in the early days of the Government, and when the *lotu* had not been long in the land. Ratu Samani was a big chief from Lakeba Island, and he also considered that he was skilled in preaching; so he thought that it was his duty to make the heathen at Mabula believe in the new *lotu*. Therefore, on a certain Sunday he walked to Mabula and climbing into the pulpit in the native house that was then the church building for the use of the few who were believers, he told all the village that they must obey his *lotu* that he had brought with him. But the men of Mabula were *via via levu*,[2] for he was not a chief of their land, and would not listen to his words. So on the following Sunday he journeyed again to Mabula, though his friends would have dissuaded him, and this time he took with him his

[1] Religion. [2] Insolent.

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war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that he would return and beat them should such report reach him.

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"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.
[2] In the New Hebrides.

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things.

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove.

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:
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1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

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The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

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Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

Introduction

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji.

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565 276

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, "*O, oa!*" set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, "*A, mangiti,*" dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, "*Amunduo,*" clapped again and said, "*Amunduo,*" then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *waru lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [172] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*valá i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka,* which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

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The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i'tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Tongan dances performed in Tambou owe much of their inspiration to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances. 535 177

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered. 535

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands. 535 533

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head 535

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resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European.

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance.

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations.

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again.

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi.

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous.

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms;

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*.

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms.

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line:

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

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524 Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

526 177 Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully. [541]

LAFO

527 *Lafo,* Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

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INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [526] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula*, *kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasea*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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Greens

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Cocoanuts

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakalewenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*).

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens.

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905):

> The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money

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288 country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more 177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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B34 dormitories (*mburе*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
548 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thaurawou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[177] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teutou*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be 757
nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; 755
four leaves of *wawoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add
oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [784]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and [752]
sinu leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of 758
reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. 757

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they 755
will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into 757
faito. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are 177
supernaturally effective. 755

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

1: Hocart Y45 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[164] [24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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[155] and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later [157] he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

[153] Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

[156] [177] There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

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men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764 the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304] to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766 if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764 occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177 nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764 penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena,* crotons, and a plant called *vasa.*

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu,* forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tumbou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [777]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

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Southern Lau, Fiji : an Ethnography

By **LAURA THOMPSON**
BISHOP MUSEUM FELLOW; 1933-34.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND METHOD

This monograph is based on field work in ethnography in the Fiji islands, 122
from August 1933 to April 1934, made possible by a Bishop Museum fellow- 121
ship. The main problem has been to understand and describe the native culture of the southern islands of the Lau or Eastern Archipelago of Fiji not only as it is functioning today but also in its historical setting.

The Lau islands, located on the border of Melanesia and Polynesia (fig. 1, 177
insert), have long been subjected to a diversity of cultural influences from adjacent culture areas. Even within the last century, exotic traits from neighboring islands, especially Tonga, have altered the native pattern (pp. 29, 215). Before the advent of western civilization Lau presented the complicated picture of a changing marginal culture which lacked integration. Moreover much of the apparent unity in the configuration in native culture was due to geographic proximity rather than to the inner necessity and slow growth which characterizes true integration. In the last hundred years the interplay of European and Tongan influences has further disintegrated the old native culture. These have affected not only the superficial aspects of life, such as technology, but its deeper phases, such as the social organization and religion.

The complicated history and lack of integration of the Lauan culture 114
presented problems to the ethnologist attempting to study the old life. In order to recover as much of the native culture as possible, I limited the investigation to a group of six islands in southern Lau where western influence had been relatively weak because of their isolation in the Fiji group and lack of commercially valuable natural resources. No Europeans live or own land on these islands which have no communication with the outside world except an occasional government or trade cutter. First, seeking to gain an intimate knowledge of the daily life of a specific group, I spent five months making an intensive investigation of the village of Tokalau on Kambara. Tokalau with 125 inhabitants is the highest ranking village on Kambara, the largest [161]
island in southern Lau. Kambara had a population of 446 natives living in four villages. The island was small enough to allow personal contact with each individual and large enough to provide a choice of good informants. After I had gained an understanding of the culture on Kambara I spent the

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Analyst]

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114 remainder of the time surveying the culture on the islands of Fulanga, Ongea, Mothe, Namuka, and Wangava in order to check and gain prospective on the [161] detailed picture and to secure a larger choice of informants. Altogether I studied 11 villages with a total population of over 1,500 natives.

177 The greatest difficulties in the work were encountered in attempting to recover the old religion after almost a century of mission influence and to analyze the intricacies of the social system after sixty years of British rule. [115] Most of the old religion has been lost. The fragmentary account here presented (pp. 105-119) has been recorded as it was obtained from aged informants, especially Moto and Tchosaia of Kambara, Kalo of Fulanga, and Mosesi of Namuka. Much of it has been taken from the notes of Bernhard Tueting. It may be colored by the teachings of the missionaries.

Changes due to interisland warfare, to Tongan contacts, and to European influence have obscured or changed important aspects of the social organization, especially the phratry division, the local unity of clans, the ranks and functions of clan titles, and native social values in general. To gain a picture of the system as a whole it was necessary to make a detailed analysis of the social organization of the 11 villages studied. The analysis as here presented (pp. 31-103) is based on the genealogies of 37 clans recorded in the field, sketch maps of each village, property rights, clan gods and their incarnations, legends, ceremonies and the statements of reliable native informants. The data have been checked by an examination of archaeological sites such as hamlets, fortresses, and sacred places (pp. 216-223).

121 As will be seen in the following pages, a knowledge of the Lauan social system, based as it is on the native concept of mana expressed in social prestige, is vital to an understanding of the culture as a whole. Moreover, the evidence from which the system has been reconstructed is rapidly disappearing. Hence time was devoted to its study at the expense of the study of other phases of life—such as technology, social ceremonial, and games—which it is hoped may still be studied in the future. In such studies of material culture as were recorded an attempt was made to emphasize functional rather than technological aspects. The development of the individual, social sanctions and law, native medicine and changes due to the introduction of western civilization have been described in a special study of culture change and colonial administration in Lau (23)[1] and hence have not been included in this monograph.

This study is an attempt to record the most important aspects of the native culture of Lau as a whole before they disappear. It is necessarily incomplete. The aim has been to describe the culture of southern Lau as revealed by field research on the six islands visited in its geographic setting and, as far

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 224.

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WESTERN AND TONGAN INFLUENCES

Although the Fiji Islands were discovered by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, in 1643, little is known about the history of the group before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Early historical records on the Lau Islands are particularly scarce and fragmentary. They consist of accounts by early voyagers, such as Cook in 1774, Bligh in 1789 and 1792, Wilson in 1797, and Bellingshausen in 1820, which are quoted by Henderson (11) in his careful study of the discoverers of the Fiji Islands. 114

There is also an excellent account of Fijian culture by Williams (27, vol. 1), the missionary, who spent several years on the island of Lakemba.

The most valuable recent record is the account of Lau Island culture of 20 years ago by Hocart (15), who spent four years as a teacher on the island of Lakemba. Hocart visited the southern Lau Islands, but the bulk of his observations concern the more sophisticated native life on Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau.

In the last century Lauan culture has been altered considerably by influences from outside the Fiji group, especially from Europe and Tonga. The history of the group and recent changes in the culture have been treated separately (22, 23). A summary of the history follows: 177 175

In the early nineteenth century European traders were beginning to visit the main islands of the Fiji group, chiefly to collect sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. At this time there were a number of hostile, independent chiefdoms like Lakemba in Fiji. The most powerful among them were Mbau and Rewa in southeastern Viti Levu and Somosomo, Mathuata and Mbua in east, north and west Vanua Levu respectively. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of early contact with western civilization was the introduction of firearms and western military tactics to Fiji. This intensified the struggle between the leading chiefdoms and led to the centralization of political power. It led to the use of larger forces and to an increase in the extent of cannibalism and human sacrifice. Thus in the first half of the century it was possible for the chiefdom of Mbau in east Viti Levu to become dominant in the Fiji group.

The centralization of power had another important result. It prepared the way for the penetration of the Tongans. Contact of Tonga with the Fiji Islands began in the prehistoric period. Probably the Tongans, who were fearless navigators, discovered Lau accidentally when their large, double canoes were blown by the southeast trade winds to the group. Gradually economic exchange grew up between Tonga and Fiji. It was initiated and carried on by the Tongans, mainly because of the hardwood found in southern Lau and absent in Tonga. They visited the southern islands in order to build large double canoes, far superior to their own, which were fitted together with planks. They also obtained red paroquet (parakeet) feathers (which they exchanged with Samoa to be used in decorating fine mats) from Taveuni and sandalwood from Mbua. They gave Tongan articles such as whales' teeth, barkcloth, and inlaid clubs in return. They also paid in services such as the loan of women and help in warfare. Since the art of warfare was more highly developed in Fiji than in Tonga, young Tongan noblemen often spent a few years in the service of Lauan or Fijian chiefs. In return for their services in warfare, Tongan warriors were occasionally given land; and gradually colonies of Tongans grew up in Lau, Vanua Levu, and the islands of the Koro Sea.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Tongans in Fiji had grown unruly, and as a result of many complaints against them, King George of Tonga sent the Tongan

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

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land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal relationship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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535
539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea,* in which, according to the natives, women
[292] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

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881 his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib [824 or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the 757] penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

881 Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These 302 are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night 836 or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared [177] recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents.
304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 531] Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the [177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

769 618 [771 177]

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-
427 208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of
[177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua*, as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu*. A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed
[558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302) it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekére* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

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manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); "many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India). 241

Old Moto of Undu says:

Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The first known variety was *manioke ni India*. It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumca* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so. 241 177

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe recently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi*. The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender. 241

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

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24 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[25] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

24 Moto of Undu states:

177 In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vulo*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

24 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

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Breadfruit

245 Breadfruit (*uto*) is an important food in southern Lau. The varieties of breadfruit are: *uto ntchina* (true breadfruit, considered the best), *mira-mira, uto yalewa, mbuto,* and *mbale kana.* They differ in size of fruit, smoothness of surface, and shape of leaves.

Most breadfruit trees are found directly in or immediately around the village. On Mothe about 30 acres of breadfruit grove stretch along the foot of a hill, protected on the sea side by a good coconut grove. On Fulanga special care has been taken to grow breadfruit. In the villages, trees are planted wherever there is space. Kambara and Ongea grow little breadfruit.

Part of the breadfruit root is planted. If the planting spot is sandy and exposed to the sun, black or brown soil is brought to cover the root and protect it from the sun. In the village, a newly planted cutting is surrounded by vertical sticks or stones to protect it from chickens and pigs.

Breadfruit is picked off the trees by either men or women by means of a long, forked stick.

On Mothe and Fulanga breadfruit is second to manioc as a food staple whereas on the other islands sweet potato ranks second. Part of the breadfruit crop is fermented and stored.

[177] Moto of Undu says: "When I was a boy we had breadfruit, but my father told me they did not have it when the people of Undu lived at Thakenaloa [an old village site deserted approximately 100 years ago]."

Bananas

Varieties of bananas (*vuntchi*) are: *tchaina* (China, the natives distinguish three types of *tchaina*: long, medium, and short); *waiwai* (large and long, must be cooked a long time); *saivula* (the flesh has the same qualities as *waiwai,* but is yellow in either the ripe or unripe state); *pata* (a good banana either cooked or raw; thin fine leaves make the best cigarette paper, *saluka*); *linga ni marama* (lady finger, short and curved like a slender finger); and *puka* (grown on Namuka). Two other varieties, *vuntchi ni tangane* (boys' banana) and *sese wangga,* are said to have died out.

The *tchaina* is the most common banana, except on Ongea and Fulanga where the *papa* variety ranks first. As a rule, at least one banana tree is found at the side of each house, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. Most bananas on Kambara grow on the slopes of Ndelaioloi and behind Undu near the cliff.

Banana shoots are planted by men. In soil loosened with a stick, a hole is made with a stick, shell, or coconut cup. Formerly the quality of the shoots was determined by throwing them at the hole. If the shoot missed the hole,

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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananigium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara [757] by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin.

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula*, and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

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396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
[177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than
285] the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

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clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

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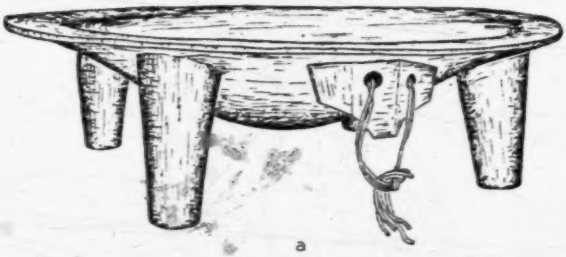
The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

[17]



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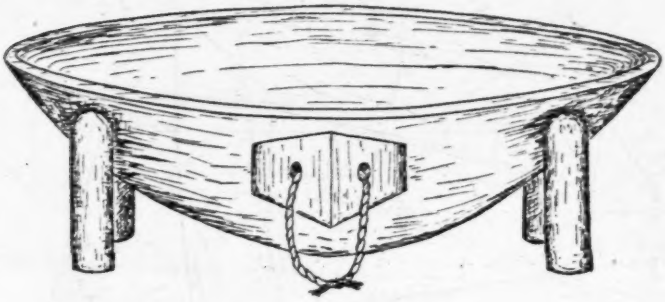

b

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: a, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

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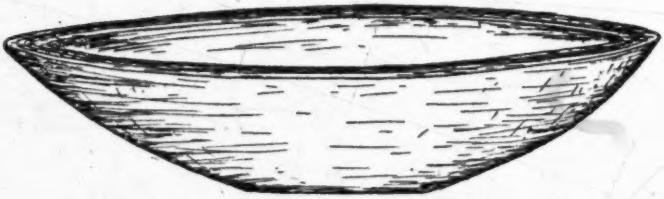
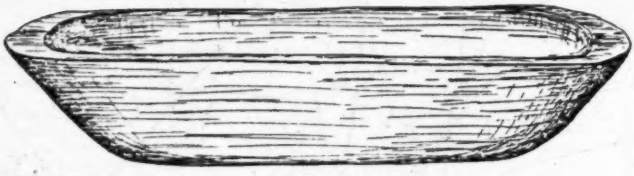


FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau. [177]

a



b

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: **a**, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; **b**, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

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FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 177 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central [797] Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji [648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally 177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a 439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down
a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

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302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old 764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have [142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage 585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock 177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy 144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the 302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

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175 The effect of the Tongans upon the Lauan physical type and language has been noted. Tongan influence is also marked in Lauan social life and technology.[14]

We have seen how the simple culture of the aborigines, the highly organized culture of the immigrants from Viti Levu on the west, and the influence from Tonga on the east met in the Lau islands. Conditioned by the natural setting of this island world, these divers strains fused into a unique form. The combination of social organization, economic life, technology, and outlook on life, found in Lau at the beginning of contact with western civilization, we call native Lauan culture. This native culture has been altered considerably in recent times by the influence of western civilization.

177 [14] The Lauan concept of rank based on ancestor worship, and their interest in the secular side of life were elaborated. Many Tongan traits are widespread in Lau today and create the impression that the Tongan influence in the group is very extensive and significant. For instance, graceful Tongan oval houses with Gothic-arched gable roofs have entirely superseded Lauan rectangular dwellings. The Tongan method of joining barkcloth by pasting small strips together to form long sheets, and ornamenting them by rubbing dye over designs raised on tablets is used daily. Tongan influence on the Lauan culture was checked by the withdrawal of Tongan power and the penetration of European civilization before it had been thoroughly assimilated.

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mines by touch whether the unborn child is correctly placed. 844
If not she manipulates it by massage into the proper position at the beginning of labor.

In a normal delivery the woman in labor sits with legs apart and knees slightly bent on a flat stone covered with barkcloth. She supports herself by propping her arms against the mat behind her, and she is held from behind by one of the attendant women. The midwife sits in front of her and slowly rubs her abdomen. If the delivery is difficult the 845
woman lies on her back. In cases of prolonged labor a medicine woman known for her skill and success in midwifery is called in from the village or from a neighboring village. She takes charge of the delivery and administers her own brand of medicine.

A difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken tabus on the part of the mother or father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, are sympathetic for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth.

The midwife catches the infant as he emerges. If he is short 844
of breath she blows water from her mouth into his face, or she gives a cup of water to the mother and massages the umbilical cord gently with thumb and index finger. If the mother is faint the midwife gives her "medicine to restore her breath", made according to her private recipe. When the child is breathing regularly the umbilical cord is cut by the mother's mother or the midwife. This was formerly done with a shell or a bamboo knife. The method, introduced by [177]
the government, of cutting the cord with a pair of scissors and tying it with a piece of string, is used occasionally. An old Fulanga woman thinks that the modern method of tying the cord is injurious because the bad blood cannot flow away. As

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He is the head of the village assembly in which all important 622
affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by 634
the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son 634
of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, 177
the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554 of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622 every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614] clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602] the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622 an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622 old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177 sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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622 177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 631 178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

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476 614 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe [177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 431 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262]
trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151]
a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest
177 of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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13 262 624 241 The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177 When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, 13 624 although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands 177 of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the [558] needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely [251] stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each 13 inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had 624 charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and 262 turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the 226 noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native [558] official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

TYPE

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in 177 large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified 172 village—*(koro)* sites.

The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with 323 little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse 531 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. 172 The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, expept that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

13 5. MAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241
177 but very little carving.
287
322
366

[p. 23]

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
177 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
144 noticeable Tongan element.

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
● 177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~ab~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
[177] is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
489 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic
material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ä) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, [312] flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantat-on, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. [177] [143] [759]

[p.60]

[Buli or chief -- analyst]

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
[366] also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
[177]
361 Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a propperous
361- village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
[205] cocomut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[245]
[466] mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive
groves of cocomuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially 754
"Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the 184
fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; [177] even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very 174
well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, 177
or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, 695
and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially 177
when a man falls ill and declares that he must 627
have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the [201]
people is held, and all are more or less compelled [754]
to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to 754
strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of 627
Regui Vola, especially the famous case of Emili 175
(the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
●178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

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quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which 614
become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial 621
government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked 178
clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle 648
of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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622 177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 631 178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

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464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other 461 racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

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working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts. 439 245

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. [651] 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 178 245

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39] 439 245 [435]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java. [654]

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily 439 178 434

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

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439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

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"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 ASIDE from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously. 431 178● 554

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. 000 In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water"). 178 575

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands. 575

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies. 575 776

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each 575 776 782

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Viti Levu OQ10

each taking yams, taro, and plantains, and some named themselves after the particular kind of yams they took, and some from the taro, and others after the plantains, each after the things they took with them when they were sent forth by the spirit (thus accounting for their plant totems), and the place from whence they departed was called Paradise. Then each dwelt in the land at which they arrived, and they settled down and multiplied . . . The common people arrived first and the chiefs followed later on."

Viewing the change in retrospect we see that the missionaries brought to Lau a foreign world view, which differed from their own mainly in its emphasis on the significance of the spiritual life of the individual soul in the next world. The Lauans were opportunists interested in obtaining "mana" expressed in prestige in this world. Success meant honor to their clan and eventual deification. The "mana" concept of the Lauans provided the bridge between the two outlooks on life. By rejection of their own ancestral gods and acceptance of a foreign God as a "mana" giver, they believed they could more effectively attain their ends. The innovation produced profound changes in their culture, especially in the social structure. Most important of these was perhaps the shift in emphasis from clan rank based on supernatural sanctions, to individual status based on social sanctions.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na tokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health.

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

[p. 148 is blank]

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

175 rice, tea, and oil. As they acquired a taste for European trade goods, they began to neglect their other economic pursuits such as fishing, gardening, canoe building, and interisland trade. Men, women, and children worked on the plantations belonging to their sibs. There followed a period of prosperity which lasted until the copra slump after the World War.

Then the copra trade in Lau ended abruptly. Communication with the outside world was cut, and the natives found themselves no longer in a position to secure many trade goods upon which they had become dependent.

PERIOD 5

A new period began. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts began to flourish, trade between the islands revived, and the whole daily routine resembled olden days. The hereditary master fisherman, whose title is determined by rank, regained control of the communal fishing. The first fruits of the harvest were again presented, but now to the old chief and the native colonial official jointly,[103] while in the first and second periods they had been offered to the gods and in the third to the chiefs. Large, single sailing canoes, with improved rigging due to western influence, have replaced the cutter but the double canoe has disappeared. Wooden bowls are made in large quantities but with less skill than in olden days. The tapa and mat making industries are again flourishing and native rope, fish lines, and fish nets are replacing imported articles.

Now the natives have regained most of their old economic independence. A few articles are still imported. Metal axes and bush knives have become quite indispensable, and it would be very difficult for the Lauans to give up trade cloth and cooking pots. Today axes, bush knives, cooking pots, and trade cloth form practically the only economic ties which link southern Lau with the outside world.

British political control is being adjusted more and more to the old order, high ranking families are receiving more attention, and a new pattern of social values is in process of formation.

As far as religion is concerned, the outer forms of Christianity have been incorporated into the native ceremonial life, but the inner conflict, caused by the weakening of the ancestor cult, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. This conflict tends to sap vitality from the culture. It is to a great extent responsible for the restlessness of the natives, in spite of their growing economic and social stability.

Reviewing the culture history of Lau we find:

178 The first great merging was of a simple, indigenous Melanesian type of culture with a highly organized, intrusive Micronesian-Polynesian

[103] Witnessed in Tokalau, Kambara.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

type.[104] The intrusion consisted of one movement (probably extending over a relatively short period of time) and was carried by a group of immigrants from the west, who settled permanently in Lau. The process of adaptation of the two cultures was relatively undisturbed for several generations. The organization pattern of the immigrants gradually affected nearly every phase of the indigenous culture and in time the typical Lauan configuration emerged. The two cultures were sufficiently similar so that a fusion, based on common traits, could take place and sufficiently different so that the result was a new configuration. With the blending of the intrusive culture with the indigenous one, the essential outlines of Lauan culture were set. 178

The next strong influence in Lauan culture came from Tonga in the east. Tongan elements were introduced into Lau by individuals or by small groups of traders, carpenters, adventurers, and warriors, many of whom later returned to Tonga. The two cultures, namely, the strongly Polynesianized Lauan and the adjacent Polynesian Tongan, were of the same general type, and the result of contact was an elaboration of the social ceremonial and technology of Lau. Tongan influence was checked by European penetration before it had been thoroughly assimilated; it affected the outer form but not the inner constellation of Lauan culture.

The last great intrusion of exotic elements into Lau, namely European civilization, was brought by missionaries, political officers, and traders. Contact with such a totally dissimilar culture weakened the inner structure of the Lauan configuration. For this the new religion was especially responsible. Changes appeared first in the religious, then the social, and finally the economic life. The cultural equilibrium was seriously disturbed but a breakdown was averted by the sudden isolation of the islands resulting from a change in economic conditions in Europe and America. This forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for readjustment toward the creation of a new balance.

HONOLULU, T.H.

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[104] Hocart (Man, No. 43, 1915) states that the island of Viti Levu may be divided by a natural barrier of mountains into two culture areas, the western and the eastern. In the western area he found a culture which he briefly characterizes by the following traits: simple social organization, petty chiefs, the Nanga secret society, the square house, the favorite number 5, and barkcloth made in the interior by men. This culture he calls Low Fijian. In the eastern area he found what he calls the High Fijian culture. It is characterized by elaborate social organization, great sacred chiefs, the oblong house, the favorite number 4, barkcloth made by women on the coast, and canoes. This two-fold, geographical picture of the culture of Viti Levu corresponds in general to the historical picture of the first two periods in Lau. 184

[pp 198-end, not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
431 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
438 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
431 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
438 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; now it is straightness (*yalo udonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work. 461 577

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*. 461 157

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait. 577 181

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name. 577 626

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by *mandua*. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest. 577 157

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on 157

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

312 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.--anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[FULANGA I.]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[P31] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake
[161] and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[322] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
285 [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
295 consumption only.
241

[p. 16]

13 S. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

[ONEATA I.]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
197 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181 noticeable Tongan element.
144

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
287
322

[p. 29]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 285. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Bukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W.of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W.of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
[177] is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
487 no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 262 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.275), we found the people quite 312 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 13 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 134 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute. [643]

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The abus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

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"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required 245 for construction has also been introduced, but the natives 439 prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of [654] coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect 178 on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of 245 western influence depends to a large extent on the market 439 demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western 178 economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing 182 of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the inclination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all the islands show a disproportionately large number of females to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several traits in common which are absent in the other three islands. The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity. Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands, according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently belong to the lower class. However, at least two other important factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

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161 have been in closer contact with influences from the outside
182 world. Old tabus have broken down to a great extent on both islands and the morale is relatively low. The inhabitants are inclined to be self-pitying and to have lost a great deal of their energy. Moreover, these two islands are centers of the upper class and the conflict between the island chiefs and the colonial administration is reflected in unrest and political wrangling. These factors have probably played a rôle in retarding the rate of population growth.

It is clear from the above that any attempt to explain the increase of population of Fiji must take into account a complicated set of interacting factors, each of which contributes to the picture as a whole. From the analysis of population increase in southern Lau it seems fair to assume that, in this area at least, a factor of great importance in population growth is the presence of a spiritual force—a will to survive or zest for life—which grows out of a healthy and socially adjusted communal life. Here the greatest increase in population is found on islands least disturbed, not only by external influences but also by internal political jealousies.

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000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na tokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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because of the British policy of indirect rule, the Moreover, native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health. 178 182 648

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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Behavior Theory W3

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121 Our data suggest further that, once firmly established and embodied in the symbol system, the attitudes and the habits of a human community, a balanced, functional, eco-cultural structure tends to endure if the human community is not wiped out or severed from its natural setting. The data also suggest that such an eco-cultural community structure is the living core of relationships which the human group, either consciously or unconsciously, tries in multiple ways to perpetuate. An understanding of this core may be expected to throw light on the problem of so-called "cultural resistance," or a people's acceptance or rejection of certain extraneous patterns of belief, thought and behavior. For example, in Lau the community has tended to reject foreign patterns of feeling, thought and behavior which interfere with, or break down, its basic eco-cultural structure, regardless of the regulations or the penalties involved. It would seem that to the extent the Lauans have been unsuccessful in their resistance to harmful interference with their group life processes, the intentional or forced introduction of nonfunctional patterns or the prohibition of functional ones has tended to throw off balance the community's whole eco-cultural structure and has operated directly against its well-being. The implications that these findings have for the problem of prediction in social science are manifold.

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121 Finally, the findings point up the practical significance of the eco-cultural approach and suggest that an understanding of a community's long-time, dynamic pattern of relationships is basic to the formulation of adequate norms or standards for the advancement of community welfare and for the development of community-oriented government administration.[22] Accordingly, the significant problem regarding community welfare and the conservation of resources does not emerge simply as the question of how human health and institutions may be improved, or of how topsoil may be saved, or watersheds, and forest land protected, or organic species preserved from extinction, important though each of these aspects may be. The significant problem of community welfare emerges as a matter of using and adapting local beliefs, attitudes, habits and institutions, supplemented where necessary by appropriate new ones, to the end that human groups, through natural eco-cultural processes, may foster the development and maintenance of a balanced, healthy *total* community—plants and animals, as well as human groups.

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[22] *See* Thompson, 1949.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

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The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country," Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

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Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 226 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 335 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 793 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 644 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to [428 184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndawola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy,
837 there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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543 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister
●184 may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest
[835 tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the
684] woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

543 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins.
605 Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of [177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *falu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance [867] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558 eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
613 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela- [184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly [689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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343 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu*, and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

344 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

346 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndravu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua aleua*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 166

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

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Kambara

854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of [184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is 852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are [851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The 431] child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away. 539

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

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423 [67] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it. [84]

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara.* She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 people with ceremonial presentations of tribute, formal dances,[35] and kava[36] drinking customs with carefully prescribed rituals and precedence.[37] He had one chief wife and many secondary wives.[38] At his death some of these were strangled.[39] The chiefly ceremonial pattern was duplicated less ostentatiously for other members of the group, depending on rank and wealth.

The ranking system was interrelated with a hierarchy of sib ancestor gods called kalou vu. At the top of the hierarchy stood Ndaunisai and his ancestors. The position of each god was determined by his mana, expressed by success in warfare while on earth and by success of his living descendants. In other words, his rank was determined by his pre-mortem and post-mortem prestige.

The stress on rank and its supplement in ancestor worship threw the emphasis in religion from the spiritual "high god" concept of the early inhabitants to the sib ancestor gods of the newcomers.[40] However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestral gods as sib dieties, the descendants of the early inhabitants retained their sib gods as well as their sib units.

The ancestor god of each sib was embodied in a species of animal or plant which was sacred to the sib. Although much knowledge of sib totems has been lost, at least half of the thirty-seven sibs studied possessed three totems: a species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. The totems were propitiated with ceremonial offerings of food and kava. Each species had a title and its generic name was tabu to members of other sibs in the presence of the owners. The Vuanikathu sib on Kambara, which traces its genealogy ten generations directly to Ndaunisai, owns the mavinda[41] tree, the ongo fish, and the kaisevou bird.[42] Even today the mavinda trees of

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[35] Called meke, especially war dances for men and sitting dances for women.

[36] Yanggona (*Piper methysticum* Forst.).

[37] According to the so-called Fijian custom, which is characterized by great formality, hand clapping, and kava meke singing. The old men told Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141) that the true Fijian mode was characterized by the grating of the root on a piece of fine coral.

[38] Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–33) states that the chief had from ten to fifty or one hundred wives.

[39] As described by informants, by Wilkes (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 98–100), and by Williams (*op cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 200–201).

[184] [40] The interest of the early population, expressed in their mystical outlook on life and religious ritual, was focused on the inner content of life, while that of the immigrants, expressed in the rank system, ancestor worship, and social ceremonial, was focused on outer form. Even today the land people are less restricted in daily life by formalities and jealousy than the chief group. They seem to be more modest and liberal and to have more sense of humor than members of the chief group.

[41] *Erythrospermum polyandrum* Oliver.

[42] Information concerning the Vuanikathu sib totems was obtained from the sib headman. It is tabu for other members of the sib to discuss them.

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type.[184] The intrusion consisted of one movement (probably extending over a relatively short period of time) and was carried by a group of immigrants from the west, who settled permanently in Lau. The process of adaptation of the two cultures was relatively undisturbed for several generations. The organization pattern of the immigrants gradually affected nearly every phase of the indigenous culture and in time the typical Lauan configuration emerged. The two cultures were sufficiently similar so that a fusion, based on common traits, could take place and sufficiently different so that the result was a new configuration. With the blending of the intrusive culture with the indigenous one, the essential outlines of Lauan culture were set. 178

The next strong influence in Lauan culture came from Tonga in the east. Tongan elements were introduced into Lau by individuals or by small groups of traders, carpenters, adventurers, and warriors, many of whom later returned to Tonga. The two cultures, namely, the strongly Polynesianized Lauan and the adjacent Polynesian Tongan, were of the same general type, and the result of contact was an elaboration of the social ceremonial and technology of Lau. Tongan influence was checked by European penetration before it had been thoroughly assimilated; it affected the outer form but not the inner constellation of Lauan culture.

The last great intrusion of exotic elements into Lau, namely European civilization, was brought by missionaries, political officers, and traders. Contact with such a totally dissimilar culture weakened the inner structure of the Lauan configuration. For this the new religion was especially responsible. Changes appeared first in the religious, then the social, and finally the economic life. The cultural equilibrium was seriously disturbed but a breakdown was averted by the sudden isolation of the islands resulting from a change in economic conditions in Europe and America. This forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for readjustment toward the creation of a new balance.

HONOLULU, T.H.

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[184] Hocart (Man, No. 43, 1915) states that the island of Viti Levu may be divided by a natural barrier of mountains into two culture areas, the western and the eastern. In the western area he found a culture which he briefly characterizes by the following traits: simple social organization, petty chiefs, the Nanga secret society, the square house, the favorite number 5, and barkcloth made in the interior by men. This culture he calls Low Fijian. In the eastern area he found what he calls the High Fijian culture. It is characterized by elaborate social organization, great sacred chiefs, the oblong house, the favorite number 4, barkcloth made by women on the coast, and canoes. This two-fold, geographical picture of the culture of Viti Levu corresponds in general to the historical picture of the first two periods in Lau. 184

[pp 198-end, not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177

When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

754 Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this [683] reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

754 Now, all the instances I have mentioned above
184 occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (**nona tamata sara nga**), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairu. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

MORALITY

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of 195
women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) 834
is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedi- 834
grees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of 848
Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each 834
other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They 186
may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or 834
if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau O 6
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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

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Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rils of coconut leaves.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192 854
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

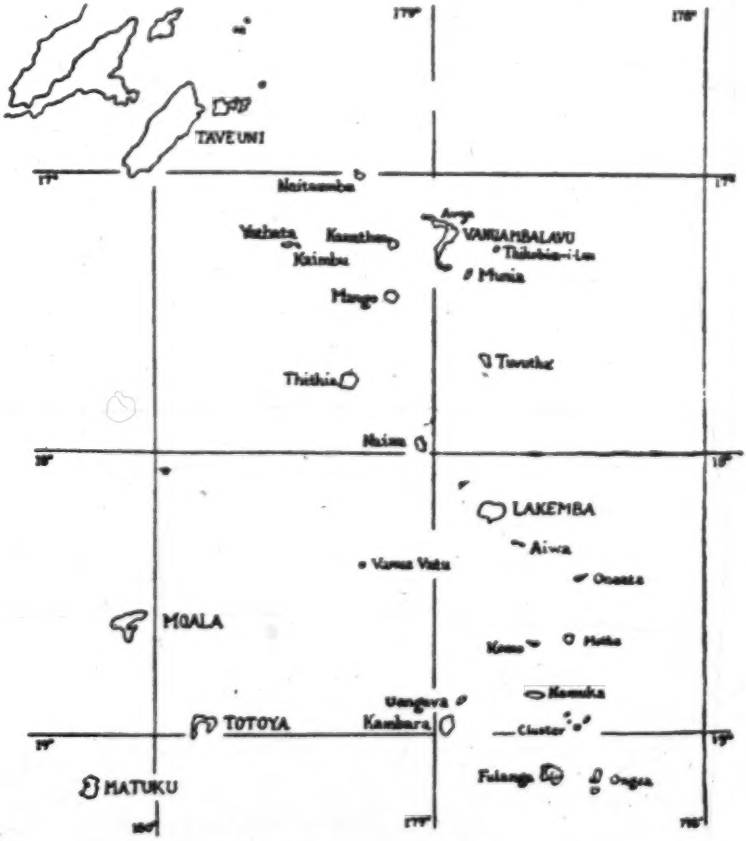

FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndáku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [797]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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104 language, so do the Fijians find it difficult to
194 pronounce certain sounds, such as B and D, without the conjunction of other sounds with them. Thus, wherever a B is written down in a Fijian word an imaginary M must be understood to precede it, and similarly an imaginary N precedes both the written D and also the G (the G in Fijian being very nasal and almost inaudible). Therefore DEGEI, the Serpent God, is pronounced as if spelt in English as NDENGEI (nasal G), and BEQA, an island, is pronounced as if spelt MBENGA (hard G).

Vowels have the French sound, and so the diphthong AU in LAU is pronounced ah-oo, which quickly run together eventually comes almost to rhyme with cow.

Accentuation is, as in Hebrew, nearly always on the penultimate syllable.

T. R. St. J.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landu-vunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship. 576 565

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people. 576 195

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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To go	lea ka	
To sit	wiri	
To say	vakatambuna	to make sacred
To die	siri	to go wrong
To die	mbale	to fall
To die	mothe	to sleep[3]
To sleep	vakathethengu vakarerengge, tavo	to rest to take care of
To awake	lave lave	to lift up
To bathe	tumbutumbu	
To be angry	toka wale	to sit doing nothing
Please give me	vakandrakai mai	take trouble to give
Yes	ia saka, ie	

The commonest respectful terms are the use of the second person plural, and the particle *saka*. The second person plural is in common use between people who are not intimate. The word *saka* is probably the root of *saka-saka* (awkward) and is therefore a self-depreciating particle. It has been identified by Europeans as a vocative equivalent to "Sir," and is now prefixed to letters. But as the analogy of other dialects proves, it occupies in the sentence the position not of the vocative, but of an adverb. In Mualevu, where the Thakaundrove speech dialect is spoken, *vakatha* (badly) is used. The word *lea* is also used by elderly polite persons very much like *saka*, only more extensively. It can be used between the possessive and the noun as: *a omundou lea thakathaka;* also it is used as a verb instead of "go."

No hard and fast rule can be laid down for the use of polite language. There is not a man who will not use the particle *saka* in speaking to the High Chief, or who will omit to call his leg a stand, "because he is the lord of our land; his title is Tui Naiau." The people of Tumbou and Levuka will call a great nobleman's leg a leg; but the countryfolk and the people of Lau will call his leg a stand. Some small men even in Tumbou will speak of the Lord of Tumbou's leg as a stand. All these words, however, are now more or less abandoned except for the Lord of Naiau.

The ordinary greeting is "awake." For a great person there is special salutation called *tama* which is sung out on first meeting him or passing his house in the morning. The men say *"o oa"* in a deep voice, dropping about a tone on the *a*. The women sing out *"ninggo"* rising about a tone on the *nggo* and drawing it out. The great man does not answer the *tama*. When once the sun has reached the zenith this salutation is forbidden, and "It is night, Sir," is used. The great man answers, "It is night." The *tama* is

[3] A writer in the Native Gazette (12), probably a man from Mbau, says that a nobleman who dies naturally is said to sleep; if he is murdered it is said that he fell.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E*." The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase."

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*).

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good."

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (nona tamata sara nga), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

MORALITY

Sexual intercourse is called *veithái*, a word forbidden in presence of women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing." 195 834

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedigrees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge: 834 848

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it. 834 186

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's 834

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba*, the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu*, to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba*. The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [795] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 782] named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduzu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old ***meke*** (chants) ● 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic 538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern ***meke***. However, many words which appear in the old ***meke*** cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai ***meke*** are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 539 The following ***meke***, which are not understood by present natives, are said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)	
Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.
(Drum beats)	

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 126

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 127

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 127 554 [85]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 127 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: *"A thava e manati iko"* (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni tvai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

INTRODUCTION

196 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate" (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka,* the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the 1941 *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are 656 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

576 The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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124 I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

104 In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [B32]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-
boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote [101]
culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, except that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

[p. 10 is blank]

PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [197]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 776 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, [197] then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach, [226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (***vakalutu-lutu***). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (***vakarokoroko***) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558 eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
643 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (***vosa vakarokoroko***) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (***tama***) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (***sue***), extending from the main entrance (***katumba i sue*** or ***katumba kumba i ra***) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (***mbuto ni vale***), the main section between the supporting posts, is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198 789]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Rarama!"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

●201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

 [576] [201] 171

with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

121 [114] 126 114

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

"'What is this, Tui Liku,' said he; 'why are you thus sleepy, and why do you look so sad?' 539* 776

"'It is because of the demons of this place, my lord,' said Tui Liku; and he told him what had befallen him. Whereat Ligadua was very angry, and he stepped across to his house (you may see the foundation of it to this day, a *yavu tameri* (a marvellous one indeed), and fit truly for a god. Now, outside his house lies the great Drum named *Sagasagawalé* (all-our-work-for-nothing), about the theft of which from Matokano by the god I will tell you some other day. He rang hard and loud on *Sagasagawalé*, and all the demons of Tuvana came running up at once and sat down in a circle before him. Then Ligadua spoke to them, and was very angry with them, and reproved them, and warned them never to touch Tui Liku again. They hung their heads [201] in silence, and plucked at the grass[1] near them, and were ashamed. Then Ligadua told them to go; and he called up Tui Liku and told him he might use his big house, and that he might wait there for a canoe from Matokano without further fear of the demons. 'As for me,' he said, 'I now go back to Burotu.'

"Then Tui Liku summoned up his courage and asked to be allowed to see Burotu.

"'If I take your spirit with me it may not be

[1] A Lauan method of showing shame.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[201] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which
[754] caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.
273 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

[301]
H15

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[201]

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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[201]

lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

[201]

And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

776 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in
825 Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

262 "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old
825 lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her
776 shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter
[201] disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*. 248 251

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *nbundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

621 602 614

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Namolutu Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

[624 202] [620]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

[631]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
[366] also has a little store. Natokalan, on the east side has 65 residents.
[177]
361 Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous
361 village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
[205] coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[249]
[466] mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive
groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tumbou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584
mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, bark-cloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212]
Mbaman dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581
man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883
cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai. 621 133

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village. [221]

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village. [712]

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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133

both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (27, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [172] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

43 [45] The word *sezu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482 505]

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), 262 *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens)*, *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[262] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

FISHING WITH NETS

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times.

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet.

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp.

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

825 section are poisonous while those from the surrounding waters are not, but some believe that during the storm poisonous seaweed was carried through the passage situated opposite the poisoned section and now grows there. Patches near the islands of Komo and Mothe have also been poisoned since the 1929 hurricane.

Hunting

PIGS

224 Though wild pigs are no longer found on Lau, some old people have participated in pig hunting. Moto of Undu describes it as follows:

> Many young men went with spears through the jungle, sometimes with a dog. We encircled a large coral pocket and placed men with spears at the exits. Other men went down into the pocket. The pigs ran from the exits and were speared. Often the injured pigs ran back into the pockets or to other exits until they were killed by another spear or died of loss of blood. The legs of the dead pigs were tied together and two men carried them home on a stick across their shoulders. The pigs belonged to all the hunters and after the hunt a feast was held.

GOATS

There are wild goats on the uninhabited island of Aiwa and a few on Kambara. Men sailing by canoe between southern Lau and Lakemba usually stay over night on Aiwa and occasionally hunt goats. The goats are chased into a coral pocket, and as the animals try to pass through the exits, they are clubbed. Occasionally live goats are caught and taken home.

WILD FOWL

223 The Lauans are not very successful in trapping wild pigeons. They are occasionally trapped in a basket (*wali*) in which are tied red berries for bait. But I have seen the trap placed in a red berry bush where the birds can have all the berries they want without entering the trap.

There are wild chickens on Kambara, Fulanga, Wangava, and Namuka which closely resemble the domestic chickens. Wangava and Kambara have many. Traps are occasionally set for them in the jungle. A chicken trap (*ndau ni toa*) is a pyramid-shaped, four-sided frame of any kind of wood faced with slats. It is open at the base and is placed on the ground with the bait inside. One side is raised and propped up with a stick just high enough so that the fowl can enter.

Wild ducks are seen on the brackish lakes of Namuka and Wangava.

Animal Husbandry

PIGS

23 Pigs (*vuaka*), which are scarce in southern Lau, are the most valued domestic animals. Pork is an esteemed food for feasts at important weddings, initiations, and funerals.

13 S. NAIAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 245 224 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 643 262

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i secuseru*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i whau ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ringgai*).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe,* to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with th- ,14 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

13 39. BUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~[illegible]~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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161
245
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[p.86]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 142 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

173 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, "*O oa.*" If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [325] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[775] It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

[754] "Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The [643] biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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so decides, on the beach. Many fish which escape into the coral are pulled out.

In olden times a noble youth was appointed master of the fishing (*turanga ni nggoli*). He went around in a canoe striking any one who disobeyed.

Mullet Fishing

Mullet is here used to designate the fish called *kanathe*. Fishing for mullet (*thuka*) is done with a bag-shaped net mounted on two sticks.

Mullet fishing is usually said to belong to Tanggalevu [17] but precisely it belongs more to Semi of Tumbou who is the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu and to Ratu Meli of Naivi whose mother was of Tanggalevu.

A man of Waitambu had two daughters: one married into Wathiwathi; the other, called Ndranindongo, came to Tumbou as the wife of a man of Nandomole in Thekena. The people of Waitambu gave her mullet-fishing saying, "Let it be for your soup (*su*) in your house." With it they gave a gulley (*soso*) in Waitambu as dowry (*i kau*). Either she or a female descendant of hers gave the leading position on the seaward side to a daughter of hers who married into Tuware. Both the fishing and the gulley are still the property of the descendants of Ndranindongo. Formerly if any one besides the owners fished mullet there was trouble. If High Chief wishes mullet to be fished, he must ask Semi. If any one is building a house and desires to have mullets for a feast he offers up kava to Semi that he may instruct the women of Tumbou quarter to catch mullet. Semi then informs the women and they hold a council to decide matters and determine the place of each. All the women who are uterine descendants (*kete yani*) from Tumbou may take part. The women go out in two files, two to a net. The first two places are the "eyes" or "face of the fishing" (*mata ni nggoli*); these places have fixed owners as Semi decides: the one toward the sea belongs to Semi's wife and daughter (Semi belongs to Tuware as well as Tanggalevu), the other belongs to the Vaka's wife or some other woman of Nandomole. The other places are decided by "appropriating the fishing" (*usu nggoli*), which is done in this way: after some discussion they suddenly begin calling in quick succession: "I stand behind X"; "I stand next." And so on they scramble for positions, and are placed in the order in which they spoke. As for the ladies of Tai who are not connected with Tumbou, they merely await the decision of the others. Between any two pairs from Tumbou there is an interval in which the nobles are placed; each woman of Tumbou decides which ladies from Tai and how many will stand between her and the next Tumbou net. The position next to the "eyes of the fishing" is fixed; it is called "following the fishing" (*muri nggoli*) and is given to Big House. The last woman of Tumbou is the "limit of the fishing" (*i yalayala ni nggoli*); after that the rest follow in any order, and are known as "the bottom of the fishing" (*mboto ni nggoli*).

The two files advance in the sea looking for a shoal of mullets. If they see one the leader on the seaward side says "Do you see fish?"

The other answers, "I see."

They then start running and all the women know there is a shoal. The two leaders come together and so come the last two thus forming a complete circle round the fish. The leader says, "*Koso*" (cut off) or "Cross," and those who stand at "the limit" on either side run across to join, thus dividing the circle in two. If both circles contain plenty of fish the leader again cries "*Koso*," and each circle again divides in two. The fish try to escape by leaping, but strike against the upper part of the net

[17] Of old, all things were owned (*vaka i tauka*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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which projects high above the water and fall into the bag below. When they have secured the fish they begin again, and so on till the leader is satisfied.

After the fishing each lady of Tai presents a mullet to the Tumbou woman in whose interval she was. If a lady of Tumbou goes down for the first time she makes a feast called *ola* for Tumbou at any time after her first fishing. In return she gets all the fish caught at the next fishing.

Until the time when the people left the Old Village, the ladies of Tai used to give the twine to the women of Tumbou to make into nets; but the Tumbou ladies were in the habit of keeping some of the twine for themselves, so the women of Tai learned the art.

Mullet fishing also has its tapu:

It is forbidden to tread on one another's toes before going out fishing or the person trodden on catches nothing.

The net is whipped with *sinu* like an ordinary net only it is done in silence because it is clear for what fish it is meant.

While fishing it is forbidden to touch one another or let the sticks touch one another; for two to eat out of the same basket; to spear or hit the mullet.

The scarcity of mullet in my time was ascribed to ill feeling between the owners of the fishing over the question who should control it. As long as the Tumbu people got on well together they caught plenty.

I could discover no spirit of mullet fishing. In Waitambu it was definitely said the fishing had no spirits (*tevoro*), it merely originated in Waitambu.

The other villages do not fish mullet, not that it is forbidden to them, but they do not know how and have no nets. Besides, mullet only comes close to land between Waitambu and Tumbou.

Fish Fences

Fish fences made of reeds are set up across the tracks which the fish follow when they retire with the tide. These tracks are known to experts.

The plan of the fence, which varies somewhat according to the lay of the land, is roughly that of a crescent. The two wings must rest on flats that are dry, or nearly so, at low tide. The central part is doubled and the inner fence has an opening in the middle. At each of the corridors between the inner and the outer fence is a chamber with an opening so narrow that a man can barely squeeze through, this entrance is wider at the top than at the bottom, so that the lower the tide, the narrower the opening; it is closed by flaps so arranged that the fish can push their way in but not out. At low tide the owners come to collect the fish. After making sure there is no shark or sting ray present, they enter and spear or stab the fish.

These fences have to be shifted from time to time as the fish cease to come. They are not much used in Lakemba, as they are not very productive on the Tumbou side, fifty being a good catch as against hundreds in Viti Levu. In fact, it was I who revived this method.

In Waitambu there are "fish fence waters" which are proprietary. If a man sets up a fish fence he asks his wives and sisters to supply provisions

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 643 262

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauvau mavi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

[287]

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Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

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Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252]

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?" 226 773

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given: 226

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yawa ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a twangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakawura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent. 342

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery. G21 G8

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops. [226]

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of, Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga. 624

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important. 624 784

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older. 624

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndrau ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal 624 226

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
743 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen
622 from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak, and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

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The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).

Chief of crops claps three times. "I . . . a . . ." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tu mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu . . . ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fullanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).

Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A . . . u, a . . . u, u . . . lia, thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggarawi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

FISHING WITH NETS

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suzimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tavilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

Vono. The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

Volavola. In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

Rarau. Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

Songo matana. At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *songo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

Mbekambeka. Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

Lawa vuevue. The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathi*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently three or more women walk along the beach at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women

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step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets. 226

Yaviran. A *yaviran* (*yavi*, hauling; *rau*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yaviran* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yaviran* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day. 824

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided

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226 between the villages in proportion to population, and each village share was divided between clans.

The catch of about 100 fish weighed about 250 pounds, but a catch of about 800 pounds had been expected. The master fisherman told me that a pregnant woman had participated and that a woman during the first hundred days of pregnancy would spoil any net fishing. (The *yavirau* is considered to be a net.) He added that the population had not been respecting the master fisherman in their daily fishing and the consequence was a shortage of fish. While the first reason was recognized by all and caused talk among the women, the people never mentioned the second reason given by the master fisherman. The chief of Kambara, who had not participated because of his age, said: "If a woman in early pregnancy takes part naturally no good result is possible, but, anyway, today is not a *yavirau* day. The sky is too dark and dark are the waters, as dark as the coconut leaves. Consequently the fish could not see the spiral and passed through it. Furthermore, the fishing took place in rather shallow waters which are liked by fish on sunny days. Today they are in deeper waters. Therefore perhaps only a few fish were present."

On Fulanga the *yavirau* method is also used but the *rau* is never pulled toward the beach, always onto the reef.

Latchi tei. A coconut-leaf rope (*rau*), shorter than that used for a *yavirau*, is used by the Fulanga women to catch *tei*, a fish about the size of a mullet. The net is spread just inside the reef where the *tei* are common.

Tuvatu. Such a short *rau* is called *tuvatu* on Mothe where it is placed around a rock formation below the surface of the water during high tide. When the tide falls the fish are frightened by the moving coconut-leaf spiral and stay in pools around the rocks. At low tide the fish are procured by the poisoning method (pp. 134-135).

Lawa ni yavi. The *lawa ni yavi* (drag net) technique is a communal fishing method used occasionally by women only during the day. The net is about 100 meters long and 3.5 meters deep. It is used only during low or ebbing tide in sections with a white sandy bottom near the beach. A few women take one end of the net and haul it into the water. Others stand on the beach and hold the other end. The rest of the participants place themselves all along the net, holding it under water, and gradually move forward. Those standing on the beach remain stationary. Thus the line describes a semicircle around the women on the beach. Girls, boys, and children beat the water in front of the net so that the fish are frightened back toward the fishers. As the fisher line approaches the beach the women skillfully catch many fish about to escape underneath the net.

I witnessed a *lawa ni yavi* at Ndaku, Kambara. When the net had been hauled to the beach, the master fisherman appeared. The net was carried to a grassy spot beneath the coconut trees and emptied of about 200 fish. The whole process took six minutes. The master fisherman and his wife knelt near the pile of fish, sorted them according to size, and put them into piles of 12. Then the master fisherman took one fish from each pile for each clan until none was left, and each clan received an equal share.

Sau kanathe. Men and women fish together for mullet, using the *sau kanathe* method. A net about 35 fathoms wide is taken to a place in the lagoon, preferably 4 to 5 feet deep. The ends of the net are held by men and the women line up along the net, which is put out in horseshoe formation. The men start to pull, the women follow and hold the net in proper position. The men on the ends either proceed toward the beach or, if the net is closed in the water, it is carried by a canoe to the beach, where the catch is divided.

Hose. *Hose* is a finger long fish, reddish in color, found in schools of thousands in the Fulanga lagoons. The women take a small meshed net about 100 meters long into the lagoon where the bottom consists of small coral. There the net is opened and gradually dragged toward shallow water near the beach or toward one of the little islands.

Vutu. The *vutu* method is used by women and children on moonlight nights. They pole out to the reef, and a few people, especially children, climb upon a rock. Others with a *lawa ni yavi* net encircle the rock, while those on top start bumping and jump-

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ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *vutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. [302] Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock).

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Kanathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

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226 **Thina.** *Thina* is the Lauan word for lamp, lantern, torch. Men or women or men and women torch fish (*thina*) together at night. Each takes at least one cocomut spathe, splits one end of it several times, so that it will catch fire readily and quickly throw a light flame. At the spot on the beach where the fishing is to start, the spathes are lighted with a glowing coconut husk or stick. The torches are held over the water by members of the party who walk slowly ahead of the others. The fish are usually speared or clubbed.

Vaka a samu (the beating fashion). A fish, tied to a short line which is fastened to a stick, is beaten on the water to serve as a lure. The fish are stabbed with a one-pronged spear (*sakathukathu*), which is a sharp pointed shaft of wood.

Tauyara. By the *tauyara* (to lure with an equal) method, a fish is stuck onto one prong of a spear or tied to the shaft, with a string. The spear is moved so that the bait is kept under water to lure a fish close enough to be stabbed.

FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

Fishing with hook and line is called *siva*. This method is used frequently on Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga by men and women either during the day or night, preferably at sandy spots where the hook will not catch. A small fish, a crab, or a slug is bait.

For fishing from the beach a line 50 meters long is used. The loosely rolled coil is thrown by one hand and an end of line held in the other. At intervals the fisherman calls: "Tale mai, tale mai, tale mai" (Come here, come here, come here). In canoe trolling the method is the same, but a shorter line is used. Sometimes the canoe is anchored and the line is weighted. When fishing from a rock the man or woman throws the line out or weights it with a stone so that it sinks vertically.

The fishhook used in Lau today is imported. The natives agree that the fishhooks formerly used were of wood and bone but no one was able to describe them.

FISH STUPIFYING

226 278 **Samulaki.** The afternoon before *samulaki* fishing on Kambara a few people go to the bush to gather a vine called *tuva*. Old branches are taken because their poison is strong. In the evening the branches are beaten with a rock until the juice begins to ooze. Before sunrise the next morning, and at low tide when the fish have not yet left the coral formations, women go to the reef. A small handful of the beaten twigs is tied into a bundle and splashed on the water so that the poisonous juice mixes with the water and enters the coral caves. Several coral formations are poisoned on the same morning, and by daybreak the fish are drifting unconscious on the surface. Any prevented by the coral from coming to the surface are speared.

A similar method, called *tuva*, is used on Fulanga. The bark of the *tuva* is cut into pieces and pounded on a stone with a beating stick. Then the bark is ripped into strips, which are tied in small bundles and taken by canoe to the reef. The girls dive around the coral formations and, if many fish are detected, the basket containing the bundles is lowered into the water. The wet bark is beaten again so that the sap oozes readily. Each girl takes a bundle, dives, places it between the rocks until all the main holes and narrow passages contain the poison. The fish which rise to the surface are picked by hand or speared. On Fulanga this method of fish stupifying is usually used by a household, sometimes by a village.

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Tuva ni nikini. On Kambara the roots of the *tuva ni nikini* (New Guinea *tuva*) are taken by men, women, or children to the reef. The people dive near the reef to chase the fish into the cavities of the coral formation. Then someone, usually a girl but never a man, puts on protecting glasses, dives, and circles the rock to see whether or not the fish have fled into the holes. After the root is beaten into dust with a piece of hard wood about 30 to 40 cm. long and 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, women dive with handfuls of the powder and squeeze them under water. After about 15 minutes the fish come to the surface, apparently dead or stupified, but most fish caught this way die after about five minutes of play. Heavy, strong fish are hit on the head with a stick or with the back of a cane knife. 226 278

On Fulanga the powdered root is placed in a medicine bag made of coconut reticulum and taken to the reef. If the fisherwomen see fish, the bag is taken into the water and squeezed between the rocks. The method is used only during the day.

Tuva kalou. On Namuka, *tuva kalou* fruit is steamed in the earth oven, then put into a basket which is placed in the hull of a canoe partly filled with water. The basket is pressed against the hull or worked with sticks so that the fruit juice mixes with the water. When three or four bailers of this mixture are poured around a rock formation, it sinks slowly and is worked into the caves by the current. When the drugged fish appear on the surface they are caught by hand or stabbed, then put into baskets.

Sosolo or soli. *Soli*, a black slug about 30 cm. long and 4 to 5 cm. in diameter, which is found in masses near Namuka, is used for stupifying fish. The slugs are put into a basket, covered with sand, and trampled so that the juice and the odor of the slugs are absorbed by the sand. The basket is tied to a string and let down from a canoe into the water of the lagoon. It is said that the odor and the slight change in the color of the water attract and stun the fish causing them to rise to the surface in two or three minutes. They are gathered by hand. The same basket of slugs may be used several times.

Soto. On Mothe *soto* leaves are crushed with a cane knife or shell. During the night, at low tide when the water is calm, the leaves are placed in coral holes to stun the fish.

FISH TRAPPING

Toni kana. The fish trap (*ndoi ni ika*) used in the *toni kana* method, is a circular basket, up to 1 fathom in diameter and up to 40 cm. deep. The fish enter a funnel-shaped entrance on top. Usually the trap is set by a diver who preferably puts it onto a smooth place. A sea slug or a large crab, which has been opened to cause a stronger odor, serves as bait and is tied with a string either to the trap or to stone weights inside the trap. Occasionally the trap is hooked to a stick, tied onto the end of a string and weighted with a stone. It is lowered and raised by the hook and string. 226

Va katu ku tuku. From the circumference of the round trap described above are run three strings, which are tied together from 0.5 to 1 meter above the stone-weighted trap. At the upper end of the string is tied a floating stick 1 to 2 meters long so that the trap can easily be located and pulled out of the water.

Lasia. A diver places the above described trap and puts stones around it which touch the lower edge of the trap so that the current cannot move it easily. This kind of trap setting is done most frequently in calm waters.

FISHPONDS

Of the six islands visited fishponds were used only on Mothe. This island has six fishponds which resemble horseshoes in shape, the open end bordered by the beach. The stone walls (*moka*), which are about 0.5 meter high, are made from the black basalt with which the beach is strewn. This stone is smooth and heavy, and the walls are not easily destroyed by the surf. High tide brings the fish over the walls, where they are speared or gathered.

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226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [483] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni twai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

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136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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624 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or
241 the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced
226 politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai*, which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.

[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. ~~Mbab~~ Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former

[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population

487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women

462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The

[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and

241 some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).

[320] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet

285 [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local

295 consumption only.

241

[p. 16]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Nammka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised. 280 285

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point 231 of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a 13 thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

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462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
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[p. 31]

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*539 776 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another [197] thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach, [226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night.

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796
[276]

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat.

[481]

"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

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226 Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught
796 at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming
539 was as follows," he went on. "There was a
773 goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama*
776 *rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
●227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISH NETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thana* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

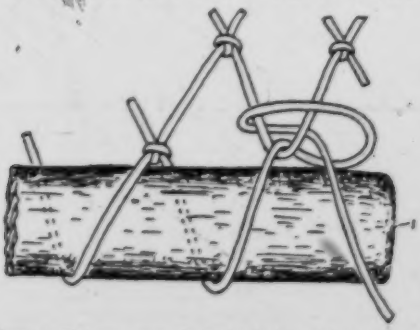

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
[824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i udreuw*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish.

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk.

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week; the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*.

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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825 section are poisonous while those from the surrounding waters are not, but some believe that during the storm poisonous seaweed was carried through the passage situated opposite the poisoned section and now grows there. Patches near the islands of Komo and Mothe have also been poisoned since the 1929 hurricane.

Hunting

Pigs

224 Though wild pigs are no longer found on Lau, some old people have participated in pig hunting. Moto of Undu describes it as follows:

> Many young men went with spears through the jungle, sometimes with a dog. We encircled a large coral pocket and placed men with spears at the exits. Other men went down into the pocket. The pigs ran from the exits and were speared. Often the injured pigs ran back into the pockets or to other exits until they were killed by another spear or died of loss of blood. The legs of the dead pigs were tied together and two men carried them home on a stick across their shoulders. The pigs belonged to all the hunters and after the hunt a feast was held.

Goats

There are wild goats on the uninhabited island of Aiwa and a few on Kambara. Men sailing by canoe between southern Lau and Lakemba usually stay over night on Aiwa and occasionally hunt goats. The goats are chased into a coral pocket, and as the animals try to pass through the exits, they are clubbed. Occasionally live goats are caught and taken home.

Wild fowl

223 The Lauans are not very successful in trapping wild pigeons. They are occasionally trapped in a basket (*wali*) in which are tied red berries for bait. But I have seen the trap placed in a red berry bush where the birds can have all the berries they want without entering the trap.

There are wild chickens on Kambara, Fulanga, Wangava, and Namuka which closely resemble the domestic chickens. Wangava and Kambara have many. Traps are occasionally set for them in the jungle. A chicken trap (*ndau ni toa*) is a pyramid-shaped, four-sided frame of any kind of wood faced with slats. It is open at the base and is placed on the ground with the bait inside. One side is raised and propped up with a stick just high enough so that the fowl can enter.

Wild ducks are seen on the brackish lakes of Namuka and Wangava.

Animal Husbandry

Pigs

● 23 Pigs (*vuaka*), which are scarce in southern Lau, are the most valued domestic animals. Pork is an esteemed food for feasts at important weddings, initiations, and funerals.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

An old informant says:

Before the time of the colonial government we had many pigs because we did not need to feed them. A fence of posts, running along the outskirts of the village from the beach to the cliff, kept the animals away from dwellings, but gave them access to the beach and the jungle where fruits, roots, insects, and greens afforded abundant food. Each household had its pigs and had a special place along the fence where it threw food to them. Often the fences were not kept in repair and animals found their way into the village and the houses. Hence the government ordered each pig owner to keep his animals in pens outside the village. Since that time pigs have had to be fed and, as food is scarce, the number has declined rapidly. 231 [417]

In December 1933, there were only 14 brood sows and one boar on Kambara. All these pigs, with the exception of one that had been brought as a farrow from Totoya, were of the razor-backed, long-legged, Polynesian breed. The animals were kept in pens about 9 meters square, with stone or wooden fences 1 to 1.5 meters high. Each sow had a single pen. In Tokalau one large pen was divided into two parts by a stone wall. The wall had a hole large enough for a farrow to slip through. Whenever the sow wanted a rest she would urge the litter into the other pen where the pigs were fed. The owner said, "Some day the farrows will be so big that they cannot return to the mother and then we shall know how big they are." [417]

The farrows stay with the sow as long as she can give them a drop of milk, often three or four months. The sow by that time has been reduced almost to a skeleton. Pigs of the same litter weigh from 20 to 40 pounds at the age of four months. If a farrow is slow in development the owner takes it home, where it is tied to a tree and given special food. Children play with it and occasionally the owner takes it for a walk. Some owners let their pigs run about after they have left the mother. They are usually kept out of the village, but there are often one or two to be seen around the earth oven and occasionally they enter the houses.

Pigs may be fed by men or women; the women usually feed them with coconut in the late forenoon. Beside each pen a husking stake (*ndoko*) is driven into the ground. In the evening a man, usually the owner, goes to the pen with a bundle of grass and leaves carried on a stick resting on his shoulder. He feeds the grass to the animals and gives them coconut meat. Most pigs are killed when they weigh 90 to 100 pounds, and are presented ceremonially to visiting chiefs or government officials.

The natives did not know the period of gestation for pigs. Their estimate of from three to five months is significant, as a farrow born only a day or two before it is due cannot live. Sows with many teats are preferred for breeding for they are considered most fertile. I did not find any pig able to suckle more than eight young ones and not one animal with a litter of more than six.

A boar is considered best between four and six years. Later he loses in potency. The only boar on Kambara was seven years old. The year before a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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231 boar in Tokalau between 10 and 15 years old had died of old age. No attention is paid to the development of the boars' tusks. I did not witness a castration nor see any castrated boars. Castration of the male is said to be performed with a bamboo knife by any man before the males are able to reproduce. However, in Tokalau and Undu there were several young male animals about five months old chasing young females of the same litter. These males were considered able to reproduce and the females to conceive. So anxious were the natives for farrows that they gave no thought to the fact that the young females would be stunted.

On Namuka were two brown and white pigs imported from Viti Levu. They were kept in a 3 meter deep rock pen near the village. These animals were exceptionally well nourished although they were given exactly the same food as two thin Polynesian pigs in a nearby pen.

There were no pigs on Fulanga. The natives say that they have no food for them. There were, however, several pig pens of limestone.

DOMESTIC FOWL

235 Chickens (*toa*) are found on all islands. No special breed seems to prevail, but I saw no white ones. A chicken is believed to lay about 30 eggs a year on Kambara. Chickens usually lay in one corner of the dwelling house. When a hen has about eight eggs she sits on them until they hatch. The chicks are either left to run about freely or are put into a coop.

Many people on Kambara gave the chicks attention during the first and second weeks and few were lost, but after that they seemed to decrease daily until 75 percent of them disappeared. There are many rats and chicken hawks on Kambara, but natives claim that the large lizard is the greatest enemy of the baby chick. They admitted that no one had seen a lizard attack a chicken but said that neither had a hawk or a rat been seen attacking a chicken.

The head of the family usually feeds the chickens early in the morning and toward evening. He beats a coconut against a board or an old canoe to call the chickens, and they gather around him as he grates the coconut meat for them.

Chickens are cared for best on the island of Fulanga where there are more chickens than on any other island in southern Lau. On Fulanga each household has at least one chicken coop. Usually they stand in the shade of the brush near the kitchen huts at the edge of the beach except in Naivindamu, where the wind on the beach is so strong that it would harm the chickens and destroy the coops.

There are many roosters. A bird with a deep, rolling voice and a strutting walk is esteemed. Because old roosters are thought to have the most mana, young ones are seldom killed. A rooster has a wholesome influence on the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

brood and imparts his mana to the consumer. To be served an old tough rooster is a sign of respect and the good will of the host. On Muanaira, a rooster said to be nine years old was thought to have much mana and was called master (*matai*). Inhabitants of the other villages on the island knew about him. The natives said that to kill such a rooster might have a bad influence on all the chickens of Fulanga. 235

The natives know that it takes about three weeks for baby chicks to hatch. They believe that without a rooster to fertilize a hen she cannot lay an egg. Old Mosesi of Namuka says, "A long time ago it happened that we had no rooster on Namuka, but we had eggs because the chickens mated with the ground pigeons." Asked if they had any chicks from these eggs, he said, "Yes."

When I arrived on Kambara two domesticated ducks (*nga*) were sitting on eggs under an overturned old canoe. One day the owner lamented that both birds had been sitting over three weeks and that no young ducks had arrived. A week later the owner of the ducks complained that there were still no young ducks. I found that there was no drake on the island and that these two ducks were the first birds of the kind on Kambara. They had been brought from Moala, whence they had come from Viti Levu. Natives said that they had been greatly surprised when the birds began laying, but had deduced that the ducks mated with the roosters.

In 1934 there were about 30 turkeys on Kambara. They belonged to Mosesi of Naivotavota, who said he had procured them from Viti Levu in 1929. They ran freely in the Ndelaioloi garden lands and in the jungle. They were not butchered and were steadily increasing.

I saw no bird cages, but the natives on all islands remembered that at one time or another they had kept a *kaisevou* bird, a pigeon, or a wild chicken.

DOGS AND CATS

There are two or three dogs (*koli*) on each island. The natives pay little attention to them and the animals are usually forced to steal their food. They are often seen scratching around the earth oven, and boys chase them away with stones. During my visit four dogs were born in Tokalau, and the owner killed them by throwing them against a tree. Informants say that dogs were occasionally eaten on Kambara in the past. 236

A few cats (*pusi*) are kept as pets on each island. The children play with them and carry them around. They are not fed. I saw a wild cat on Wangava and informants claim that there are wild cats on Kambara.

TURTLES

The Kambarans catch young sea turtles, keep them in the house, and later place them in Sauvanaroa, the brackish lake on Wangava. There they grow

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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231 and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a breeding pond for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

[417] Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

Gardening

241 New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

Garden Produce

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbarisondoi* (many branched); *vula tolu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times. 262 231

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet. 224 [136] [656] [231]

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp. 222 [262]

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only. 231 262

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

137 grow if they were planted, and even on islands where under the post-Tongan system of land tenure the bush is free, the natives still know and respect ancient clan claims to bush land. Hence wild yams planted by a member of one clan would probably be unmolested by other clans.

136 A very important source of meat now neglected is the wild fowl which abounds in the jungle. Little effort would be required to teach the natives adequate trapping and snaring methods so that this food would be available even without the use of firearms.

231 Another important source of food now neglected is domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. Fulanga, the island with the poorest food resources in Lau, is outstanding for its chicken raising. By means of regular feeding and proper housing in chicken coops, hundreds of chickens are raised for local consumption and for export to other islands in exchange for vegetable food. There is no reason why other famine islands such as Kambara, if sufficiently stimulated and encouraged, cannot follow Fulanga's example in this respect. The main fodder for both chickens and pigs is coconut meat, of which there is an over-production in Lau since the copra slump. Hence there is no problem of fodder for animals reducing the island food supply.

The main consideration in the raising of domestic animals is labor. The consumption of pigs has decreased markedly since the regulation that pigs must be kept outside the village in pens has been enforced. Under present conditions the Lauans lack the energy to feed these domestic animals. A little encouragement in breeding, and the infusion of new life into the economic system by means of ceremonial exchanges involving feasts might supply the necessary stimulus to increase production. Moreover, the government could greatly aid the natives in poultry raising by importing new stock to improve the breeds. This is even more important in regard to pigs than to chickens. The Lauan pigs are of the long

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

231 legged, razor backed Oceanic type which could undoubtedly be improved by the infusion of new blood.

322 335 We have considered some methods by which the available food resources may be developed. Let us turn to native craftsmanship. The crafts for which southern Lau has been famous are canoe building, woodwork, and the making of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil. All these crafts are very much alive in Lau today, but an increase in the quantity and to some extent also the quality of production would not only add zest to the economic life but would greatly benefit the individual craftsman. The famine islands have an exclusive monopoly on woodcrafts dependent on greenheart because this hardwood grows well nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. The making of canoes is particularly important because of the communal effort and series of feasts which mark each step in the process, and also because canoes provide the transportation which makes native inter-island trade possible. The woodcrafts are controlled by hereditary carpenters who have learned their skill from relatives in their hereditary carpenter clans. On Kambara, the main woodcraft island, there are two such carpenter clans (called Matai Lemaki and Matai Sau), each with its own history, traditions, and standards of craftsmanship. These clans are headed by able and intelligent men, Tatchini of Tanggu and Tandu of Undu. If these two master craftsmen would cooperate by urging more youths to learn the craft, by raising the standards of workmanship which have slumped in recent years, and by encouraging pride in individual creation, the woodcrafts on Kambara would be stimulated.

000 However, still more important to the economic life would be the increased production of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil, which are valuable articles of native trade made by the women. The quality of these articles from southern Lau, especially barkcloth, is still high, and they are in demand for every large ceremonial exchange honoring a high chief in Fiji. In recent years the women of Lau have had far less work than

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

312 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
149 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e. - anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. - - analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former [161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [291] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). [322] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only. 241

[p. 16]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.

226 241 281 285 231

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

13

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

512 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 31]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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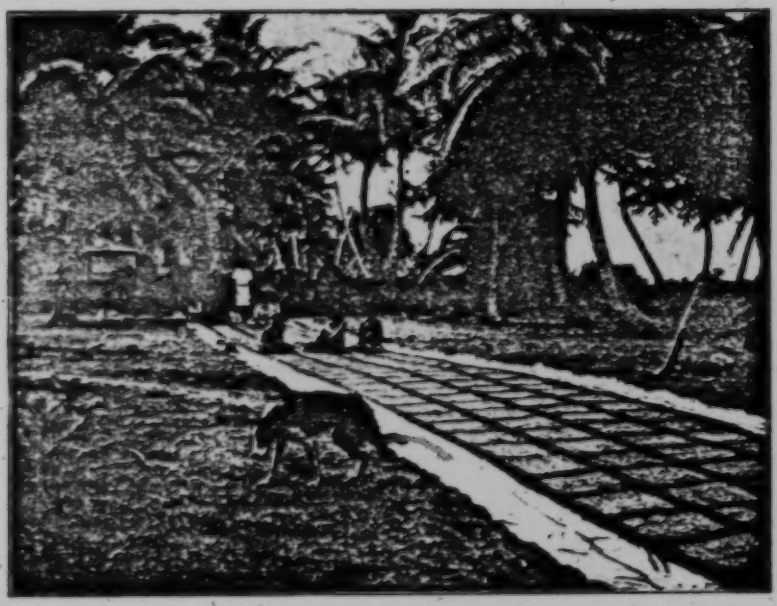

"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*."

[facing p. 124]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.

[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.

[3] Of common origin.

[4] Battle-cry.

[MANGO I.]

233 [136] of about 700 head of cattle are pastured on the grasslands. A herd The hills are roamed by flocks of turkeys.

2 13 The east bay is of remarkable formation. It is about half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide, nearly entirely surrounded by a ridge of limestone, and with an entrance scarcely 100 yards wide thru which the flood tide attains a velocity of 7 knots. The tide inside is about half an hour later than outside.

There is a small islet near the outer edge of the reef on the S.W.

[p.64]

13 26. **KANATHEA** is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of ~~[illegible]~~
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced. [245]

To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

231 boar in Tokalau between 10 and 15 years old had died of old age. No attention is paid to the development of the boars' tusks. I did not witness a castration nor see any castrated boars. Castration of the male is said to be performed with a bamboo knife by any man before the males are able to reproduce. However, in Tokalau and Undu there were several young male animals about five months old chasing young females of the same litter. These males were considered able to reproduce and the females to conceive. So anxious were the natives for farrows that they gave no thought to the fact that the young females would be stunted.

On Namuka were two brown and white pigs imported from Viti Levu. They were kept in a 3 meter deep rock pen near the village. These animals were exceptionally well nourished although they were given exactly the same food as two thin Polynesian pigs in a nearby pen.

There were no pigs on Fulanga. The natives say that they have no food for them. There were, however, several pig pens of limestone.

DOMESTIC FOWL

●235 Chickens (*toa*) are found on all islands. No special breed seems to prevail, but I saw no white ones. A chicken is believed to lay about 30 eggs a year on Kambara. Chickens usually lay in one corner of the dwelling house. When a hen has about eight eggs she sits on them until they hatch. The chicks are either left to run about freely or are put into a coop.

Many people on Kambara gave the chicks attention during the first and second weeks and few were lost, but after that they seemed to decrease daily until 75 percent of them disappeared. There are many rats and chicken hawks on Kambara, but natives claim that the large lizard is the greatest enemy of the baby chick. They admitted that no one had seen a lizard attack a chicken but said that neither had a hawk or a rat been seen attacking a chicken.

The head of the family usually feeds the chickens early in the morning and toward evening. He beats a coconut against a board or an old canoe to call the chickens, and they gather around him as he grates the coconut meat for them.

Chickens are cared for best on the island of Fulanga where there are more chickens than on any other island in southern Lau. On Fulanga each household has at least one chicken coop. Usually they stand in the shade of the brush near the kitchen huts at the edge of the beach except in Naivindamu, where the wind on the beach is so strong that it would harm the chickens and destroy the coops.

There are many roosters. A bird with a deep, rolling voice and a strutting walk is esteemed. Because old roosters are thought to have the most mana, young ones are seldom killed. A rooster has a wholesome influence on the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

brood and imparts his mana to the consumer. To be served an old tough rooster is a sign of respect and the good will of the host. On Muanaira, a rooster said to be nine years old was thought to have much mana and was called master (*matai*). Inhabitants of the other villages on the island knew about him. The natives said that to kill such a rooster might have a bad influence on all the chickens of Fulanga. 235

The natives know that it takes about three weeks for baby chicks to hatch. They believe that without a rooster to fertilize a hen she cannot lay an egg. Old Mosesi of Namuka says, "A long time ago it happened that we had no rooster on Namuka, but we had eggs because the chickens mated with the ground pigeons." Asked if they had any chicks from these eggs, he said, "Yes."

When I arrived on Kambara two domesticated ducks (*nga*) were sitting on eggs under an overturned old canoe. One day the owner lamented that both birds had been sitting over three weeks and that no young ducks had arrived. A week later the owner of the ducks complained that there were still no young ducks. I found that there was no drake on the island and that these two ducks were the first birds of the kind on Kambara. They had been brought from Moala, whence they had come from Viti Levu. Natives said that they had been greatly surprised when the birds began laying, but had deduced that the ducks mated with the roosters.

In 1934 there were about 30 turkeys on Kambara. They belonged to Mosesi of Naivotavota, who said he had procured them from Viti Levu in 1929. They ran freely in the Ndelaioloi garden lands and in the jungle. They were not butchered and were steadily increasing.

I saw no bird cages, but the natives on all islands remembered that at one time or another they had kept a *kaisevou* bird, a pigeon, or a wild chicken.

DOGS AND CATS

There are two or three dogs (*koli*) on each island. The natives pay little attention to them and the animals are usually forced to steal their food. They are often seen scratching around the earth oven, and boys chase them away with stones. During my visit four dogs were born in Tokalau, and the owner killed them by throwing them against a tree. Informants say that dogs were occasionally eaten on Kambara in the past. 231

A few cats (*pusi*) are kept as pets on each island. The children play with them and carry them around. They are not fed. I saw a wild cat on Wangava and informants claim that there are wild cats on Kambara.

TURTLES

The Kambarans catch young sea turtles, keep them in the house, and later place them in Sauvanaroa, the brackish lake on Wangava. There they grow

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. 343 The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted 284 in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quar- 343 ters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves.

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process [504] of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes.

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built 343 with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, 235 and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*udua ; nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black
[824] sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola*, and *mbele*. The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wungga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

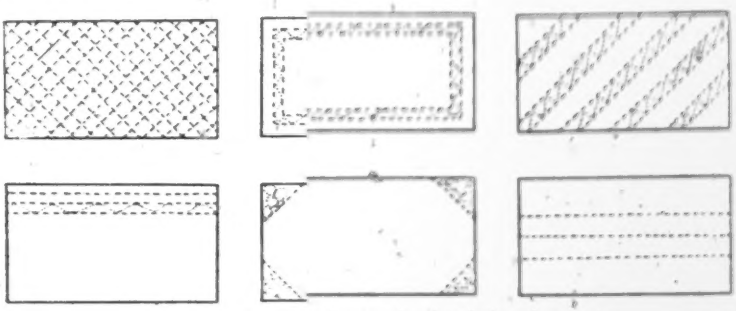

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always. 123 574 431

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could [237] [435]

[1] "Bose" in Fijian.

1: Hocart: Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OOS Lau OOS
Lakemba

291
292
412
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A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQu Lau OQu
Kambara

semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katimba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *vone ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house crying, "(illegible) na" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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Chief of crops enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka[illegible] saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka ma[illegible] vaka mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . oa." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Kotokoto vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei iratou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosoraki thake vaka-turanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . . " (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana! E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*), and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa* (*Pometia pinnata*), and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

D. Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i ngguravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni setu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[594] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current. 539
Kithoka na ika soeni loło,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nonggno	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo.	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndroondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, 311
and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, 311
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 461
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing the thick jungles of the limestone islands. 24 461

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance. 423

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

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23 and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a *breeding pond* for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

[417] Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

Gardening

24 New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

Garden Produce

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbarisondoi* (many branched); *vula tolu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); "many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India). 241

Old Moto of Undu says:

Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The first known variety was *manioke ni India*. It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumea* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so. 241 177

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe recently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi*. The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender. 241

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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● 24 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[25] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

24 177 Moto of Undu states:

> In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

24 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

> A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing. 24

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: ***kasokaso*** (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), ***kaumaile*** (longest of all yams), ***ndamuni*** (on Mothe and Kambara), ***matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka*** (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); *uvi ni Foatuna* (yam of Futuna), ***rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu***. The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau, ... The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation." Yam is the [262] staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from elsewhere brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in [262] importance as a food.

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kawai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile*, the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: *niu wai* (water coconut) also called *niu ni Tonga* (Tongan coconut), *niu rerenga* (yellow coconut), *niu ndrau* (one *hundred coconuts*), *niu ni mangimangi* (sennit coconut), and *niu leka* (short coconut). The *niu wai* grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few *niu wai*, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. *Niu rerenga* is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the *niu rerenga* is especially white. *Niu ndrau* grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. *Niu ni mangimangi* is considerably longer than [283] any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The *niu leka* tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

● 241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down
a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262] trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151] a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or
24/ the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced
226 politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai,* which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form
[134 small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 262 624 241

The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177

When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 287 824 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. ~~Mbab~~ Muanaithake
[161] and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu
487 is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[247] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[320] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
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241

13 S. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 28' W.) It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~bbbbbbb~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised. 287 285 231

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a 13 thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Sakuilos is much smaller,
[061] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Naingguri, Japanese at Sakuilos. The people seemed
197 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181 noticeable Rungan element.
144

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
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322

[p. 29]

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (3.18° 41', 178° 39' E.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

512 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227
462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 31]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 350 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with
[161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but
[368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and
[161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qaliqali), the largest

[p.34]

[KAMBARA I.]

361 of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 150
[161] residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the
487 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the
241 three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have
396 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for
322 various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 176° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 245 484 161 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a population of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts 484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in 241 addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 15. **LAKEMBA** is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 30 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in [312] every valley, and also a convenient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of coconut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

[p. 42]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Bukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
245 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture.

241 There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 262 312 13 134 [241] food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yamuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

13 38. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

13 487 764 172 Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

[p.76]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and cocoanut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a
361 flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his
241 assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive cocoanut grove. Some
[312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by
114 Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the ruins of a fortified village are located. [172] [912]

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial homestead is located on the west side. Copra is produced. 423 361 245

Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon. 13 502

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 964 161 312 241

[p.88]

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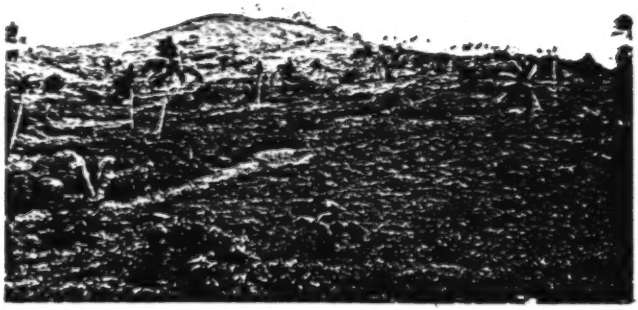
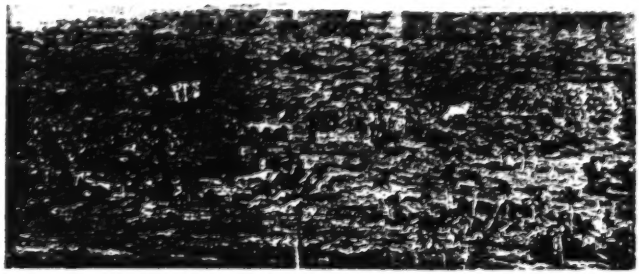


14. Delai oloi (470 feet), a volcanic peak on an otherwise limestone island. In the foreground are gardens cultivated by the natives. Kambara I.



15. From the summit of Delai oloi one obtains a fine view of the wooded central limestone basin of Kambara, stretching away to the S.S.E.

[p.95]

1: Hocart/Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [526] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula*, *kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the other hand, shallow soil with soapstone underneath as in Ndevo, Naiau, is no good in a dry year. Various soils suit various yams; thus in Rasea some places are good for short yams, others for long; yams from Rasea have a nice taste. 242 244

Land is cleared from April till June, beginning with the following of the reeds; these months are called clearing months (*vula i werewere*). As yam fallows bear little besides reeds, all that is usually required is roughly to cut and beat down the reeds and fire them, taking care to clear thoroughly a broad avenue all round to prevent the fire from spreading; however, it frequently does spread, but usually spends itself on barren tracts. When the remaining stumps have been cleared away the digging begins. 244

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Sometimes the whole soil is turned over, a process called *thuki vovo*; it is supposed sometimes to do the yams good. In Ono an experiment was made of turning up only part of a field, it was found that the yams were energetic in the soil that was not turned. The reason is that if the soil is turned the spaces between the mounds are hot in the sun, and cold in the rain.

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Lakemba

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INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [524] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula, kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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Lakemba

the other hand, shallow soil with soapstone underneath as in Ndevo, Naiau, is no good in a dry year. Various soils suit various yams; thus in Rasea some places are good for short yams, others for long; yams from Rasea have a nice taste.

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Lakemba

yam of ordinary size is used, it may be cut across and the lower portion will be cut in two lengthwise. Placed in the mound with the flat inner surface turned up, a portion will produce three to five yams; if planted with the edge up it will produce one yam only, but it will be a larger one; in an intermediate position it may produce two. Two small pieces may be planted in one mound. Sometimes a very large mound is made, the chief yam (*kena tu*) is planted in the middle, and others round the sides. When a yam has been planted a reed is stuck in the mound to show it is occupied. The stalk, or "husk" (*nggana*), is sometimes given a reed to climb on, but generally it is allowed to creep on the ground. The yam that develops, the *uvi vou*, is called *ti* in the early stages.

The method thus described is the usual one and is called *lau ngga*, speedy digging. In Lakemba these mounds run into the thousands; in Mbau three hundred is considered a big field; therefore Lakembans who go to the West have a reputation for work; that is simply because they are accumstomed to plant large fields. Many people however have in their fields yams planted according to a method called *keli usu*, or in Tongan *kelikeli malie*, good digging.

A very deep and narrow pit is dug by means of a digging stick. The earth brought up on the end of the stick is laid in one heap if it comes from the top, in another if it comes from below. When the pit is finished they first shovel in and break up the surface soil all round the pit till the pit is almost full; then the earth from the top part of the pit is piled up over it, then the earth from the lower part; the soil is then raked up all round and a mound formed about two feet high. The seed yam is placed inside the mound above the ground level. In Ono, however, they do not make big mounds because they say the sun heats the loose earth and the yam is dried up. If it is laid almost level with the ground the roots go straight into live earth (*nggele mbula*); in a big mound there is no place the roots can lay hold of. In such pits it is necessary to plant a whole yam or a very large part of one.

Planters differ somewhat in their methods: if the yam is thick a pit 18 inches deep is sufficient; some prefer 3 feet.

Ndausinga, an expert planter and my chief informant, says:

It is no good planting such long pieces unless they are slit over a length of about eighteen inches from the base in order that the yam may dry up (*malai*), as it is a moist food plant, and that the juice may come forth, making the yam energetic; but if the set is too big and the water does not come forth cold penetrates the yam and reaches the head; so does heat; if there is much rain the yam grows badly and the leaves rot (*karatha*); if the seed yam is not dried up but remains fresh it is said to be *ngotangota* and the new yam gets diseased; this they know because when they dig up wild yams leaving a set, if the first yam was large the second will not be so because the set is moist; it is bad for the moisture of the set to reach the new yam. The new yam grows downwards and follows the pit as the soil in it is loose. It lies with us to regulate the shape of the yam; if we want it to have a good shape the soil in the pit is well broken up; if a clod as long as the joint of a finger is left the yam will press against it and that part will have a depression because the water of the yam goes first and the new yam follows. In Tonga, the land of origin of this

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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method, they dig up another hole with soft soil and put this soil into the pit; that is why they proceed fast with these pits, whereas Fijians break up clods and so go slowly. Not all yams can be used in this method, only *kaumaile* and the four *kasokaso* mentioned. *Kasokaso* should not be planted later than August. *Kaumaile* will grow to a good size if planted as late as October, for its tuber is fast.

Yams planted in this way are intended for shows and competitions, for they reach a length of six feet or more; I have heard of a yam in Tonga nine feet long. But the return is not in proportion to the labor, the size of the seed yam or the space occupied; for it is necessary to leave a clear interval of some sixteen feet between this mound and the next because the strength of the leaves begins on the mound but gets weak at that distance. If the yams are planted too close together, the place is overshadowed because a good set puts forth a lot of leaves. If a yam has too many leaves which cover the mound it will not grow big because it is cold; it is no use cutting off the leaves. That is why a land exposed to the sun is preferred for such pits because it prevents an excessive growth of leaves. If more shoots than one appear there will be more than one yam and they will be smaller; all shoots are therefore broken off except one. Energetic planters allow no part of the stalk to rest on the ground, but support it on reeds that no disease may affect it.

Experts often have little tricks of their own. Some put a flat stone at the bottom of the pit to stop the yam; the yam reaches the stone and its strength goes up again so that the head sometimes appears above the ground. This is done when the length is sufficient for a competition and it is desired to make it thick as well; for the strength goes up to fill in the yam. Maikeli used to place the seed yam over a shallow pit; when the stalk was long and the roots about a hand long he dug it up carefully, so as not to tear the roots, put a stick underneath it to hold it off the ground and dug a pit down very deep and buried the set over it. This is a Tongan method called *fakaeua;* yams so treated never fail to be long, but very few Fijians can do it because it requires skill and they have pity on the yams. Some uncover the yam when it has taken root and cut off all but a small piece of the set because it is of no use once the yam has taken root; the reason is the same as that for slitting the yam. Maikeli used to water his yams before sunrise and after sunset everyday; after watering he would cover the mound with leaves lest the water become too hot and the yams rot (*karatha*); if the mound is covered the heat is suitably moderate.

If the *wanu* or the *kaumaile* flower they know no other yam will beat it. The planter is in constant expectation of its flowering. If it is reported that the yam in such and such a place is flowering, every one knows it will be the longest and the others give themselves up for beaten at the competition.

Vola told me that Ratu Mara treated his yams to make them big by laying certain broad leaves on them; that year the yams were of a good size, but Melaia, Mara's sister, declares that all such charms are intended to kill, to make them rot in the earth and leave the soil incapable of bearing again; there are no charms to make the yams big; their growth comes

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desirable, for sluggish water becomes hot and wilts the plants. The irrigation consists in dipping water from the stream with coconut shells attached to a stick, or flooding the fields by turning the course of the stream. 244

Formerly there were two kinds of taro fields: those cultivated by the *mbiti* method and those by the *lauvoro*. The *mbiti* method is now discontinued because it involves too much time and labor. It was described to me as follows:

> In a *mbiti* the grass is cut, fired, and the rubbish removed so that the soil appears; the body of the soil (*yango ni nggele*) is dug thoroughly; then conical holes are made with a special digging stick, which has a head like that of a javelin reed or an European gun shell; some of the heads were as thick as the post of a house. The pits thus made were as deep as four feet. The patches were encased in earth walls surrounded by ditches. Taro raised by this method grew as high as six feet, with tubers eighteen inches long.

By the *lauvoro* method the grass is cut and the taro planted in the midst of the rubbish; the holes being made with a pole (*i pasa*) (Pl. II, *A*) which broadens at its lower end, narrowing to a point; the blade is flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, making small conical holes.

Both cuttings and suckers are planted. In planting cuttings, the top of the root is removed with the stem, the leaves removed also. There is no special season for planting taro, although certain times seem to be more productive than others. For instance, taro maturing in November and December, when it is most needed because of yam stortage during these months, has an unpleasant flavor and develops an abundance of suckers. Occasional weeding is necessary until maturity, when it becomes harmful. In the days of the late Tui Naiau, huge taro fields still extended from the back of Tumbou to the foot of Kendekende; now only the upper part is properly cultivated, the work being done mostly in the evening.

Sugar Cane Growing

Sugar cane is planted in clumps here and there, in the villages or in the fields, merely for use in puddings. A charm is used to drive away the *kitu*, a small bird which eats the sugar-cane and plantains. The owner of the charm rubs certain leaves in his hands and points to a distant spot. The birds then fly to the place indicated. 249

Sugar cane, *nggai* (*Dracaena terminalis*), supplies a thick juicy root which is cooked in hot stones for three days, producing a substance which tastes like licorice. Such ovens are not often made as they are large and require that the stones be heated all night. 252

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [177] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

431 [45] The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

●245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: *niu uwi* (water coconut) also called *niu ni Tonga* (Tongan coconut), *niu rerenga* (yellow coconut), *niu ndrau* (one *hundred coconuts*), *niu ni mangimangi* (sennit coconut), and *niu leka* (short coconut). The *niu uwi* grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few *niu uwi*, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. *Niu rerenga* is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the *niu rerenga* is especially white. *Niu ndrau* grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. *Niu ni mangimangi* is considerably longer than [283] any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The *niu leka* tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [653] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Breadfruit

245 Breadfruit (*uto*) is an important food in southern Lau. The varieties of breadfruit are: *uto ntchina* (true breadfruit, considered the best), *mira-mira*, *uto yaleuu*, *mbuto*, and *mbale kana*. They differ in size of fruit, smoothness of surface, and shape of leaves.

Most breadfruit trees are found directly in or immediately around the village. On Mothe about 30 acres of breadfruit grove stretch along the foot of a hill, protected on the sea side by a good coconut grove. On Fulanga special care has been taken to grow breadfruit. In the villages, trees are planted wherever there is space. Kambara and Ongea grow little breadfruit.

Part of the breadfruit root is planted. If the planting spot is sandy and exposed to the sun, black or brown soil is brought to cover the root and protect it from the sun. In the village, a newly planted cutting is surrounded by vertical sticks or stones to protect it from chickens and pigs.

Breadfruit is picked off the trees by either men or women by means of a long, forked stick.

On Mothe and Fulanga breadfruit is second to manioc as a food staple whereas on the other islands sweet potato ranks second. Part of the breadfruit crop is fermented and stored.

[177] Moto of Undu says: "When I was a boy we had breadfruit, but my father told me they did not have it when the people of Undu lived at Thakenaloa [an old village site deserted approximately 100 years ago]."

Bananas

Varieties of bananas (*vuntchi*) are: *tchaina* (China, the natives distinguish three types of *tchaina*: long, medium, and short); *waiwai* (large and long, must be cooked a long time); *saivula* (the flesh has the same qualities as *waiwai*, but is yellow in either the ripe or unripe state); *pata* (a good banana either cooked or raw; thin fine leaves make the best cigarette paper, *saluka*); *linga ni marama* (lady finger, short and curved like a slender finger); and *puka* (grown on Namuka). Two other varieties, *vuntchi ni tangane* (boys' banana) and *sese wongga*, are said to have died out.

The *tchaina* is the most common banana, except on Ongea and Fulanga where the *papa* variety ranks first. As a rule, at least one banana tree is found at the side of each house, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. Most bananas on Kambara grow on the slopes of Ndelaioloi and behind Undu near the cliff.

Banana shoots are planted by men. In soil loosened with a stick, a hole is made with a stick, shell, or coconut cup. Formerly the quality of the shoots was determined by throwing them at the hole. If the shoot missed the hole,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots without testing them by this method. 245

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow. 245 252

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them. 245 136

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus. 249

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts. 439 245

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. [651] 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 178 245

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
●245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java.

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	16,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type.

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment.

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world.

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former
[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[321] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
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[p. 16]

13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang'-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. [423] The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the [245] copra from several small patches of coconut palms. [484]

YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few coconut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

NAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the S.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Navutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
● 245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
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197 but very little carving.
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327
366

[p. 23]

13 9. OLOHUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-frigging reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or mineature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.16° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
241 Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p. 36]

13 12. **WANGAVA** island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [134] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 481 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 161 245 trees have been felled in places. 484

[p.37]

13 13. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is subcircular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of coconut palms.

245 161 361 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is a small hut on the N. beach.

[p. 38]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 245 222 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
245 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
177 is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
487 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic
material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
[366] also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
177 Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous
361 village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
361 coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[205] mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
[466] on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
423 the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.

491 The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are ~~patches~~ groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 26. **KANATHEA** is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 245 233 136 248 249 162 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are produced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen being Indians.

As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [345] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced.

[245] To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

13 Xl. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with cocoanut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 36. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 361 245 312 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~[illegible]~~ might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island. 487 161 464 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13 39. NUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~[illegible]~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174] [175] [648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
• 245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*. 248 251

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananigium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulate) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [757]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

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[p.66]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

desirable, for sluggish water becomes hot and wilts the plants. The irrigation consists in dipping water from the stream with coconut shells attached to a stick, or flooding the fields by turning the course of the stream. 244

Formerly there were two kinds of taro fields: those cultivated by the *mbiti* method and those by the *lauvoro*. The *mbiti* method is now discontinued because it involves too much time and labor. It was described to me as follows:

> In a *mbiti* the grass is cut, fired, and the rubbish removed so that the soil appears; the body of the soil (*yango ni nggele*) is dug thoroughly; then conical holes are made with a special digging stick, which has a head like that of a javelin reed or an European gun shell; some of the heads were as thick as the post of a house. The pits thus made were as deep as four feet. The patches were encased in earth walls surrounded by ditches. Taro raised by this method grew as high as six feet, with tubers eighteen inches long.

By the *lauvoro* method the grass is cut and the taro planted in the midst of the rubbish; the holes being made with a pole (*i pasa*) (Pl. II, *A*) which broadens at its lower end, narrowing to a point; the blade is flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, making small conical holes.

Both cuttings and suckers are planted. In planting cuttings, the top of the root is removed with the stem, the leaves removed also. There is no special season for planting taro, although certain times seem to be more productive than others. For instance, taro maturing in November and December, when it is most needed because of yam stortage during these months, has an unpleasant flavor and develops an abundance of suckers. Occasional weeding is necessary until maturity, when it becomes harmful. In the days of the late Tui Naiau, huge taro fields still extended from the back of Tumbou to the foot of Kendekende; now only the upper part is properly cultivated, the work being done mostly in the evening.

Sugar Cane Growing

Sugar cane is planted in clumps here and there, in the villages or in the fields, merely for use in puddings. A charm is used to drive away the *kitu*, a small bird which eats the sugar-cane and plantains. The owner of the charm rubs certain leaves in his hands and points to a distant spot. The birds then fly to the place indicated. 249

Sugar cane, *nggai* (*Dracaena terminalis*), supplies a thick juicy root which is cooked in hot stones for three days, producing a substance which tastes like licorice. Such ovens are not often made as they are large and require that the stones be heated all night. 252

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele,* which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [177] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo,*" then the "little *palolo,*" then the "great *nungga,*" and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

43 [43] The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots 245
without testing them by this method.

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and 245
hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light 252
they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow.

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots 245
are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into 136
the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them.

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On 249
Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus.

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananigium odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [757]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present
245 thickly planted to cocoanut palms. It was formally used for the
[248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The
[249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center
361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.
491

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the
423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive
464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended
162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills
13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are ~~patches~~ groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 26. KANATHEA is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of ~~[illegible]~~
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce. 252

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu*, *hoho*, and *ngoua*, this last a kind of mollusc called *veata*, in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed. 536

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

Fermenting

Fermented food, excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food. 251

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled. 252

Yams are never fermented. 251

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

[251] Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

241 Moto of Undu states:

177 In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

241 If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

distributed. The sauce is sweetened with sugar cane, ti, or imported sugar. Stalks of sugar cane are ground on a sharp piece of coral called *i thoronga* and strained with a hibiscus strainer. The juice is placed in a large pot and stirred over the fire with a paddle-shaped stick called *i yali*, made for the occasion out of the lower end of a coconut-leaf midrib. The resulting caramel mixture is called *salasalaki*. Coconut cream (*lolo*) is added slowly to the *salasalaki* and the whole is boiled. The sauce is called *loloriri*. 252 [412]

To make manioc pudding (*mavu*) roots of the poisonous varieties are first made into *tapioke solo* (p. 153). Roots of nonpoisonous varieties are scraped and boiled. The cooked manioc is placed in a long oblong wooden bowl. Two boys, one sitting at each end of the bowl, hold it between their legs, while two young men, one standing on each side of the bowl, pound the mass with pounders (*i mbutu ni nggalu*) made from the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf. The pounding is done rapidly and in rhythm, first one lifting and lowering his pounder and then the other. Every three or four minutes fresh men replace the pair who are pounding. The two holding the bowl are replaced less frequently. The pounding continues for about 20 minutes. An older man then sprinkles some sauce over the mass and mixes it by hand. Then he takes some of the pudding in each hand and squeezes each handful quickly into three balls (*nggelena* or *nggele ni nggalu*), which fall into one corner of the bowl. When he has about 15 balls he sprinkles some sauce on a scorched, folded banana leaf (on which the midrib has been trimmed), places the balls on the leaf, and adds more sauce. Another man pleats the leaf into a bag and ties it. A bag of pudding is called *i thovo nggalu*. *Mavu* is also made of roasted breadfruit or of boiled or steamed taro.

Puddings without sauce are made of manioc, sweet potato, Tahitian chestnut, banana, taro, and *yambia*. Some pudding recipes follow:

Malimali. Peeled ripe bananas are pounded by hand in a wooden bowl. Dry *yambia* starch and the milk of green coconuts is added. The mass is mixed and divided into portions, each portion is wrapped in a scorched banana leaf, then in breadfruit or ti leaves and steamed.

Vakalolo vunitchi (banana pudding). Coconut cream is added to peeled, ripe, pounded bananas. The mixture is divided into portions, which are wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

Vovo. Green bananas are boiled, peeled and pounded. Grated coconut is added and the pudding is ready to eat.

Tololo. A mixture is prepared as for *tapioke solo*. Before steaming, coconut cream and grated coconut are added.

Tahitian chestnut pudding. Grated Tahitian chestnuts, grated coconut, and coconut cream are mixed and divided into portions which are wrapped in ti leaves and steamed.

Preserving

Fermented food (*mandrai*) is especially important on Fulanga, where any surplus of food is preserved for times of scarcity. Manioc imported from 251

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

251 Mothe, Namuka, or Komo to Fulanga is made into *mandrai*. The two methods of fermenting are soaking in salt water and burying in the ground. The salt water method, used mainly by the men, serves to preserve food for a short time. Baskets of manioc are fastened to stakes in a sheltered spot in the lagoon. When needed the roots are scraped, pounded, mixed with grated coconut, made into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and either steamed or boiled (pl. 2, *B*). *Mandrai* is also made in pits of brackish water. One such pit, called Neikathi, is located at Nggaralevu, south of Undu on Kambara. The pit is about 10 meters deep and the water is reached by means of a wooden ladder. The pit was formerly also used for soaking *wangiri* nuts.

Food may be preserved for a year or more by the burial method described as follows:

A hole (called *alua ni mandrai*), about 1 meter deep and 2 meters in diameter, is dug in the ground. It is lined with three thicknesses of freshly made *mbola*, coconut leaves split from the midrib and plaited. The freshly plaited coconut leaves are placed with split midribs toward the rim of the hole, the leaves radiating toward the center. The first row extends about 30 cm. outside the rim of the hole. Above the plaited coconut leaves is a layer of banana leaves, which have been dried in the sun and from which the inner side of the midrib has been stripped. The food to be preserved is placed on the banana leaves. Such a pit holds about 100 pounds of scraped manioc. Over the food is placed another layer of banana and another of plaited coconut leaves. The whole is weighed down with heavy stones.

Breadfruit and banana are also fermented in this fashion. If preserved food is kept for some time in a *mandrai* pit, the banana and coconut-leaf lining must be changed frequently. One pit is used repeatedly.

Preparation of Bush Food

252 *Wangiri*, the chief food of olden times, is said to have been prepared as follows:

The *wangiri* nuts were first roasted on a bed of coals in order to crack the shells. Next they were soaked in brackish water for at least "four nights." Finally, they were either boiled in pots or steamed in an earth oven. For a hurried meal the nuts were roasted.

Roots of the *yaka (Pueraria thunbergiana)* were steamed in the earth oven or roasted.

The fruit of the *tarai* were strung together on a stick and steamed in the earth oven, then the skin was removed. The *tarai* was also boiled or eaten raw.

The *mbawaki*, *yaumitha*, and *nggalaka* fruit were also steamed. The *yaumitha* was first wrapped in breadfruit or *vanua* leaves. It was also roasted.

Tree grubs (*yavatou*) were wrapped in *vanua* or *vavale* leaves and steamed or boiled. They were frequently eaten raw.

The preparation of greens is described on page 155.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 262 624 241 The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177 When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, 13 624 although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands 177 of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the [558] needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely [251] stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each 13 inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had 624 charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and 262 turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the 226 noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native [558] official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*W'oi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga*."

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

desirable, for sluggish water becomes hot and wilts the plants. The irrigation consists in dipping water from the stream with coconut shells attached to a stick, or flooding the fields by turning the course of the stream. 244

Formerly there were two kinds of taro fields: those cultivated by the *mbiti* method and those by the *lauvoro*. The *mbiti* method is now discontinued because it involves too much time and labor. It was described to me as follows:

In a *mbiti* the grass is cut, fired, and the rubbish removed so that the soil appears; the body of the soil (*yango ni nggele*) is dug thoroughly; then conical holes are made with a special digging stick, which has a head like that of a javelin reed or an European gun shell; some of the heads were as thick as the post of a house. The pits thus made were as deep as four feet. The patches were encased in earth walls surrounded by ditches. Taro raised by this method grew as high as six feet, with tubers eighteen inches long.

By the *lauvoro* method the grass is cut and the taro planted in the midst of the rubbish; the holes being made with a pole (*i pasa*) (Pl. II, *A*) which broadens at its lower end, narrowing to a point; the blade is flat on one side and slightly convex on the other, making small conical holes.

Both cuttings and suckers are planted. In planting cuttings, the top of the root is removed with the stem, the leaves removed also. There is no special season for planting taro, although certain times seem to be more productive than others. For instance, taro maturing in November and December, when it is most needed because of yam stortage during these months, has an unpleasant flavor and develops an abundance of suckers. Occasional weeding is necessary until maturity, when it becomes harmful. In the days of the late Tui Naiau, huge taro fields still extended from the back of Tumbou to the foot of Kendekende; now only the upper part is properly cultivated, the work being done mostly in the evening.

Sugar Cane Growing

Sugar cane is planted in clumps here and there, in the villages or in the fields, merely for use in puddings. A charm is used to drive away the *kitu*, a small bird which eats the sugar-cane and plantains. The owner of the charm rubs certain leaves in his hands and points to a distant spot. The birds then fly to the place indicated. 249

Sugar cane, *nggai* (*Dracaena terminalis*), supplies a thick juicy root which is cooked in hot stones for three days, producing a substance which tastes like licorice. Such ovens are not often made as they are large and require that the stones be heated all night. 252

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but [537] if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sezusezu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava: when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggoi*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish. 162

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk. 231

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week; the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*. 252

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro, [354]

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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252 breadfruit, or whatever is required for puddings, is roasted, and banana leaves are heated to make them supple. When the stones are hot they are spread out with sticks and covered with leaves, on which the food is placed. If both taro and yam are put in together the contents of the oven are said to be like a sea-snake, in other words brindled. Taro is put in pealed, yams unpealed. Fish is usually wrapped in breadfruit leaves lain inside a fan palm leaf, an envelope of fish (*i sala ni ika*) it is called; but sometimes it is placed with sauce, inside a banana leaf like a pudding. A pig is singed whole, scraped, the legs are cut off, and the entrails removed by making a slit in the abdomen and one in the throat; then the belly is filled with hot stones and it is put into the oven whole; the legs are put in separately; the liver and the edible viscera are put in a leaf with water and put into the oven or else they are boiled and eaten by the workers. Oxen are no longer cooked whole, as it was found better to cut them up raw and let each man take his share home and boil it.

When the oven is full it is covered with old baskets and sacks, then buried. While the food is cooking, baskets are plaited of coconut leaves. The steam coming through the top of the oven indicates that the food is cooked.

354 Sometimes ovens are made in the evening and dug up in the morning; this is called *melo*.

Puddings

252 Puddings (*nggalu*) appear at most feasts, but are seldom made except for feasts, as they involve much labor.

Most puddings are made with taro, none with yams. For some puddings the taro is roasted to keep its flavor. The taro may be pounded or grated; grated puddings are more esteemed. For pounding, the taro is placed in a long trough. A man stands on either side armed with the stump of a coconut leaf and pounds it into a sticky mass (*matu*); then an expert wets his hands, seizes some of the mash in each hand and squeezes it so that it oozes out between the thumb and forefinger, then shakes it off in pellets about an inch thick. One who has the knack can throw pellets on alternate hands with great speed. The pellets are rolled in the sauce, then put into banana leaves which are gathered up round them and tied at the top with a piece from the midrib. The sauce is always made with coconut cream, raw or cooked; puddings with cooked sauce are more esteemed. Formerly if the sauce were raw the banana leaf was simply tied round the top of the leaf; if the sauce were cooked, one end of the leaf was turned down like a hood, then tied round; now all puddings are tied alike.

For white *sivaro*, pellets are prepared as above; for sauce raw coconut cream with sea water and sugar is used. This is a quick method. Sometimes the sauce is mixed with *Dracaena* juice.

Another pudding of which I do not know the name, was made in this way:

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Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce. 252

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu*, *hoho*, and *ngoua*, this last a kind of mollusc called *veata*, in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed. 330

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

Fermenting

Fermented fo[illegible] excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food. 251

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled. 252

Yams are never fermented. 251

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796 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or
272 death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle
[372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco
276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to
527 both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served
[262 only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men,
171] while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

7

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
[411] (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges
712 of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

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to plant it was a waste of time and soil. Most people today plant the shoots without testing them by this method. 245

Bananas are harvested by men only. Usually the bunches are picked and hung from beams in the house to ripen. If wrapped in tapa to exclude light they turn yellow quickly. Sometimes a bunch is tied to a stick resting across the mouth of a hole in the ground so that the bunch hangs in the hole; then the hole is covered. The bananas ripen quickly without the skins turning yellow. 245 252

Nothing is done to fight the several banana pests. Young banana shoots are killed by a black beetle (*Cosmopolites sordidus*) which eats its way into the heart. Bats, especially the flying fox, eat bananas and many birds attack them. 245 136

Papaya

Papaya (*lewetchi, Carica papaya*) trees are found on all the islands of Lau. Wherever there is a chance clearing in the bush there are papaya trees, seeded by birds; but the fruit is small through lack of sun or exposure to wind. Papaya seeds are strewn carelessly. As the sprouts come to the surface a few stones are placed around them for protection. Within three months a tree is 2 to 3 meters high. The fruit is best during the first and second year. The main crop is ripe about November, December, and January, but papayas are eaten throughout the year. The fruit which weighs up to six pounds is picked off the tree with a stick. Papaya is not valued highly by the natives.

NON-FOOD PLANTS

Pandanus

Pandanus grows well on Kambara, and especially well on Wangava. On Fulanga it is good and plentiful. The leaves have a special softness, do not break when dry, and make fine smooth mats. Namuka has little pandanus. 249

Pandanus grows best in the shade and in damp soil. Usually it is found as an underbrush in coconut groves. Occasionally one sees a patch in the bush. It is planted by men or women, preferably during the rainy season. A crown shoot about 0.5 meter long is cut out of a plant and part of it is shoved into a hole dug in the ground. The first leaves are cut after one year of growth, but they are too weak and small to make good mats. The leaves are best in the third and fourth years of growth. They are cut in the dry months, about 5 or 6 cm. from the trunk. A plant that has grown so high that the leaves cannot be cut while the cutter is standing on the ground is bent.

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PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers. 264

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor. 262

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth. 252 264

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground. 252

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind. 482 313

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

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252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

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Steaming

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252 354

A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick.

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata),* banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is

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●252 occasionally mixed with the manioc just before it is made into balls. Each ball is wrapped separately in breadfruit, *valevale,* or ti leaves as follows:

If a breadfruit leaf is used, the ball is placed near the base of the leaf. The upper part of the leaf is then bent over the ball and the leaf drawn together to form a bag around the ball. The bag is tied with a strip of pandanus as follows: Loop the pandanus over the thumb of the hand which holds the bag of pudding upright, pass the pandanus back under the thumb below the ball of pudding, wind the pandanus around the ball twice, cut it with the teeth, pull the free end upward through the loop over the thumb, pull the other end down tight and close the loop. This ties the knot. Cut off the extra pandanus with the teeth. If *valevale* leaves are used to wrap the pudding, place two leaves at right angles, in the form of a cross, place ball on the intersection, draw the leaves up over the ball and tie with pandanus as described above. If ti leaves are used, place the ball on a ti leaf folded in half with tip meeting base, draw the leaf tightly around the ball to form a bag and with the teeth pull down a strand from the lower end of the midrib of the ti leaf, pass the strand around the ball twice and knot in the same way.

The bags of pudding are placed in the oven below the sweet potatoes.

Turtle, which is eaten only at a feast, is prepared on Kambara as follows:

The animal, lying on its back, is killed by a blow on the head with a stone. Then the fore and hind flippers are removed with a knife. The turtle is turned over and boiling water is poured onto the back shell. The end of a pointed, chisel-like stick is shoved under the plate closest to the neck. The plate is lifted, hot water poured into the opening, and the stick shoved deeper until the plate loosens. When all the back plates are thus removed, the turtle is placed on its back again and the belly shell is removed in one piece by first cutting around it and then cutting and lifting it off. If the turtle is being prepared for a chief, the cutting around the belly shell starts at the back, otherwise at the side. Next, by starting at the chest and working toward the rear, the meat is taken out. It is placed in a wooden food bowl, and cut into small pieces. Then comes the most important part of the preparations. The leader of the feast selects the portions to be given to each household, the quality of the meat and the size of the portion depending on rank. Cuts from the head of the turtle are for the chief. Each portion is placed in a scorched, double banana leaf, the midrib of which has been trimmed to make it pliable. The banana leaf is pleated into a bag, half a tumbler of water is added, the bag is covered with two *viavia* leaves, and the whole is tied with a strip of leaf. Each bag is marked with a sign known only to the maker—such as a special knot, an extra leaf, or a mark on the leaf—so that it may be identified later and presented to the proper household. The bags of turtle meat are placed on the *viavia* leaves covering the hot stones in the earth oven, the largest bag in the center. More leaves are placed over the bags, then over the whole is set the inverted lower shell of the turtle, then another layer of leaves, a layer of old coconut-leaf baskets, and finally earth. The oven is opened after three or four hours. The bones and viscera of the turtle are boiled into soup, if possible in a kerosene tin.

Pork is eaten only at a feast. It is prepared as follows:

The pig's throat is cut with a bamboo knife and the blood allowed to flow freely. The pig is then slung, back down, on a pole and singed over the fire. Next the entrails are removed through a slit in the belly, which is later filled with hot stones wrapped in leaves. The pig is then ready for the oven. If yams are used they are cut in pieces and placed next to the hot stones. The pig is placed, legs down, on top of the yams or other garden produce. The whole is covered with hibiscus leaves and finally with earth. Pigs to be eaten immediately are steamed for about four hours. Pigs to be distributed and taken home are steamed a shorter time. Before being eaten they are cut into pieces and boiled.

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Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [439]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

> Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovizi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

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ika vakalolo is made by boiling fish in coconut cream to which a few small red peppers (*roketc*) have been added.

During the breadfruit season the main meal on Fulanga consists of breadfruit, peeled, cut into pieces, and stewed with shellfish in coconut cream.

In the papaya season a dish called *sepo* is prepared. Peeled, slightly green papayas are boiled in water until soft and grated manioc and grated coconut are added just before serving.

Stone Boiling

I saw the technique of boiling with hot stones used only once in Lau. The method was used at Naivindamu, Fulanga, in the preparation of *nggalu sua*, a pudding of *yambia*, for a wedding feast. *Yambia* is a slightly poisonous tuber, formerly a staple food in Lau. The poison is extracted as follows:

Yambia roots are washed and then grated on sticks wound with sennit. A hoop-shaped stick is sewn to the mouth of a gunny sack. The sack is filled with a mixture of grated *yambia* and water and hung from a wooden tripod over a wooden bowl. The strained liquid, caught in a bowl, is allowed to settle. When the starch has settled at the bottom of the bowl the liquid is poured off, more water is added, allowed to settle and again poured off. The starch is then dried in the sun. If not used immediately it is put into bags of coconut reticulum, again dried in the sun, and finally stored.

The *nggalu sua* was cooked as follows:

About 50 basalt earth-oven stones were heated in an open fire. A large wooden bowl or trough, 2 meters long and 30 cm. deep, was one third filled with *yambia* starch. The bowl was placed near the fire and made secure by placing a log crosswise under one end and driving two stakes into the ground, one on each side and touching the other end of the bowl. The stakes were tied tightly together over the top of the bowl with a tough vine. Fresh water was added to the starch and thoroughly mixed by hand. Then one stone from the fire was dropped into the mixture to test it. Coated with starch, it was shown to the leader of the feast, who decided whether or not more water should be added to the mixture. Then, one by one, all the hot stones were dropped into the bowl while the mixture was stirred vigorously by two boys, each with a straight branch of *moli*, about 2 meters long, from the lower end of which the bark had been removed. The hot stones were taken from the fire with a half coconut shell and a stick, or with a discarded *i yali* (the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf shaped into a sort of paddle), from which a wedge shaped piece had been removed to form tongs. The mixture boiled and thickened into a gelatinous, amber-colored mass. Two boys, dipping their hands frequently into salt water in a bowl to moisten and cool them, removed the stones, one by one, and closed air holes in the mass. The salt water slightly darkened the color of the starch. Finally small handfuls were wrapped together with *ti lolo* (pudding sauce sweetened with ti) in banana leaves, which had been made flexible by shaving the back of the midrib. They were then ready for distribution with the feast.

Sweet Puddings

Sweet puddings (*nggalu*), which accompany every feast, are made with or without a sauce. Sweet sauce is added to puddings made of manioc, breadfruit, taro, or *yambia*. Puddings with a sauce are often served and eaten as soon as they are made, before the earth ovens have been opened and the feast

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distributed. The sauce is sweetened with sugar cane, ti, or imported sugar. 252
Stalks of sugar cane are ground on a sharp piece of coral called *i thoronga* and strained with a hibiscus strainer. The juice is placed in a large pot and [412]
stirred over the fire with a paddle-shaped stick called *i yali*, made for the occasion out of the lower end of a coconut-leaf midrib. The resulting caramel mixture is called *salasalaki*. Coconut cream (*lolo*) is added slowly to the *salasalaki* and the whole is boiled. The sauce is called *loloriri*.

To make manioc pudding (*mavu*) roots of the poisonous varieties are first made into *tapioke solo* (p. 153). Roots of nonpoisonous varieties are scraped and boiled. The cooked manioc is placed in a long oblong wooden bowl. Two boys, one sitting at each end of the bowl, hold it between their legs, while two young men, one standing on each side of the bowl, pound the mass with pounders (*i mbutu ni nggalu*) made from the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf. The pounding is done rapidly and in rhythm, first one lifting and lowering his pounder and then the other. Every three or four minutes fresh men replace the pair who are pounding. The two holding the bowl are replaced less frequently. The pounding continues for about 20 minutes. An older man then sprinkles some sauce over the mass and mixes it by hand. Then he takes some of the pudding in each hand and squeezes each handful quickly into three balls (*nggelena* or *nggele ni nggalu*), which fall into one corner of the bowl. When he has about 15 balls he sprinkles some sauce on a scorched, folded banana leaf (on which the midrib has been trimmed), places the balls on the leaf, and adds more sauce. Another man pleats the leaf into a bag and ties it. A bag of pudding is called *i thovo nggalu*. *Mavu* is also made of roasted breadfruit or of boiled or steamed taro.

Puddings without sauce are made of manioc, sweet potato, Tahitian chestnut, banana, taro, and *yambia*. Some pudding recipes follow:

Malimali. Peeled ripe bananas are pounded by hand in a wooden bowl. Dry *yambia* starch and the milk of green coconuts is added. The mass is mixed and divided into portions, each portion is wrapped in a scorched banana leaf, then in breadfruit or ti leaves and steamed.

Vakalolo vunichi (banana pudding). Coconut cream is added to peeled, ripe, pounded bananas. The mixture is divided into portions, which are wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

Vovo. Green bananas are boiled, peeled, and pounded. Grated coconut is added and the pudding is ready to eat.

Tololo. A mixture is prepared as for *tapioke solo*. Before steaming, coconut cream and grated coconut are added.

Tahitian chestnut pudding. Grated Tahitian chestnuts, grated coconut, and coconut cream are mixed and divided into portions which are wrapped in ti leaves and steamed.

Preserving

Fermented food (*mandrai*) is especially important on Fulanga, where any 251
surplus of food is preserved for times of scarcity. Manioc imported from

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251 Mothe, Namuka, or Komo to Fulanga is made into *mandrai*. The two methods of fermenting are soaking in salt water and burying in the ground. The salt water method, used mainly by the men, serves to preserve food for a short time. Baskets of manioc are fastened to stakes in a sheltered spot in the lagoon. When needed the roots are scraped, pounded, mixed with grated coconut, made into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and either steamed or boiled (pl. 2, *B*). *Mandrai* is also made in pits of brackish water. One such pit, called Neikathi, is located at Nggaralevu, south of Undu on Kambara. The pit is about 10 meters deep and the water is reached by means of a wooden ladder. The pit was formerly also used for soaking *wangiri* nuts.

Food may be preserved for a year or more by the burial method described as follows:

A hole (called *alua ni mandrai*), about 1 meter deep and 2 meters in diameter, is dug in the ground. It is lined with three thicknesses of freshly made *mbola*, coconut leaves split from the midrib and plaited. The freshly plaited coconut leaves are placed with split midribs toward the rim of the hole, the leaves radiating toward the center. The first row extends about 30 cm. outside the rim of the hole. Above the plaited coconut leaves is a layer of banana leaves, which have been dried in the sun and from which the inner side of the midrib has been stripped. The food to be preserved is placed on the banana leaves. Such a pit holds about 100 pounds of scraped manioc. Over the food is placed another layer of banana and another of plaited coconut leaves. The whole is weighed down with heavy stones.

Breadfruit and banana are also fermented in this fashion. If preserved food is kept for some time in a *mandrai* pit, the banana and coconut-leaf lining must be changed frequently. One pit is used repeatedly.

Preparation of Bush Food

252 *Wangiri*, the chief food of olden times, is said to have been prepared as follows:

The *wangiri* nuts were first roasted on a bed of coals in order to crack the shells. Next they were soaked in brackish water for at least "four nights." Finally, they were either boiled in pots or steamed in an earth oven. For a hurried meal the nuts were roasted.

Roots of the *yaka (Pueraria thunbergiana)* were steamed in the earth oven or roasted.

The fruit of the *tarai* were strung together on a stick and steamed in the earth oven, then the skin was removed. The *tarai* was also boiled or eaten raw.

The *mbawaki*, *yaumitha*, and *nggalaka* fruit were also steamed. The *yaumitha* was first wrapped in breadfruit or *vanua* leaves. It was also roasted.

Tree grubs (*yavatou*) were wrapped in *vanua* or *vavale* leaves and steamed or boiled. They were frequently eaten raw.

The preparation of greens is described on page 155.

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291
[252
415]

A

[576]

B

[28]
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

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134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
● 252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

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stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252 for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323] but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731 problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312 but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271 through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296] laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657] small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

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[Facing p. 54]

THE WEDDING FEAST

Young men are building a fire to heat the stones in an earth oven pit. Wrapped food will be placed on the hot stones, covered with earth and steamed.

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554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

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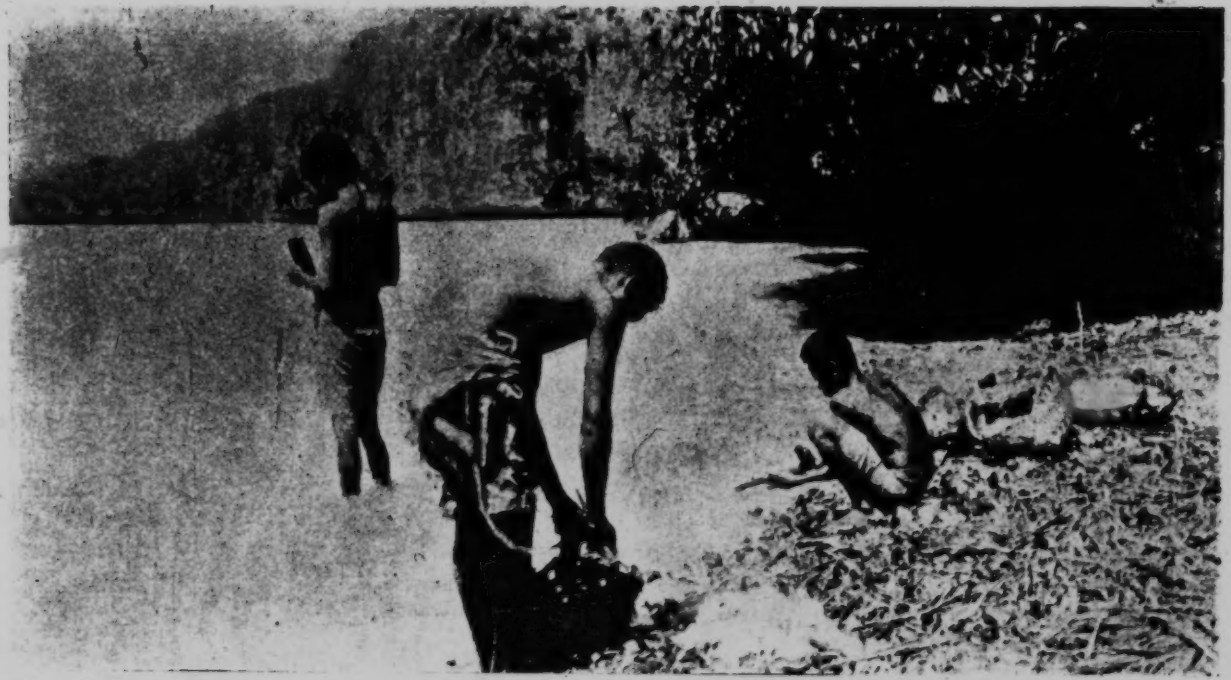

FOOD PRESERVED BY FERMENTATION

Tapioca, which has been allowed to ferment, is being prepared for the earth oven in the Fulanga lagoon.

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[facing p. 100]

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222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), 262 *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens)*, *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 262 624 241 The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

13 624 177 When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[13] The green heart tree, *vesi,* is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [526] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula, kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 643 262

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225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

275 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [287] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i ubasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo vinggai*).

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FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish. 262

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk. 231

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week; the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*. 252

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro, 354

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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things, 757
and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755
boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431]
feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758
the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757
some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755
natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uni*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262]
(b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262]
fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair]. Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262]
and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu*, *thangolaya*, *yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vulu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu*, *yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt
[262] water, taro, and cocomut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndazuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it
[262] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uvuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *thekc*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wangganggu.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
[262] days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, bit dengue and similar attacks. 757 755

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats haye rotted and been removed; then it vill be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft.

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saizula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *ezuezu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticuum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kai ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the rib and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying of the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158 828

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothes Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from he wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikio married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhas a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created ma, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for neir ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it vere, covered his eyes.

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755 757

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink once only. Tapu: sweet food. [264]

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lass long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease:

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[2] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because hey massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it ismine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There ae no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage s hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will sill know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on theground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 83+]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for diseases which inveves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeing octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain come about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[2] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moyá*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (*kuita mangimangi*); witchcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *viliwiri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ñdua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

Ramberambe tu i-kete (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni-kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa*; strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saizula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water; break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p.12 - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an important part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle [372 276] usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served [262] only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 71] In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the
778 clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they
618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members
[262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no
[552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726
539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*izi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [48] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens)*, *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; ●262 *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [482] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing. 24

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: *kasokaso* (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), *kaumaile* (longest of all yams), *ndamuni* (on Mothe and Kambara), *matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka* (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); *uvi ni Foatuna* (yam of Futuna), *rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu*. The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau. . . . The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. Yam is the staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from elsewhere brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in importance as a food. [262] [262]

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kauai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile*, the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

·2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers. 264

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor. 262

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth. 252 264

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground. 252

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind. [+82 313]

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times. 262 231

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet. 224 [121] [656] [231]

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp. 222 [262]

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only. 231 262

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262] trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151] a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[16] 13 174

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions. 13 146 262

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[16] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 146 262 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 262 264 462 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 264 462 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 194?). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

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in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim owaership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*lui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored 261] against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184 tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *lui rara*'s functions were performed on Fulanga by the *lui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, 13 624 although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands 177 of the community, (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The [558] number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely [251] stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each 13 inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had 624 charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and 262 turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the 226 noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle-hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native [558] official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 ● 362 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) into a bark cloth called *masi*, the process being called *samusamu*.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
345 lives on the island and is engaged in ~~[illegible]~~ producing copra. There is no
469 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier feef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite 262 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 312 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 13 134 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

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754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] white men "eat different food" (which, to a [262] native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 175 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

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the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).[1]

Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

[1] [Two Kinds of fish.—Analyst]

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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776 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in
825 Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

● 262 "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old
825 lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her
776 shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter
[201] disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

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that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs.

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts.

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens), yangai, tarai,* important especially on Fulanga; 262 *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu, mbau thana,* preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki,* and *nggalaka.*

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia, Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [439]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga,*" I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[264] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua,* old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to [565] his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana,* that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

SERVING

264 [272] [415] Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264 565 When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ5 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 60 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 134

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers. 264

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor. 262

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth. 252 264

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground. 252

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind. 282 313

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 · OQ6 Lau OQ6
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252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making (*nita*), *waro* and *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*) woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

● 264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 146 262 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 262 264 462 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 264 462 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulânga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

eat different sort of food from us natives. That is the reason. It is well known that some evil-minded person tried thus to kill the magistrate's clerk,[1] when the British Government first came here in the times of our fathers, but it availed not. 539* 754

"The way of working it is this," he added, "though, of course, it is only what I have been told. He who wishes to perform this magic must first prepare himself in certain ways. He must keep away from the sea, and must have a small fire continually smouldering on his hearth for four days, and the flame of this must never die out during that time. He must also abstain from eating certain foods, and especially the two fish known as *matumatu* and *volo*, for should he eat of these his magic will strike back upon himself. (And here, sir, is a sure test to find out a worker of these evil deeds. For, as you know, we natives always sit round our meals together, and should we be having fish boiled up with herbs the rich broth is first of all handed round in coco-nut shell cups, and we drink this before the women turn the fish out on to the leaf plates in our midst. Now, a worker of this evil magic dare not drink the soup until he knows of what sort the fish is, so he will abstain, and make some excuse, and thus there will be great suspicion cast [264]

[1] Mr. H. L. Tripp.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for
266 the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

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Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

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If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

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Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu e nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vunura."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

1: Hocart Y-5, (ca. 1920) 1929. OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

From Matuku, Moala Islands, comes the following account of proceedings after the battle:

The clubs of the manslayers, on the day on which they were presented with gifts, are called *ngandro;* the manslayers run with them to the temple. For four nights they slept in a separate house. If one of them wanted badly to see his child, he would go up to his house, touch the child with a reed from outside, kiss the reed, and go back to the common house.

The chief then called Tumbunimalungu, now called Vaka (p. 223) would call out in the night, "The clubs are turned over." Then the conch was blown and all awakened. The clubs were not turned over; that was merely their way of doing. After four nights they went to bathe when everyone was asleep. The clubs were carried by Tumbunimalungu and the conch was blown. The people might not exclaim; if anyone did, he was *mokau,* that is, he would be killed in the next battle. On that day they carried the club round and slew any pig they chose, even though it belonged to the Roko Sau.

Of old, only the old men, not the women and children, ate men.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
● 266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the 172
natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79.

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on 172
the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe 396
builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel.

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These 172
have been described on pages 135-136.

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for [354]
steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It [266]
consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast.

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained [323]
from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but
obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and [438]
Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112).

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for [324]
the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the [316]
volcanic islands but none was located.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657]
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

Introduction

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji. 272 276

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months 272 177 276

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

272 177 276

the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

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At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

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He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565 276

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

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The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

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Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[a]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[b]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[a] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na no na vanua.*
[b] *Vakatonggara e na kali; vakatonggara = vakatatava.*

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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose' oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes. 272
It is like the dropping of the rain. 533
It is like the dropping of the rain. 539
The kava I went to pull up 276
An old man touches.[8]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[9]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups; two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Namata*, lose; *tovuni* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

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[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *nduo* probably being a contraction of *ndua o—Sa:?—thombo*: to clap.

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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

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The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivaki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua,* that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga,* "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo,* which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa,* that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

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INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia: 622 272 276

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. *This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen.* In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73). 648 272 276

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou voss ka sosora thake tu yani ka, vuuura."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakethambori*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

SERVING

264 [272] [415]

Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

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When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
● 272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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presence of a chief. Kava ceremonies vary slightly on different islands and for different occasions. In southern Lau on formal occasions a mixed Tongan and old Lauan kava ceremony is used. On less formal occasions a simplification of the Tongan ceremony is customary. The natives say that the Lauan ceremony is long and is marked by much hand clapping, whereas the Tongan ceremony is short and simple. The Tongans say, "Faka sinisini ko Fishi. Sa levu na topotopo" (Too many tens in Fiji, too much clapping), meaning that the Fijian ceremony is too elaborate.

The kava ceremony for the chief of Kambara is as follows:

The kava drinkers sit cross-legged in circular formation called *yalofi*, in the following order: the chief sits in the center of the upper end of the house. On his left sits his herald, on his right, another chief or herald. The clan elders sit in two rows on either side of the chief. Those of highest rank sit nearest the chief. At the lower end of the house, opposite and facing the chief, sits a young man who is the kava maker (*palu yanggona*). In front of him stands the kava bowl, which is a wooden bowl (*kumete ni yanggona*) made of greenheart, usually with four legs. The bowl used for a chief has cowry shells tied to the sennit string handle, which is stretched toward him. It is tabu to use this bowl except in kava ceremonies for the chief. In olden days, according to the natives, an earthenware kava bowl without legs (*ndari ni yanggona*) was used.

On each side of the kava maker sits a young man, called assistant at the bowl (*nggaravi kumete*). The young men who pound the kava sit behind the kava maker. Either green or dry kava is used, but natives say the green root makes a drink which is more tasty and digestible. A flat stone slab is placed on a kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) and when the root has been pounded with a rough stone hammer into bits, the stone slab is tilted so that the bits of root fall on the mat, the mat is passed to one of the assistants, who slides the kava bits into the kava bowl. Occasionally a wooden mortar and an iron pestle are used.

Formerly kava root was chewed by youths. The kava chewers (*matha*) sat behind the kava maker. They were young men of rank related to the chief. The chewed root was removed from the mouth and placed on the strainer (*i vauvau*), composed of strips of the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*vau*), which lay in the bowl; or it was passed to one of the assistants, who put it into the bowl. The kava maker and assistants chewed also. (Old men who have chewed kava in their youth seem to have better preserved teeth than those who have not chewed it. Chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government.)

When sufficient kava has been prepared the kava maker raises the bowl by the two rear legs and says, "Kawa nai mama" (The kava is chewed).

The herald answers, "Kuo holo" (It is kneaded), and the kava maker lowers the bowl. The herald adds, "Tukuwatu" (put it down), and the kava maker puts the bowl down. When it is resting on the ground the herald says, "Tutumalie pe kae palu" (All right, mix). The kava maker places his hands, fingers together, palms down, on the sides of the bowl. The herald looks at them and if they are not clean he says nothing and the kava maker is replaced by another. If they are clean he says, "Palu, tafoki kimoua" (Kava maker, turn), and the two assistants move forward to the bowl. During the mixing and serving they face the bowl, otherwise they face the chief.

Then the herald says, "Lini o ma wai" (Pour the water). The kava maker places his hands in the bowl and the assistant who is sitting on the right of the kava maker pours water from the water container onto the kava maker's hands. It is poured away from the kava maker. It is tabu to pour it toward him. Either a bamboo water container (*ndangoni wai*), imported from Viti Levu, an earthenware pot (*kuro*), or an imported bucket is used.

The kava maker mixes the kava. Before straining it he squeezes the mixture over

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the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tambu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 796

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated. 272

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533 535]

The kava song follows: [539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou ngguruva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand. [372 276]

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food. [262]

[252 71] In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or
313 make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To
[431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the
283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental
[555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava
[272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu,* mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda.* There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai,* used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto.* One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai.* An effective

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum.* Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272 is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276 water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291 waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304 The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197] tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522] jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173] not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank. 634 614 554 159

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20] 644 159 [191] [272] [276] [826]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory 159

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest
177 of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.

● 272 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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123 hardly know the meaning of. After a little while,
574 the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid
272 state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated
[301] with coloured leaves round their arms and legs,
[415] started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same;
[201] deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

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And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

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The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

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CEREMONIES

KAVA DRINKING CEREMONY

Introduction

Kava (Fijian, *yanggona*) is the root of *Piper methysticum*. Though not abundant in Lau, it is drunk there more than in any other part of Fiji. 272 276

The intoxication caused by kava is called *mateni*, meaning death from or illness from. The expression *mate ni yanggona* is also used. To recover is *mbula* (to live). This intoxication dulls the countenance. As I experienced it, it gives a pleasant, warm, and cheerful, but lazy feeling, sociable, though not hilarious or loquacious; the reason is not obscured. In time a certain dullness settles on the company, in which the kava and the late hour probably both have a part. Once after heavy drinking I felt miserable and found it difficult to walk straight; on turning into bed, I felt sick and could not get to sleep. Such intoxication is rare because in Lau the kava is so diluted and served in such small cups that many rounds can be drunk with impunity. Habitual drinkers are said to become intoxicated more quickly than occasional ones. Kava has no unpleasant reaction next morning, other than indolence and lack of appetite. Habitual drinkers can be noted by their watery and bleary eyes, their dull skins, which in bad cases become scaly.

For kava making is used a peculiar bowl (*kumete*), made in Kambara from the reddish wood of the greenheart of India (*vesi*). The shape is roughly that of a very shallow inverted cone. The feet, which are stumpy, are called breasts; most bowls have four, but many large bowls used in ceremonies have ten. Beneath the rim projects a small triangular piece, which is pierced with two holes to insert the coir rope by which the bowl is hung. After much use these bowls become incrusted with a yellow-green deposit that looks like enamel.

The lower parts of coconut shells specially selected for their shape and pointed base form the cups, which are carefully polished inside and out. Most of the Lauan cups are small. In Naitasiri I was presented with a very large one, said to come from Lau, but I have never seen such large ones in use there.

Chewing kava is forbidden by the government and it is never done in Lau. When I first went to Lau, kava was pounded on slabs of stone procured from a hill in Mothe. Many of these stones were selected for the good tone of their ring, and the sound of pounding rang pleasantly through the village at night. A small, smooth stone was used as a pounder and a piece of cloth was spread underneath the slab. In the space of a few months 272 177 276

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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping).

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The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono*, which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona*. In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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272 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the
276 kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian
533 it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When
276 a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

272 Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
533 A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
539 Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
276 A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[a]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[b]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au vandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[a] Na mata: Taveuni: *na is na no na vanua.*
[b] *Vakatanggara e na kali; vakatanggara = vakatatava.*

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[7] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave[8] wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes. 272
It is like the dropping of the rain. 533
It is like the dropping of the rain. 539
The kava I went to pull up 276
An old man touches.[9]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Namata*, lose; *tareuni* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau*-bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

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[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua*:—*Sa*:?—*thombo*: to clap.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

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The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivaki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua,* that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga,* "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo,* which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa,* that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia: 622 272 276

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73). 648 272 276

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

[266]

OFFERINGS

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Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

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If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

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Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vuuvu."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *sorakı* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle [372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco 276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to 527 both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served [262 only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, 171] while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food [illegible] large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the [illegible] the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65[illegible]6) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananglum odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulate) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [157]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

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and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank. 634 614 554 159

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20] 644 159 [191] [272] [276] [826]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory 159

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

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houses and everything fair to see. And they 539*
came to the great Council House, in which sat 776
the King of Burotu with his Chiefs. Now, the King was the father of Ligadua.

"'Welcome home, Ligadua,' said the King. 'Good is your coming from the land of the world-people.'

"'It is good, sir,' said Ligadua; then he added, 'I have a friend from earth waiting outside.' For he had told Tui Liku to wait until he should ascertain the mind of the King.

"'Let him enter,' said the King.

"Then some Burotu people came in bringing *ai vonovono* (offerings) to Ligadua because of his home-coming. They brought two young coconuts on the branch, as is the custom in Lau. Now, these were red nuts, and very fine ones called *Niu Rerega*, such as Tui Liku had never seen before. After this, *Yaqona*[1] was made, and [276] they drank it with all the ceremony proper to Burotu. And when this was over, Tui Liku nudged Ligadua, and whispered that he had a request to make. It was this, that he might take these nuts back to earth with him and plant them there. So Ligadua turned to the King and said, 'May it please you, sir, my *matanivanua* (aide-de-camp) wishes to take these nuts away to plant in his own country.'

[1] Or Kava, the ceremonial drink of the South Seas.

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115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

SOON was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers,
173 there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night.

226
796
[276]

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat.

[481]

"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land." 173

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced. [276]

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those [516]

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 **Thina.** *Thina* is the Lauan word for lamp, lantern, torch. Men or women or men and women torch fish (*thina*) together at night. Each takes at least one coconut spathe, splits one end of it several times, so that it will catch fire readily and quickly throw a light flame. At the spot on the beach where the fishing is to start, the spathes are lighted with a glowing coconut husk or stick. The torches are held over the water by members of the party who walk slowly ahead of the others. The fish are usually speared or clubbed.

Vaka a samu (the beating fashion). A fish, tied to a short line which is fastened to a stick, is beaten on the water to serve as a lure. The fish are stabbed with a one-pronged spear (*sakathukathu*), which is a sharp pointed shaft of wood.

Tauyara. By the *tauyara* (to lure with an equal) method, a fish is stuck onto one prong of a spear or tied to the shaft, with a string. The spear is moved so that the bait is kept under water to lure a fish close enough to be stabbed.

FISHING WITH HOOK AND LINE

Fishing with hook and line is called *siva*. This method is used frequently on Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga by men and women either during the day or night, preferably at sandy spots where the hook will not catch. A small fish, a crab, or a slug is bait.

For fishing from the beach a line 50 meters long is used. The loosely rolled coil is thrown by one hand and an end of line held in the other. At intervals the fisherman calls: "Tale mai, tale mai, tale mai" (Come here, come here, come here). In canoe trolling the method is the same, but a shorter line is used. Sometimes the canoe is anchored and the line is weighted. When fishing from a rock the man or woman throws the line out or weights it with a stone so that it sinks vertically.

The fishhook used in Lau today is imported. The natives agree that the fishhooks formerly used were of wood and bone but no one was able to describe them.

FISH STUPIFYING

226 278 **Samulaki.** The afternoon before *samulaki* fishing on Kambara a few people go to the bush to gather a vine called *tuva*. Old branches are taken because their poison is strong. In the evening the branches are beaten with a rock until the juice begins to ooze. Before sunrise the next morning, and at low tide when the fish have not yet left the coral formations, women go to the reef. A small handful of the beaten twigs is tied into a bundle and splashed on the water so that the poisonous juice mixes with the water and enters the coral caves. Several coral formations are poisoned on the same morning, and by daybreak the fish are drifting unconscious on the surface. Any prevented by the coral from coming to the surface are speared.

A similar method, called *tuva*, is used on Fulanga. The bark of the *tuvu* is cut into pieces and pounded on a stone with a beating stick. Then the bark is ripped into strips, which are tied in small bundles and taken by canoe to the reef. The girls dive around the coral formations and, if many fish are detected, the basket containing the bundles is lowered into the water. The wet bark is beaten again so that the sap oozes readily. Each girl takes a bundle, dives, places it between the rocks until all the main holes and narrow passages contain the poison. The fish which rise to the surface are picked by hand or speared. On Fulanga this method of fish stupifying is usually used by a household, sometimes by a village.

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Tuva ni nikini. On Kambara the roots of the *tuva ni nikini* (New Guinea *tuva*) are taken by men, women, or children to the reef. The people dive near the reef to chase the fish into the cavities of the coral formation. Then someone, usually a girl but never a man, puts on protecting glasses, dives, and circles the rock to see whether or not the fish have fled into the holes. After the root is beaten into dust with a piece of hard wood about 30 to 40 cm. long and 5 to 7 cm. in diameter, women dive with handfuls of the powder and squeeze them under water. After about 15 minutes the fish come to the surface, apparently dead or stupified, but most fish caught this way die after about five minutes of play. Heavy, strong fish are hit on the head with a stick or with the back of a cane knife. 226 278

On Fulanga the powdered root is placed in a medicine bag made of coconut reticulum and taken to the reef. If the fisherwomen see fish, the bag is taken into the water and squeezed between the rocks. The method is used only during the day.

Tuva kalou. On Namuka, *tuva kalou* fruit is steamed in the earth oven, then put into a basket which is placed in the hull of a canoe partly filled with water. The basket is pressed against the hull or worked with sticks so that the fruit juice mixes with the water. When three or four bailers of this mixture are poured around a rock formation, it sinks slowly and is worked into the caves by the current. When the drugged fish appear on the surface they are caught by hand or stabbed, then put into baskets.

Sosolo or soli. *Soli*, a black slug about 30 cm. long and 4 to 5 cm. in diameter, which is found in masses near Namuka, is used for stupifying fish. The slugs are put into a basket, covered with sand, and trampled so that the juice and the odor of the slugs are absorbed by the sand. The basket is tied to a string and let down from a canoe into the water of the lagoon. It is said that the odor and the slight change in the color of the water attract and stun the fish causing them to rise to the surface in two or three minutes. They are gathered by hand. The same basket of slugs may be used several times.

Soto. On Mothe *soto* leaves are crushed with a cane knife or shell. During the night, at low tide when the water is calm, the leaves are placed in coral holes to stun the fish.

FISH TRAPPING

Toni kana. The fish trap (*ndai ni ika*) used in the *toni kana* method, is a circular basket, up to 1 fathom in diameter and up to 40 cm. deep. The fish enter a funnel-shaped entrance on top. Usually the trap is set by a diver who preferably puts it onto a smooth place. A sea slug or a large crab, which has been opened to cause a stronger odor, serves as bait and is tied with a string either to the trap or to stone weights inside the trap. Occasionally the trap is hooked to a stick, tied onto the end of a string and weighted with a stone. It is lowered and raised by the hook and string. 226

Va katu ku tuku. From the circumference of the round trap described above are run three strings, which are tied together from 0.5 to 1 meter above the stone-weighted trap. At the upper end of the string is tied a floating stick 1 to 2 meters long so that the trap can easily be located and pulled out of the water.

Lasia. A diver places the above described trap and puts stones around it which touch the lower edge of the trap so that the current cannot move it easily. This kind of trap setting is done most frequently in calm waters.

FISHPONDS

Of the six islands visited fishponds were used only on Mothe. This island has six fishponds which resemble horseshoes in shape, the open end bordered by the beach. The stone walls (*moka*), which are about 0.5 meter high, are made from the black basalt with which the beach is strewn. This stone is smooth and heavy, and the walls are not easily destroyed by the surf. High tide brings the fish over the walls, where they are speared or gathered.

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has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

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755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824]

[53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word. [171]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757 The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278 is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752 sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842 scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278 a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757 The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753 superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zigzag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti.*

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa,* a Tongan word *loto,* interior, and *a,* fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi,* is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.

Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *vunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo.* The coir so prepared is called *somo.*

The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lowalawa,* and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

244 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: *niu uwi* (water coconut) also called *niu ni Tonga* (Tongan coconut), *niu rerenga* (yellow coconut), *niu ndrau* (one *hundred coconuts*), *niu ni mangimangi* (sennit coconut), and *niu leka* (short coconut). The *niu uwi* grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few *niu uwi*, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. *Niu rerenga* is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the *niu rerenga* is especially white. *Niu ndrau* grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. *Niu ni mangimangi* is considerably longer than [283] any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The *niu leka* tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or
313 make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To
[431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the
● 283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task
[555] takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-
[272] leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

233 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black
[824] sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A, B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
[177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than
283] the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Netting and Rope

FISHLINES

The process of making fishlines was witnessed only on the island of Fulanga. Fishlines are made only by women in Lau, but men occasionally help to procure from the bush *ronga* bark, from which the lines are made. The bark is stripped from the *ronga* branches in pieces from 2 to 3 meters long and rolled into coils (*pupu*), a process called *thimbini*. The next day the coils are unrolled and the outer bark is stripped off, a process called *kulina*. 283

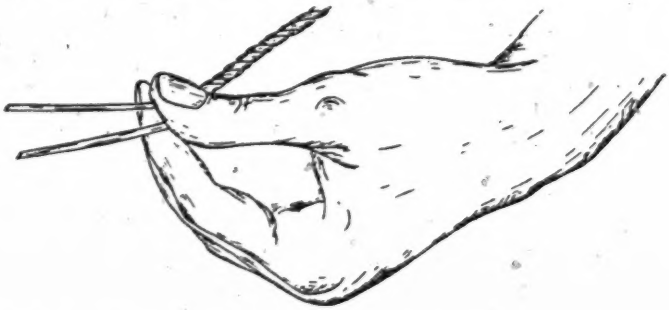

Figure 19.—Fishline technique. First step in rolling shreds of *ronga* bark into two-ply twist: two strands of two shreds each are held, one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that thumb separates strands.

The inner bark (*lewe ni kulina*) is sunned for several days until it is dry and white, a process called *singani*, and then it is hung indoors until needed. Before shredding the inner bark it is placed in the lagoon and scraped with a *kuku* shell, a process called *kalui*. It is dried in the sun again and then softened and scraped into shreds with a *ndamba* shell. To roll the shred into a two-ply twist, a woman proceeds as follows:

She sits with knees straight and legs crossed left over right in front of her. She places a bundle of shreds in her lap, then takes two strands of two shreds each and holds one end of each strand between thrumb and first finger of the left hand, so that the thumb separates the strands (fig. 19). With the right hand she rolls each strand into a ply on the bare calf of her left leg. One movement away from the body usually suffices. With her right hand, she separates the two plies from her left thumb to the ends. Then she rolls the two plies on her calf into a two-ply twisted cord, with one movement away from her body and another toward it. This completes about 7 cm. of cord. She separates the two plies at the unfinished end of the line and repeats the process until one ply becomes short and thin. Then she adds another shred of bark from the pile in her lap by placing it beside the weak ply and holding the two between thumb and first finger. With her right hand she pulls the new shred toward the unfinished end of the cord until she holds it with her thumb about 3 cm. below the upper end. She turns this upper end down along the second ply (which has not been reinforced) and proceeds. [516]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISH NETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thama* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

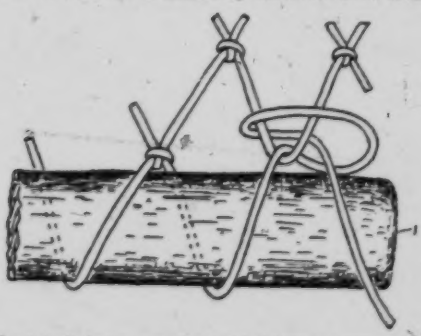

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
[824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreave*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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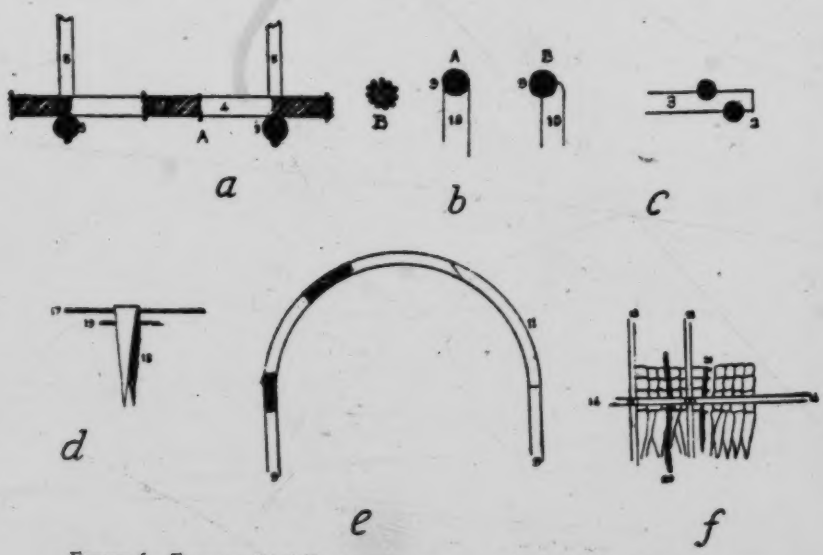

FIGURE 6.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, base of king post; *b*, connection of wall plate and side posts; *c*, extremity of a tie beam; *d*, thatch leaf; *e*, apse wall plate showing level and coir string; *f*, thatch rafters and reepers; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 4, base of king posts; 5, king post; 9, wall plate; 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 13, rafters; 14, reepers; 17, thatch carrier (*yava*); 18, thatch leaf (*rau*); 19, leaf pin (*vativati*); 20, thatch cord (*wale*); 21, thatch joint (*nduta*).

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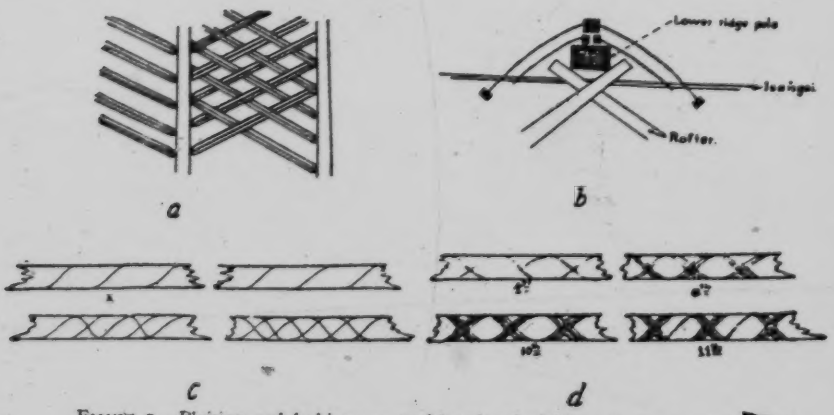

FIGURE 7.—Plaiting and lashing: *a*, *teviti* style of plaiting; *b*, diagram of *teviti*; *c*, stages in design; *d*, first stages of *matani ndavui*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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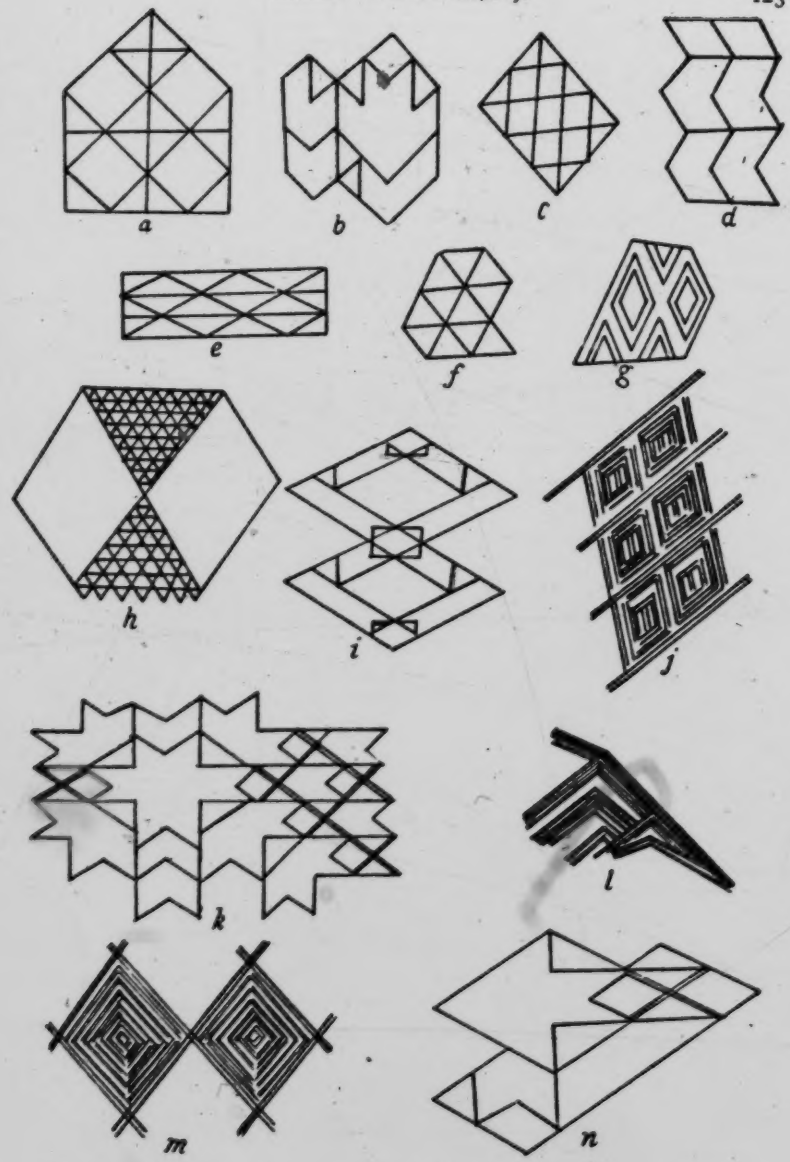

FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *b*, on main post; *c*, *fatuingalau*; *d*, *veikuku*; *e*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *f*, *manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g*, *matanindavui*; *h*, *fufuikiu*, diagram from main post; *i*, from extremity of base of king post; *j*, *fatuingalau*, diagram of strands; *k*, from a wall plate; *l*, from a side post; *m*, from a main post; *n*, analysis of *k*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zigzag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti.*

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa,* a Tongan word *loto,* interior, and *a,* fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi,* is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.

Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *vunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo.* The coir so prepared is called *somo.*

The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lawalawa,* and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

names of patterns are Tongan;[19] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says; "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts; for the tie beams *falataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who comes to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the evening another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[19] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
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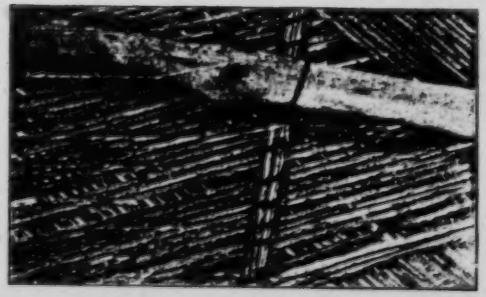

B

C

D

LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS. *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE; *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates
●284 where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median
552 plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via*, *thumu*, *lawavakasaisai*, *ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai*, *kuita*, *ndra ni mbota*, *tai sosoi*, *lalawa talitali*, *vatchiki ni vula*, and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than
[177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths. 342

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm. [24]

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy. [524]

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. [354]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. 343
The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter 284
high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quar- 343
ters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves.

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process [504]
of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes.

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built 343
with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, 235
and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon. 396

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *wolaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it.

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When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes,

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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396 which are lashed in the same way. Before proceeding to the third pair of holes the sennit is looped backward and knotted through the sennit carried 284 from the first hole. The holes are calked with coconut fiber plugged in with [401] a wooden wedge and hammer.

Head- and stern-boards (*mua levu* and *mua lailai*) are hewn from solid 396 *mbau vuntchi*. They are fitted over the entire fore-and-aft parts of the hull and are lashed to it in the same way as the washstrakes. The head-board of large canoes is decorated with simple ornamental carving (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).

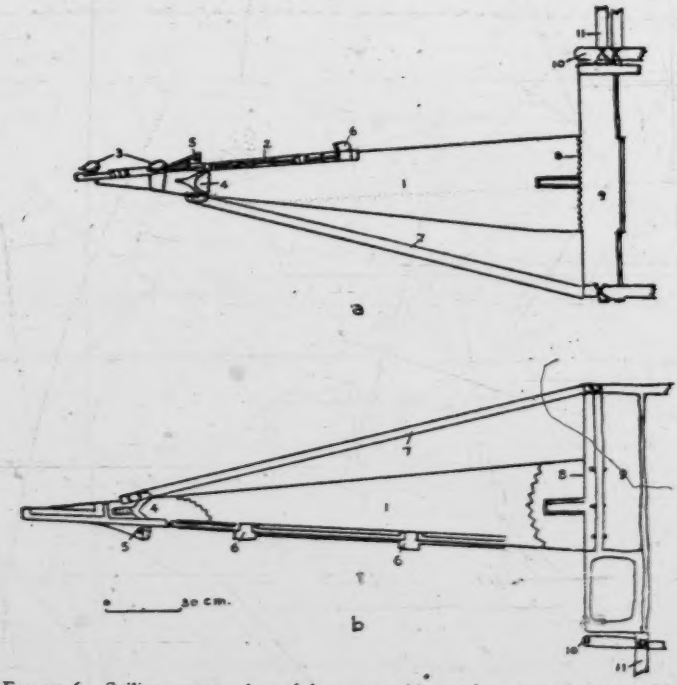

FIGURE 6.—Sailing canoe, plan of bow. **a**, with outrigger attached to starboard; **b**, with outrigger attached to port: 1, head-board; 2, ornamental carving; 3, cowry shells; 4, yard socket; 5, stay hole; 6, guard projections covering horizontal leads; 7, diagonal strut connecting head of hull with lee corner of deck platform; 8, breakwater; 9, deck; 10, stringer; 11, outrigger boom.

Outrigger attachment. The weight, size, and attachment of the float (*thama*) is of utmost importance, for the chief problem in rough weather sailing is to maintain the balance and prevent the float from sinking. The outrigger is attached to the port side of the canoe except in canoes built by

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
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A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

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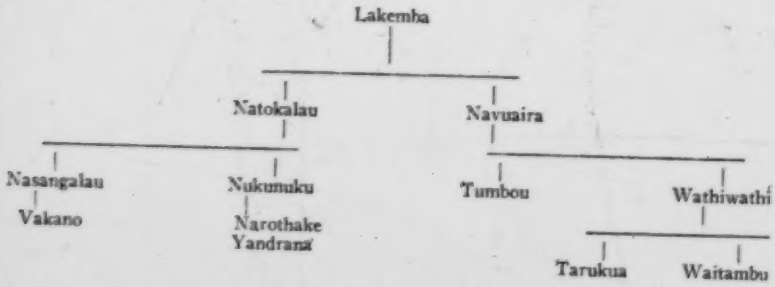
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kinā was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *mataggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven, but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 531 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form [531] designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tumeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[389] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakataututu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

Mats

PANDANUS-LEAF MATS

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakaveveu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.

Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.

The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. [554] The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

285 352 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 531 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short [386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

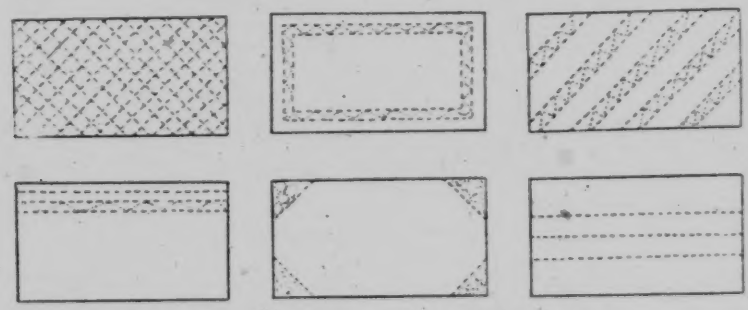

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly [354] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One [292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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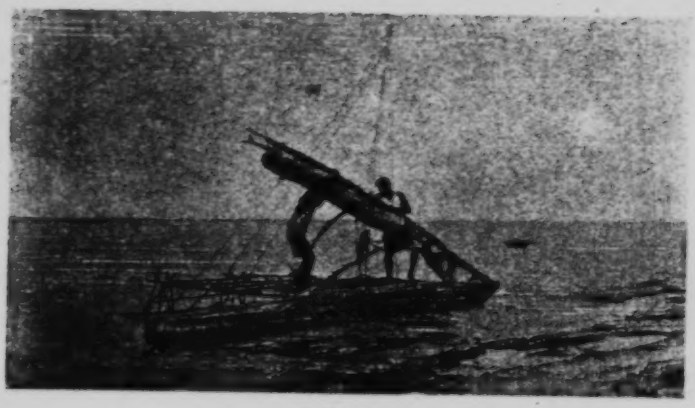

A

B

A, TWO BOYS FURLING THE MAT SAIL OF AN OUTRIGGER SAILING CANOE. B, SMALL CANOE UNDER SAIL IN ONGEA LAGOON (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 5]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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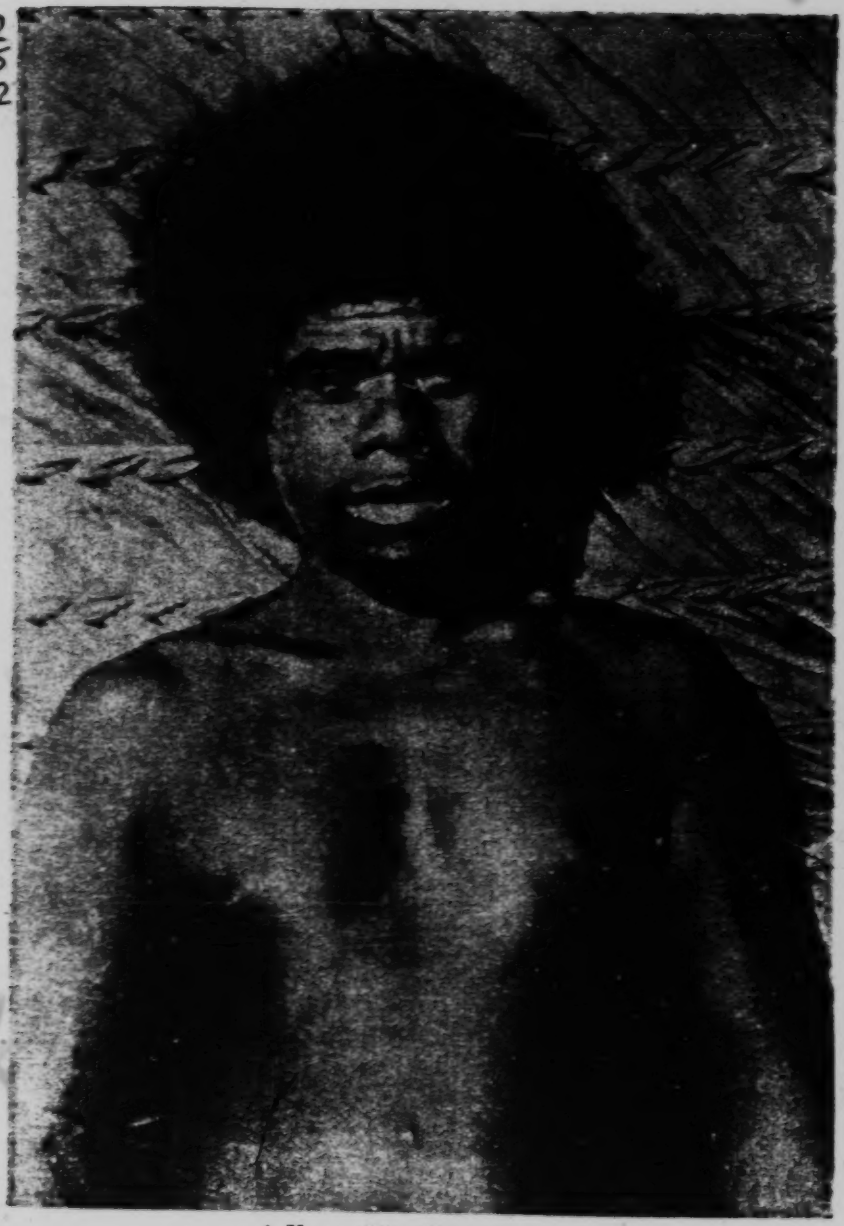

A Young Man From Fulanga

[facing p. iii]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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516

A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 362 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[487] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.

181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake
[161] and Muanairu are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[322] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
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[p. 16]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
197 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181 noticeable Tongan element.
144

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
287
322

[p. 29]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

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"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

173 "And many canoes they gathered together and they arranged that Matawalu should lead them in the fight. And much food did they prepare for their sailing. But before they left they *buli'd* Rasolo as the *Sau* of Lakeba; and the manner of it is as follows:

"From ancient time Lakeba has been divided into two halves (after Delanikoro, the first town founded by Tui Lakeba, the god, had been scattered), and these halves were called Na Tokelau and Vuira. And when a chief was about to be *buli'd* as *Sau*, *Yaqona* was prepared; and then Ramasi, who was always the Tui Nasaqulau (Nasaqualau being the leading town of the Na Tokelau half) took the right arm of the chief and bound some white *masi*[1] round it; and Tui Tubou (Tubou being the leading town of the Vuira half) took the left arm and did likewise, while Na Rewadamu placed a turban of the finest *masi* on the head of the *Sau*.

"And when they arrived at Lakeba they landed at a lonely place on the coast between Nasaqalau and Yadrana and quickly marched across the island and over the great hill, instead of coming by the usual road round the beach. And one of the Levuka men saw, through the open doorway of his house at Korovusa, something white fluttering in the distance over the shoulder

[1] Fine white gauzy *tappa* or native cloth.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
-Kambara

283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISH NETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thana* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

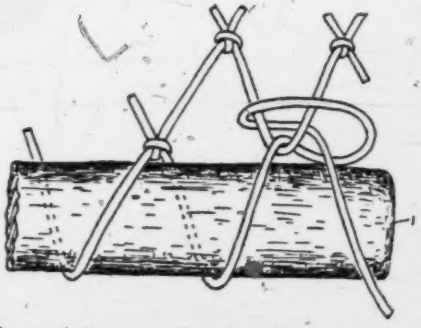

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu*, are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
[824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreuv*, is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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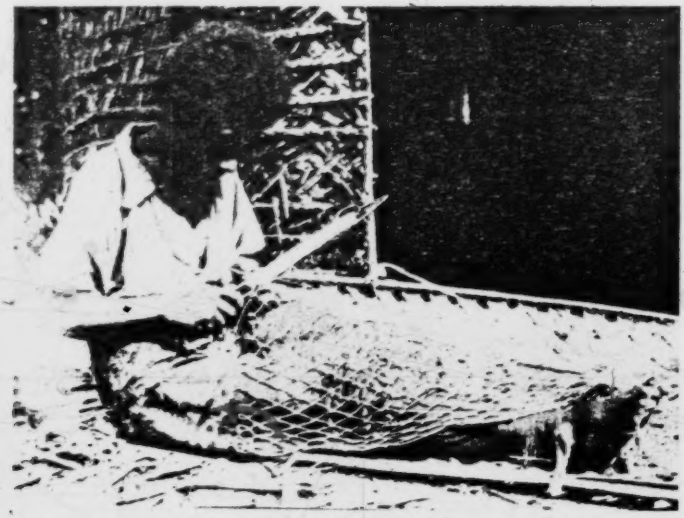

B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*. 248 251

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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f *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

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Patterns consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kathu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

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Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa*; the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai nding; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau*; as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

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The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*maraina ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

287

Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rils of coconut leaves.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba,* not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tumeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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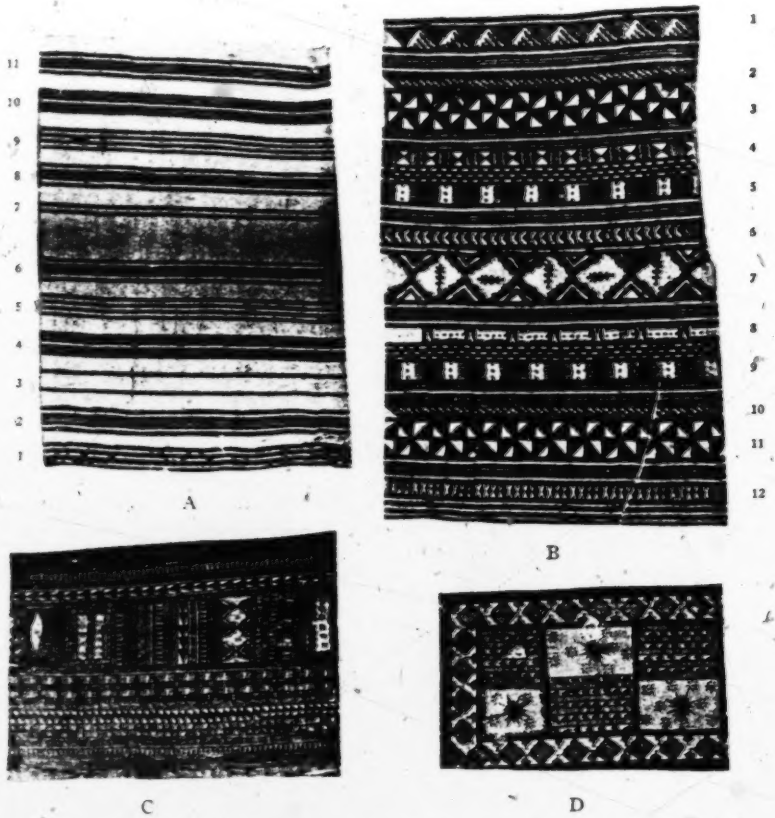

LAUAN BARK CLOTH DESIGNS: *A*, FRAMEWORK; 1, FRAME OF RED, FOUR LINES SO CALLED BECAUSE THE CENTRAL WHITE LINE IS FILLED IN WITH THAT COLOR; 2, FRAME OF MBIKA; 3, NAME UNKNOWN; 4, DRIPPING WATER, WAI KATIRI, PART, I BELIEVE, OF THE BROAD WHITE STRIP IS RED; 5, FRAME OF THE RED; 6, FRAME OF THE MBIKA; 7, WITH THE WIDE SPACE BELOW FORMS THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN; THE OTHER BARS ARE REPETITIONS OF THOSE BELOW; *B*, FRAMEWORK FILLED WITH DESIGNS, 1, VAKALINISEI, KALINESEI'S STYLE; 2, VEIMBALEYAKI, FALLING APART; 3, KAMIKI, FALLING APART; 4, KUMETE NDRUA, DOUBLE KAVA BOWL; 5, VAKATAITI, TAHITIAN STYLE; 6, VATHU NI TAURUKU, BROW OF THE CAVE; 7, VETAU (TONGAN, FETAU, NAME OF A TREE), IN CENTER A DESIGN SOMETIMES CALLED PAWPAW FLOWER, THE BLACK TRIANGLES BETWEEN THE TWO VETAU ALTERNATELY LEFT BLANK AND PAINTED RED; *C*, *D*, STENCILLED DESIGNS ON BARK CLOTH.

[End Plate 4]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *tui* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 561 [438] Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

2: Thompson E-5-(1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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long strip of bark, about 7 cm. wide is then rolled (*vakaveveu*) into a coil (*vakavivi*) inside out. The inner bark (*vanggangga*) is peeled from the outer bark (*kulina*) by separating the two at the lower end with a shell or knife and carefully pulling and cutting them apart, a process called *vothi*. The inner bark is then placed on a piece of bamboo and scraped (*kari*) with a *mulo* shell in order to clean and whiten it. The strips of bark are dried for about a day in the sun, a process called *singani*. In this dried state they may be kept indefinitely, but they keep best if wrapped in *mbekambeka* mats. They are stored on the beams of dwelling houses. 287

The next step is to beat out the bark, a process called *samusamu*. The dried inner bark is soaked (*toni*) in salt water for a day or it is rolled and soaked in fresh water in a wooden bowl (*kumete vakalofau*). It is then called *vue*. The *vue* is taken to a kitchen hut and beaten on a tapa board (*ndundua*) with a tapa mallet (*ike*). The tapa boards on Namuka are composed of *mbolavatu* or *mbuambua* wood; those on Mothe are composed of *tavola*, *mbuambua*, and *ndawa* wood obtained locally, and of *tavo* or *mbolavatu* wood imported from Fulanga, Ongea, Yangasa, or Namuka. On Kambara the tapa boards are of *yake*. The four-sided mallet of *thau* wood varies in size but not in shape. Two or three sides are incised with four or five deep grooves, the others left smooth. (Tapa board and beater are made in Lau by men.) The bark is beaten with the grooved sides first, then with the smooth side to eradicate watermarks. During the beating process the width of the bark increases to from 60 cm. to 1 meter. The strips are hung in the house to dry or spread out in the sun, the edges weighted with pebbles. The dry strips (*siku*) are now ready to be made into one of the following types of barkcloth: *i sala*, *masi tutuki*, *masi kuzui*, *masi vakarerenga*, or Fijian sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Viti*). 287 413

I sala is made of a single strip of one thickness, beaten out thin. The edges are usually cut into a fringe (*tatavu*). This type of tapa is the natural cream color of the inner bark. *I sala* is often soaked in coconut oil before being used. It is worn on ceremonial occasions and was formerly used for turbans worn by chiefs. 287

Masi kuzui (smoked tapa) is made of two strips fitted together into one thickness. It is folded and soaked in coconut oil in a wooden bowl. A wooden tripod is erected over a fire of green sugar-cane and ti leaves. Several pieces of oiled *masi* are placed on the tripod, covered with mats, and smoked to a golden brown color. *Masi kuzui* is occasionally worn at ceremonies.

Masi vakarerenga is made of a strip of *masi* soaked in oil mixed with powdered mangrove root and dried indoors. The resulting burnt orange tapa is used on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, as a covering for the body or as streamers for wreaths.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu,* repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu,* or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa,* used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

(1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The 824 inner bark of the *kesauwi* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also 438 produced by mixing brown *kesa,* soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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from small basins, one for every four or five women, and patted. The long damp piece was then shifted and the whole process repeated several times. The resulting sheet is called *katundrau*. 287

Two joined pieces are called *vesiku*. The next day the *katundrau* was spread on the village ceremonial ground to dry in the sun.

The design for Fijian sheet tapa is a formalized pattern made partly by stencil and partly by rubbing on tablets (p. 199). The surface of the sheet 287 531

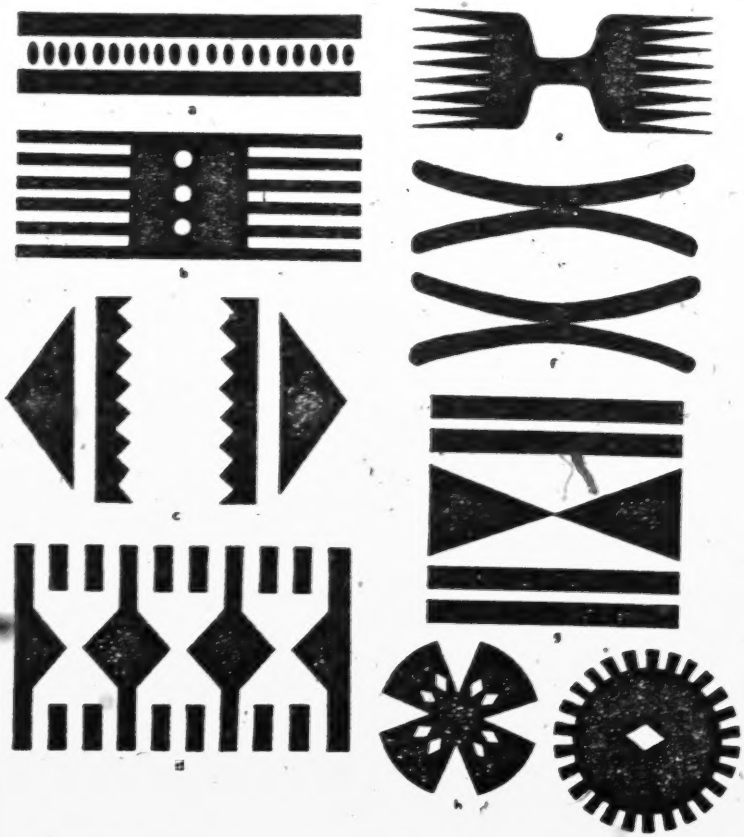

FIGURE 16.—Stencil designs used on tapa: **a**, *i tranggani* (cut from pandanus leaf); **b**, *taka taitchi* (banana leaf); **c**, *vetau* (pandanus leaf); **d**, **e**, *i seru* (banana leaf); **f**, *ndraundrau nggini* (banana leaf); **g**, *vetau nggangga* (banana leaf); **h**, **i**, *vutu* (*vutu* leaf).

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287 531 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 531 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth, which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration. 439 They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

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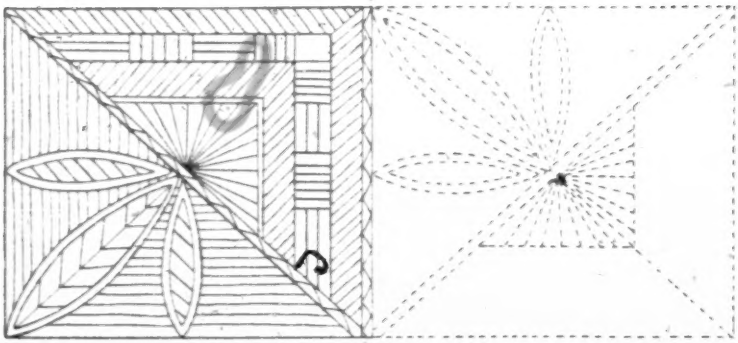

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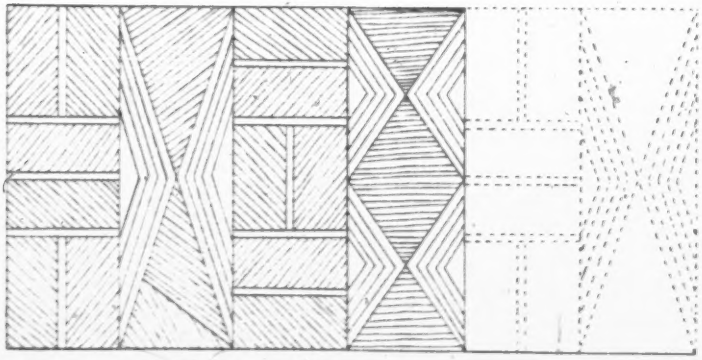

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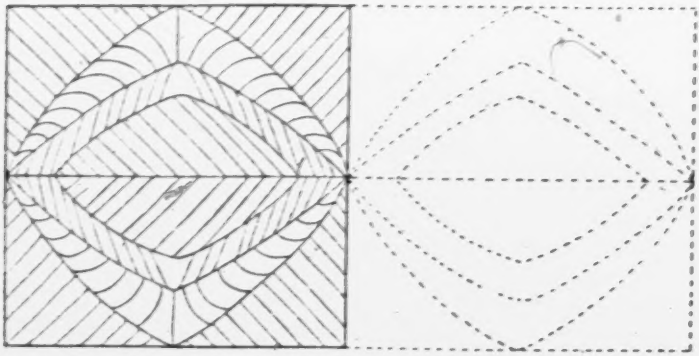

c

FIGURE 17.—Tablet (*kupetchi*) designs used to make rubbings on tapa: **a**, twisted cord sewn with pandanus strips on banana leaf background, 50 cm. long, 23 cm. wide; **b**, **c**, midrib of coconut leaflet tied with hibiscus strip onto pandanus leaf, 48 cm. long, 24 cm. wide.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 531 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakataututu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry, some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

Mats

PANDANUS-LEAF MATS

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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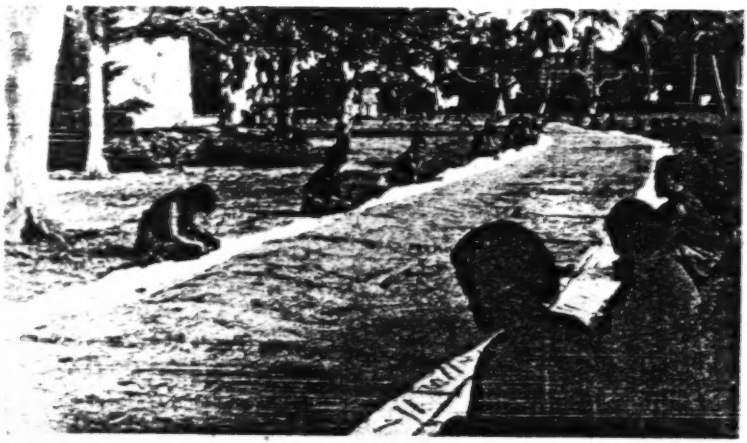

A

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

291

[252 415]

A

[516]

B

[287 516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAŠNGATU).

[End Plate 2]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo- 287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of 276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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585 [614] clans took place, the bride and groom became the central figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morinda citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [531] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara.* She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands
[131] or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40'
to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes
[648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the
144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of
the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of
231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on
241 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and
262 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The
245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity
from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are
322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs,
clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the
285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper
287 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi,
824 the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.

[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former

[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population

487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women

462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The

[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and

[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).

[312] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet

285 [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local

295 consumption only.

[p. 16]

13 5. MAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 58' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
295 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
291 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.

226 241 287 285 231

Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

13

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
177 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
144 noticeable Tongan element.

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
372

[p. 29]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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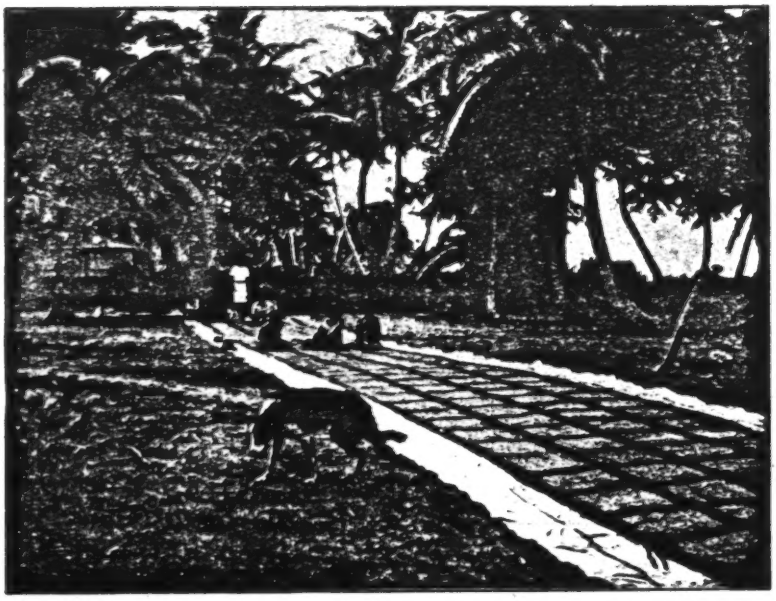


"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*."

[Facing p. 124]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot: then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tokamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 62

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1.	Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [22]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakolo Nanggalia Matainiwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

1 [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. — Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night.

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [30] 177 [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [29]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PORTRAITS OF LAUANS: *A-D*, LAKEMBANS: *A*, SIKELI RABORO; *B*, RATU SALESI; *C*, MELAIA LUTU; *D*, TUI TUMBOU; *E*, MBAUAN BOY; *F*, LAKEMBAN BOY; *G*, LAUAN WOMAN; *H*, FAIR-HAIRED BOY FROM FULANGA; *I*, LAUAN BOYS.

[End Plate I]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

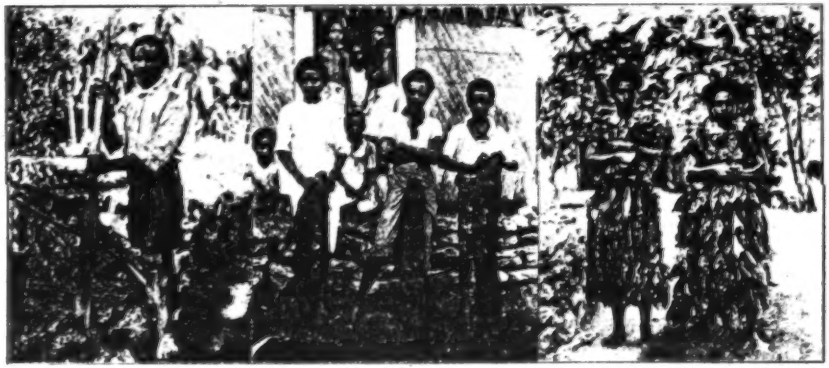
Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17″ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending |3|

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OO6 Lau OO6
Lakemba



A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A

[534]
[333]

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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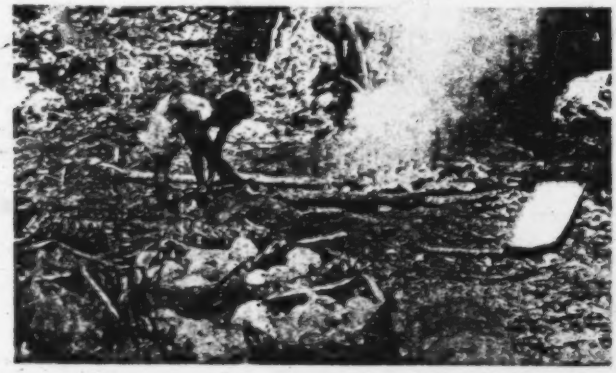

A

[516]

B

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C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291
302
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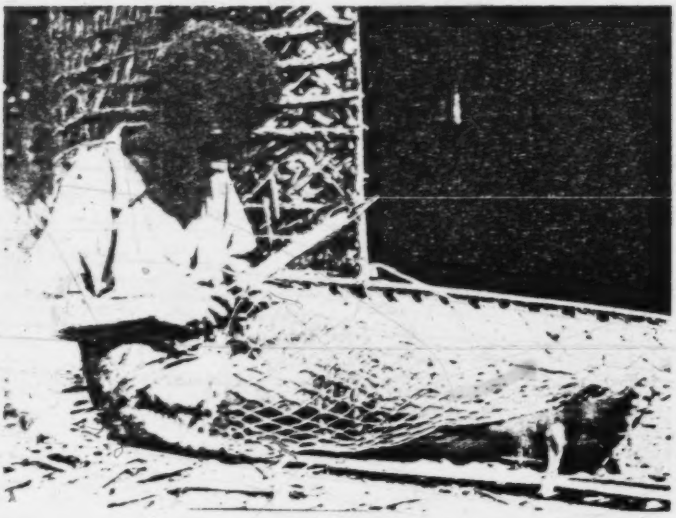
A



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B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[facing p. 14]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to 312 Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the 136 lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands. 272 276

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background. 291 304

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable. [197] [522]

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed. [173]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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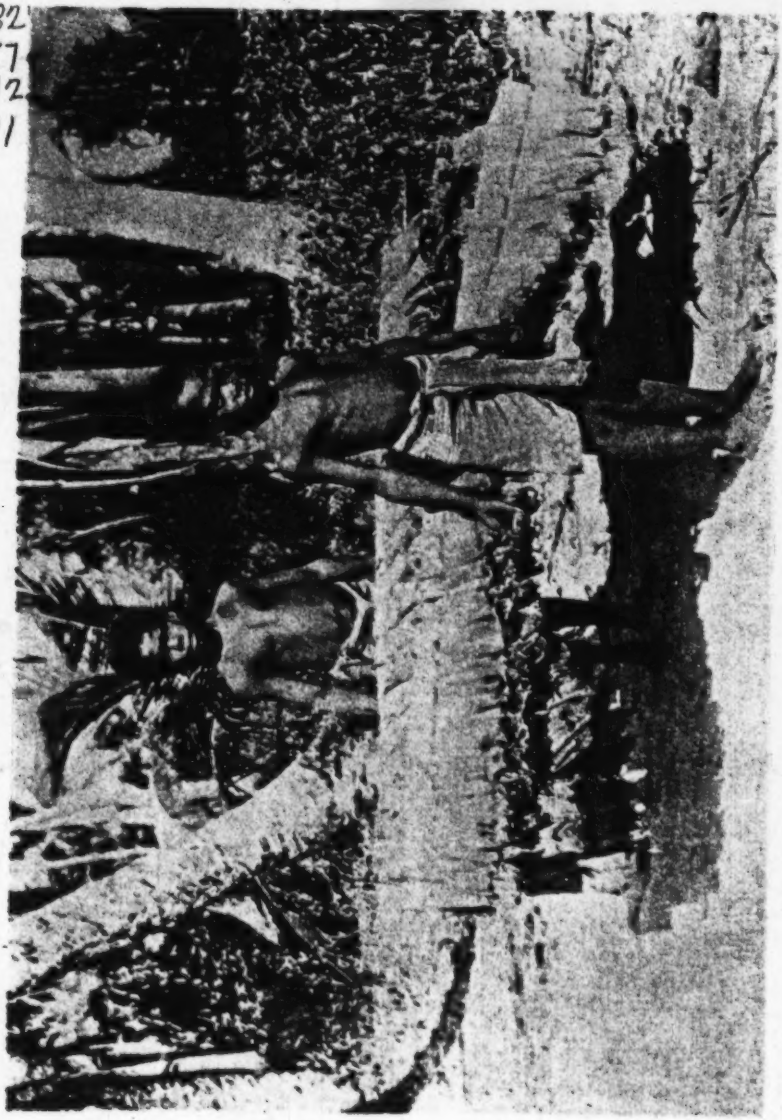

BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[FACING p. 44]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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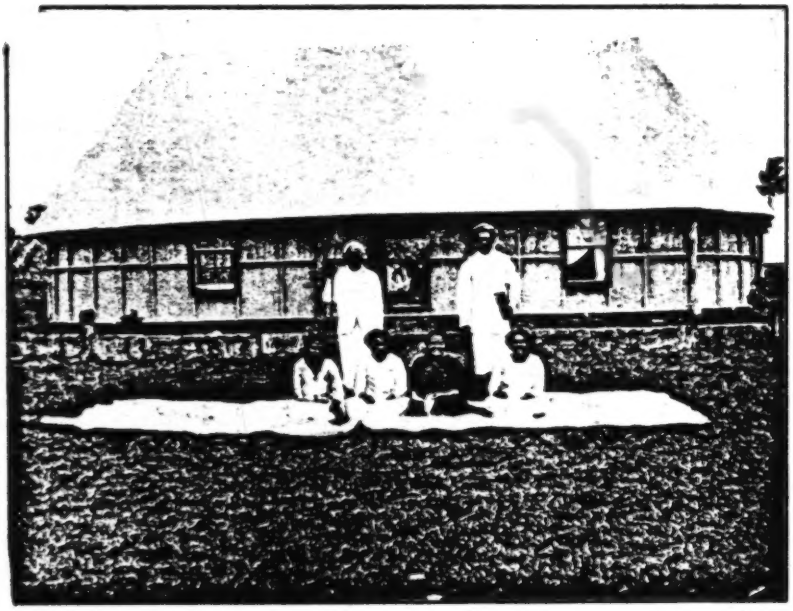

A typical round-ended house of the Lau Islands.

[facing p. 92]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka,* which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

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The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

535

The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

CLUB DANCE

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In older times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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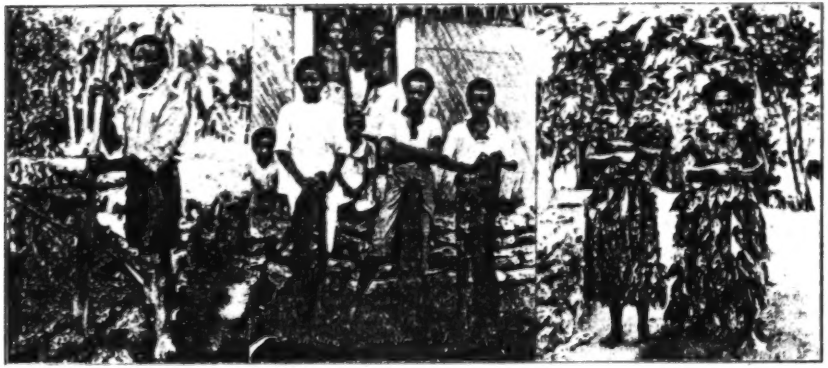
Fig 4



A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN, TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he
272 says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tombu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*tukofau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

[292 The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in cere-
302] monial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. [293] The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana.	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae.	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *seasea*, in which, according to the natives, women [292] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 [43] 292 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it into the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 6 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[384] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

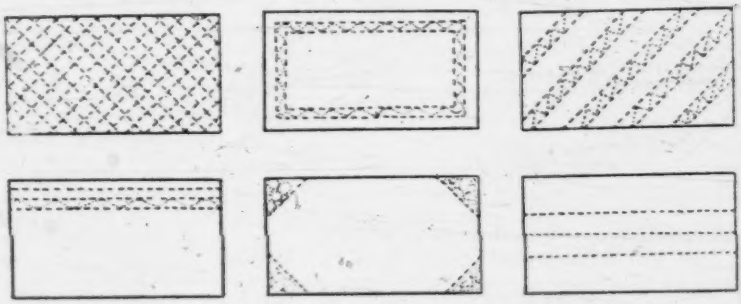

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was
[237] formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

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3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Lakemba

resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European. 535

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance. 535 431

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations. 535

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again. [177]

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi. [177] [293]

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous. [177]

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wañgga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndrelle i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows: [293]

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vamua,	We sail around to the other side of the
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	land.
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

535
539

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which *are usually brackish.* Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657]
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

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one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena*, food. 422

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau*, to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua*, probably from *tambu*, sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents. 301

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate. 431 425

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerci*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

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Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

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GEOGRAPHY

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A Fijian Fishergirl.

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

[301]
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The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

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[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga,* chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga,* gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga,* an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of [302] the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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CLUB DANCE

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[302]

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

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(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old. 192 854

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival. 304 854 337

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions. 353 45

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile. 354

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 855 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running. 291 855

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head. 302 855

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating [754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter [644] of Roko San was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko San's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or [85 1] cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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B34 dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
848 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[17] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed 302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair 386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark [824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce 302 this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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Kambara

796 the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he
272 says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tambu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

[292 The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in cere-
302] monial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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881 his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib [824 or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the 757] penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

881 Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair
● 302 over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These
836 are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared [177] recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

FISHING WITH NETS

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

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ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *vutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Kanathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

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Flowers

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

Fruit

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

Bark

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

Leaves

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

Roots

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

● 302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin [838] enhances sexual attraction.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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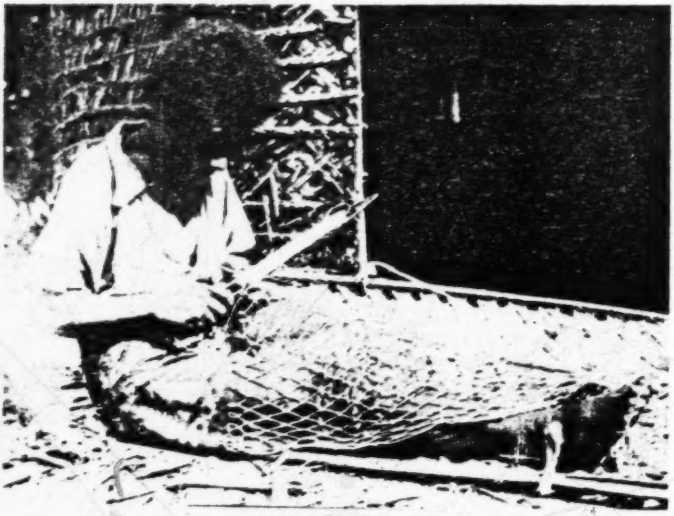
A



B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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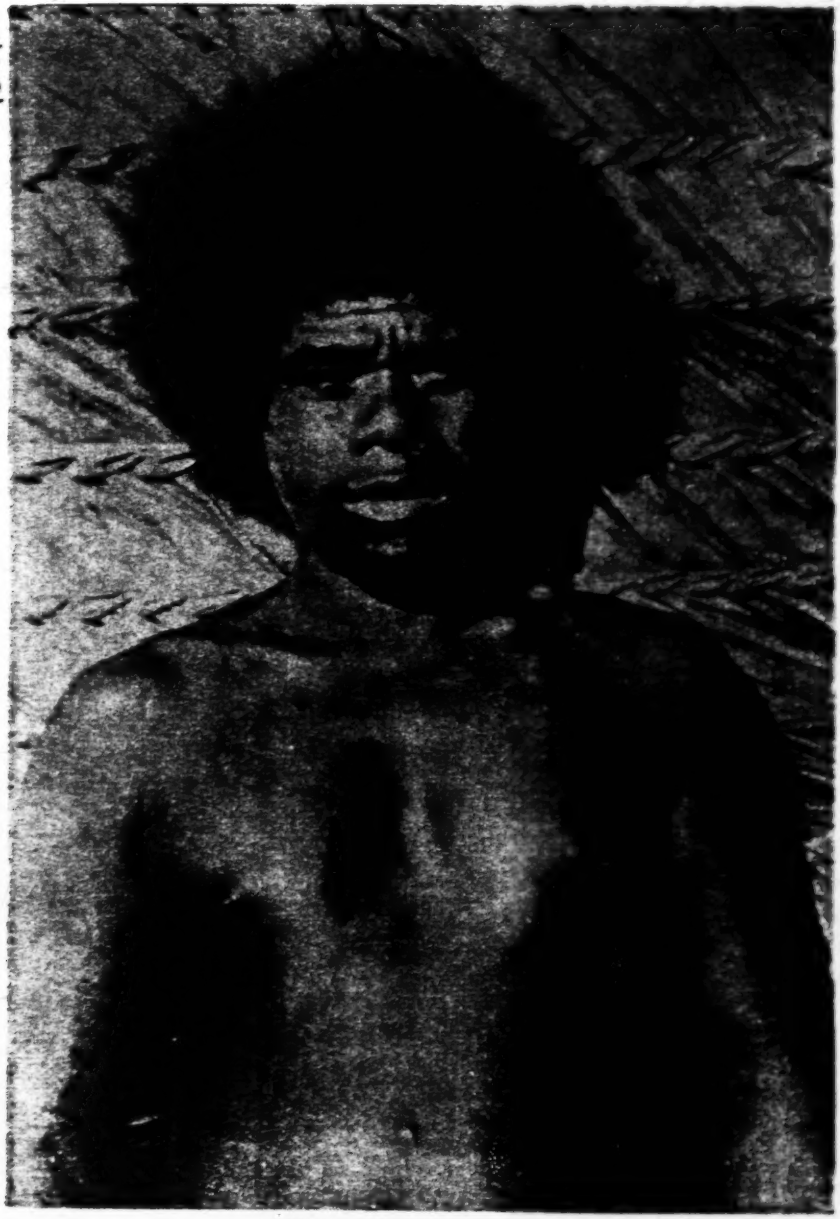

A Young Man From Fulanga

[facing p. iii]

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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambārans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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●302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
[142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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843
Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571
in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843
marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's
clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386]
with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302]
present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do
not know why it is done. Four days later the women go
fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast
for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much
joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first
100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community,
a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she
must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the
fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look
upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783]
any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before
being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She
may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse,
nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut
her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she [302]
usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman
is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called
kunekune. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast.
Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the
communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by
the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman
is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These
ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first preg-
nancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth,
both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of
pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which
have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to
the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[Facing p. 58]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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291
302

A Lau Islander.

[frontispiece]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 hill without further help. So they left it there for
776 the night. Now, a young girl named Sulia Meli chanced to come along past the spot where the drum was lying, and out of mischief she picked up the staves and rang a loud call upon it. Immediately Adi Mailagi came out of a tree as a terrible old woman, and snatched her up and broke her leg, so that shortly afterwards Sulia died.

"Yes, truly, Adi Mailagi is one to be feared," said the old lady, shuddering at the vision she had herself called up.

"More often," she continued with a smile, [302] "she appears as a beautiful maiden, and always with the *tobi*,[1] as when she appeared to Emosi, the native minister, when he was walking one day to Daku. She offered him a *suluka* (for that is how she captures a man); but though he accepted it he refrained (being a missionary) from smoking it. And thus Emosi lived, although a great illness came upon him merely for his having touched the gift of Adi Mailagi. And therefore to this day our young men will never accept *sulukas* from strange maidens on that road between Uruone and Daku.

"And another young man who met Adi Mailagi and yet lived was Semesa of Uruone, who once went to sleep with the other youths in the men's *bure*,[2] and during the night found himself

[1] Plaited side curls which are cut off the day a girl is married.
[2] Sleeping house.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 531 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form [531] designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yási*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tomeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[289] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [77] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananglum odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [757]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

303 [824]

FLOWERS

langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439]

Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302

Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction. [832]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 552

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192 854
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304 854
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 357
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tava sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [? nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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88 country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more 177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian-name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764
the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304] ●
to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766
if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764
occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177
nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764
penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
● 304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

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A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. 304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one 531] knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some [illegible] before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for [illegible]n, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the [illegible] is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property [illegible] his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are [illegible]asionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272
is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276
water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291
waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304
The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197]
tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522]
jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173]
not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [85 in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current, 539
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu-nda vakarorongo.	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, 311
and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However,
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 311
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula- 461

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an important part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 . OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

[712] Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff Above the village.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (*27*, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, [657]
but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to 312 Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the 136 lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[487] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

● 317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[p.13]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former
[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[320] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
[287] consumption only.
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[p. 16]

13 S. NAIAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

[YANGASA CLUSTER]

13 the N. and N.E. slopes. There are no beaches. Landing is possible in smooth weather on the west side.

NAVUTU-I-RA , a mile further to the north-west, is 1/2 mile in diameter and 270 feet high. It is connected with Yavutha by a narrow sunken reef on which are situated a number of small rocks. The slopes of this island are quite rough, but there is a small, nearly level flat on the N.W. Both flat and slopes are heavily wooded. A small sand beach on the south side makes landing easy.

[312] There is no fresh water on the three smaller islets, and only the one pool noticed on Yangasa Levu.

Snakes are abundant and rats are probably present. Lizards and hermit crabs are ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

These limestone islands have an exceedingly rough surface, which warrents the nick-name "bad-lands". This consists of jagged ridges (or rather hummocks, as they lead nowhere), separating pot-holes up to 50 feet in diameter and often 15 to 25 feet deep. The walls are sh eer and unbelievably rough and jagged, ruining shoes, clothes and skin. This type of country, however, is well forested.

[p.21]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

13 7. ONEATA is a partly coral limestone, partly bedded sandstone island, lying about 12 miles north of Mothe. (S.18° 25', 178° 30' W.) It is 2 1/2 miles long and about 7/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends, and with three small wooded peaks up to 160 feet high on the south-east. Toward the east end there are two cross-ridges covered with forest. Off the east point a small conical islet, Loa, rises to a height of 140 feet. The west end has a sandstone hill, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina. A volcanic ledge borders the east point. The central portion of the island is occupied by a narrow brackish swamp. South of it (between the two villages) are to low knobs or ridges of sandstone. On the north side of the low central depression is a large area of coconut palms and cultivated patches.

The island is surrounded by a long triangular barrier reef, extending six miles to the eastward and four to the north-west. Thru it there are four passages, three on the west and one on the north. The water is moderately deep within the lagoon, except off the S.W. point of the island. There is good anchorage off the main village, Wainggori, in the S.W. bay.

● 312 Water is abundant. It is piped to Waing-gori from a spring in the west end sandstone hill, which is said to run all year round. There is also a fresh water bathing pool near the swamp. Rainwater is caught at Dakuiloa, the other village.

13 In addition to the usual lowland and littoral trees, noted "yasi" sandlewood. Land birds numerous, but no water birds seen. No snakes reported. Aquatic insects numerous, and mosquitoes very troublesome.

361 There are two villages, Wainggori (Waigori) and Dakuiloa, both
[161] situated on the south side. The former claimed a population of 250 although the 1921 ~~census~~ census gives the figure 138. There were

[p.28]

13 f. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

512 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227
462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 31]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 550 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with
[161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but
[368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and
[161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qaliqali), the largest

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in
241 addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [134] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 481 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

361 The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 161 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 245 trees have been felled in places.
484

[p. 37]

13 13. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is sub-circular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of cocoanut palms.

245 161 361 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is a small hut on the N. beach.

[p. 38]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting. 295 224

[p. 40]

13 15. LAKEMBA is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 30 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

[312] Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in every valley, and also a convenient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of coconut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

[p. 42]

13 19. **KATAFANGA** (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 20. VEKAI is a small coral islet, 30 feet high and about 200 yards long, situated on the east inner edge of a circular reef, six miles W1 by S. from Katafanga. The lagoon is about 2 miles across with a boat entrance on the N.W. side (2 fathoms). The islet is wedge-shaped, with small sand beaches in the S.E. bay. The west side rises perpendicularly from the water, but the east slope is gradual, with small pockets running back from the sandy coves. These are filled with stunted trees (Tournefortia, Hernandia peltata, and Ficus), and herbs, vines and a shrub festoon the rough ridges. A small patch of kurr grass has somehow been introduced. There are four small detached rocks situated nearby on the reef: one on the west, one off the south point, and two off a projecting S.E. point.

[312] No fresh water. Saw neither lizards or snakes, although both may occur. The white and brown Pierid butterfly is present and several other interesting species of insects.

This islet is especially interesting because it forms a transition between the nearly bare rocks such as Katei Viti and Bacon I. and the small islets, like Vanma Masi, on which trees have become well established, dirt and sand accumulated and coconut palms taken root.

[p.52]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 291

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
[177] is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
487 no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naisu and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naisu, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier feef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 262 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite 312 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 13 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 134 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naisu and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, [312] flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, 60 yards wide, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are ~~said~~ said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 119 [743] [759]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.E.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 261 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay. 491

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

●312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 26. KANATHEA is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of ~~[illegible]~~
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga,
[366] ~~which~~ This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andawathi I. (250') and Yamthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [395] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[p. 70]

13 Sl. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
245 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is trregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being waught

● 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good

13 487 764 172 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

[p.76]

13 55. The SOVU ISLANDS, three small uninhabited limestone islets, are situated on the north side of the lagoon, 4 miles E. by N. from Avea, and 6 miles N.by W. of Thikombia-i-Lau.

The larger islet, on the west, is about 3/8 mile long by 100 to 200 yards wide, with a height of 230 feet. It is composed of very rough upraised coral limestone, rising abruptly from an undercut ledge on all sides, and is similar to the Yangasa islets. It is densely covered with lowland forest, herbs and vines.

The middle islet is subcircular, with gentle slopes, about 200 yards in diameter and about 60 feet high. There is a small sand beach on the N.W. and another on the S.E. The slopes are wooded and there are a few coconut palms. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, but is less rough than the larger islet.

The small, eastern islet is elliptical in outline, about 125 yards long, 40 to 50 yards wide, and 60 to 75 feet high. Its rough coral sides rise abruptly from the water, and its top is covered with vines, scrub, and a grove of native fan palms. There are also a few of these palms on the largest islet.

The usual lizards, water snakes and land crabs, including the large red-brown coconut crab were present. No fresh water was seen on [312] any of the islets.

Anchorage is good on the lee side of the islets. Landing is possible on all three, but easy only on the middle islet.

[p.77]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly rough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [312] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. [361] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a few small trees on the summit. A line of reef runs out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

114 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.79]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and cocoanut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 361 241 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive cocoanut grove. Some [312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by 114 Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

13 56. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a
361 homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh
245 water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~which~~
312 might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island.
487 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.
161
464

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361]

The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.

312
241

[p.88]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers. 264

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor. 262

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth. 252 264

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground. 252

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind. [482 343]

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. 313 If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To [431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the 283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental [555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakqtu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava [272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu*, called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau*, or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest
● 313 and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
[824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village
483 go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close
[412] to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal. 396 313 483

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon. 396

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it. 396 483 [401] [824]

When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes, 396 284

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abruptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of coconut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 161 313 487 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut into the interior.

[p.26]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from 323
the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets 463
(kato mbolambola) by young women to the village. Black 317
sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, [482]
Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To
make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed
thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, 323
sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of [824]
makandre-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for 323
trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their 438
men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived 323
in the village for which they were making pots. The clay 463
was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi 438
near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried
it in baskets to the village where the women were working. [482]

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323 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots 463 were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large 438 cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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Trapezoidal Type

324 412 Long narrow adzes with symmetrical, trapezoidal cross-section form the trapezoidal type. (See Pl. A, 4 and fig. 7). This type has four definite surfaces which form angular margins. The front and back surfaces are roughly parallel, the back being wider than the front. On some adzes the back surface is slightly convex transversely. The front surface of this type narrows from edge to pole, thus it is triangular in form. The back surface is widest at the chin and narrows slightly towards the pole. The edge is sharp and straight. The bevel is slightly convex and forms a definite angle with the blade. Adzes of this type have been chipped and ground.

Variations. Adzes of the trapezoidal type vary in size. A small adze found at the mouth of a cave on Namuka measures 117 mm. long and 37 mm. at greatest width. An adze from Fulanga, with narrow, plane front surface, back deeply arched transversely, and flattened ovate cross-section, is a variation on the trapezoidal type, (See fig. 8). The exact form of this adze cannot be determined, because the front and bevel surfaces have been reground. The adze has been made roughly by the chipping-technique and the surfaces have been ground.

Rectangular Type

Flat adzes with rectangular cross-section are classed as the rectangular type (See Pl. A, 5 and fig. 9). Front and back surfaces of these adzes are plane and of almost equal width, although the back is slightly wider. The side surfaces are slightly convex transversely. The edge is wide and straight. The bevel is plane with definite chin. The pole is flattened. Most adzes of this type are chipped, ground, and polished. One specimen shows evidence of pecking and subsequent grinding. It is unpolished.

Variations. An adze from Vatoa (Pl. A, 6 and fig. 10) illustrates the large thick variety of the rectangular type.

Shell Adzes

● 321 412 There are several shell adzes in the collection. These adzes show a tendency toward angular margins and quadrangular form. One shell adze from Nasau village site,

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Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12). 321 412

Gouges

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs. 324 412

Comparisons

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining third may be classed as western-Polynesian. 171 324 412

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate A. Adzes from the Lau islands.

1. Adze (C7283) circular type, found in a cave with skeletal material, Ongea island; composed of basalt; blade ground, butt pecked; fusiform narrows toward flattened, pecked poll, and toward slightly curved, narrow edge: back view showing bevel. Weight 24 ozs. 324 412
2. Adze (C7462) elliptical type, found on the surface, Embalailai garden near Muanaira, Fulanga; composed of basalt, ground and polished; truncate triangular form: back view showing flattened surface with plane bevel. Weight 9 ozs.
3. Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat, found 5 centimeters below the surface at Nggali village site, Mothe; composed of basalt, ground: back view showing flattened surface similar in form to front. Weight 26 ozs.
4. Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, from Vatoa, composed of basalt, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front. Weight 7 ozs.
5. Adze (C7293) rectangular type from Ongea, composed of basalt, chipped, ground and polished: a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat. Weight 6 ozs.
6. Adze (C7289) rectangular type large, thick, from Vatoa; composed of basalt, pecked and slightly ground: back view showing plane surface. Weight 81 ozs.
7. Adze (C7433) of shell, from Nasau village site, Namuka; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, with edges narrowing toward flattened poll. Weight 4 ozs. 321 412
8. Adze (C7456) of shell, found 18 centimeters below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front less convex than b, back. Weigth 1 oz.
9. Gouge (C7454) resembling adzes of the circular type, found 18 centimeters below the surface at Mbutonikoro, Fulanga; composed of basalt pecked and ground, fusiform with convex surfaces, narrow edge, and flattened poll; back view showing concave bevel, length 140 millimetres; depth 34 millimetres; cross section circular. Weight 10 ozs. 324 412

Figures (one-third actual size) by Edward Y. Hosaka.

Fig. 1—Adze (C7283) circular type: a, front; b, back; c, side showing similarity of profiles; d, cross-section circular, flattening toward edge.

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Fig. 2—Adze (C7286) circular type, small: a, front, well ground and polished, pecked above edge and at poll, front edge ground from resharpening; b, back, ground and polished, flattened; c, side shows edge almost equibeveled from resharpening; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 3—Adze (C7287) circular type: a, front slopes from shoulder to edge and to poll; b, back flattened; c, side showing definite shoulder and chin; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 4—Adze (C7462) elliptical type, truncate triangular form: a, front convex transversely and longitudinally with wide curved edge; b, back flattened with plane bevel; c, side convex; d, cross-section roughly elliptical.

Fig. 5—Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat: a, front; b, back flattened and similar in form; c, sides also flattened with tendency toward angular margins; d, cross-section elliptical with tendency toward rectangular form.

Fig. 6—Adze (C7478) elliptical type, large: a, front, surface ground, slightly convex transversely; b, back blade ground, butt reduced by chipping, surface flattened transversely; c, side surface chipped, reduced toward poll; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical showing slight tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 7—Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front; c, side chipped and polished with definite chin; d, section symmetrically trapezoidal with front and back surfaces roughly parallel.

Fig. 8—Adze (B7925) trapezoidal variation: a, front narrow plane surface which has been reground and polished; b, back convex transversely, polished; c, side showing definite chin and reground bevel; d, cross-section flattened ovate.

Fig. 9—Adze (C7293) rectangular type, a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat; c, side flattened, definite chin; d, cross-section rectangular.

Fig. 10—Adze (C7289) rectangular type, large: a, front plane; b, back plane; c, sides slightly convex; b, cross-section subrectangular.

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Fig. 11—Adze (C7433) shell: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, wide edge narrowing toward flattened poll; c, side showing thin profile; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 12—Adze (C7456) shell: a, front less convex than b, back; c. sides; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

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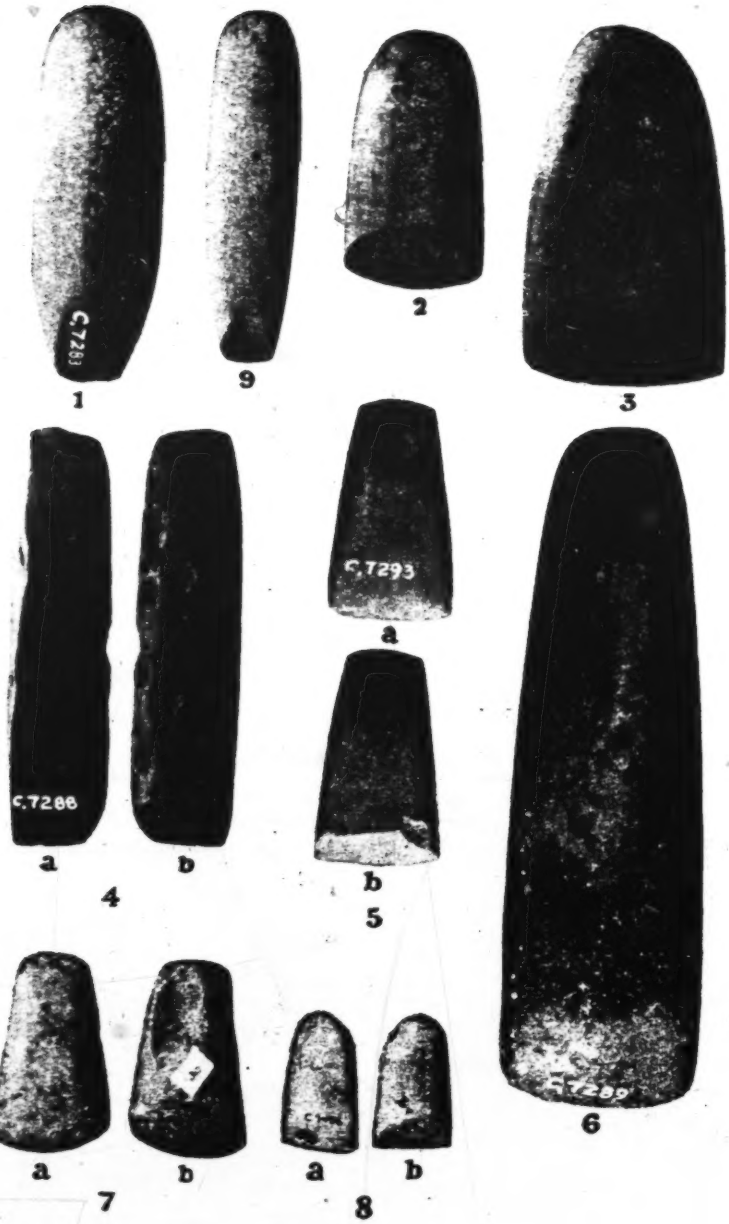

[321]

PLATE A.

[facing p. 104]

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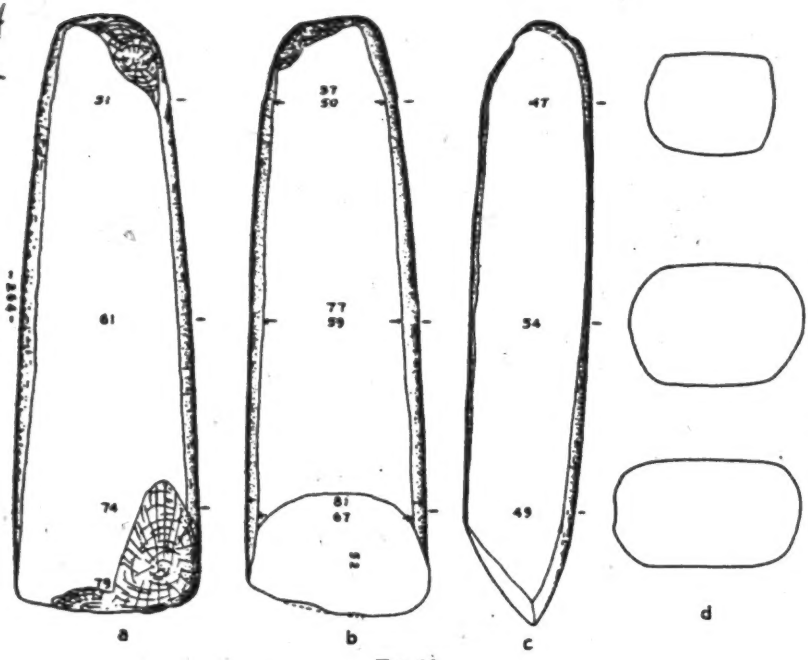

FIG 10

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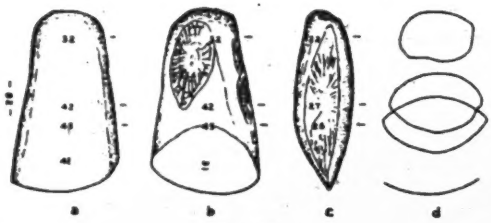

FIG 11

FIG 12

[pp 109- end, not processed]

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Kambara

ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

Woodwork

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son. 415 322 [428 413]

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: **a**, *tanoa ntchina*; **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); **c**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

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clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.

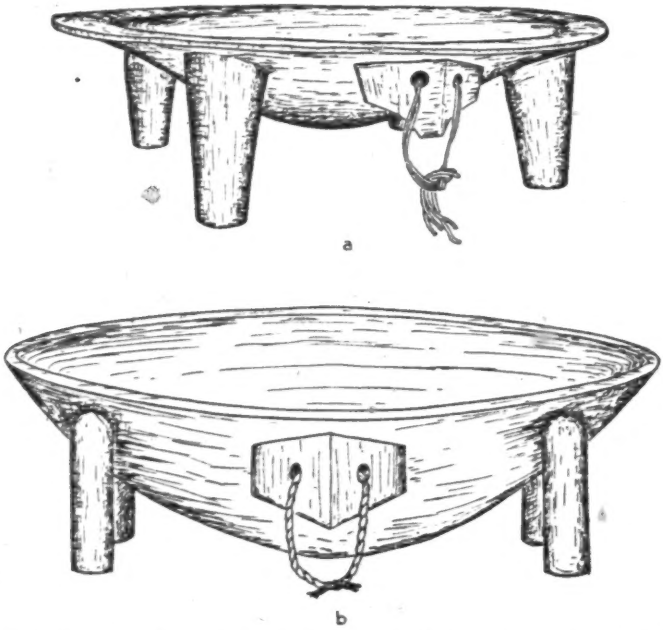

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: **a**, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

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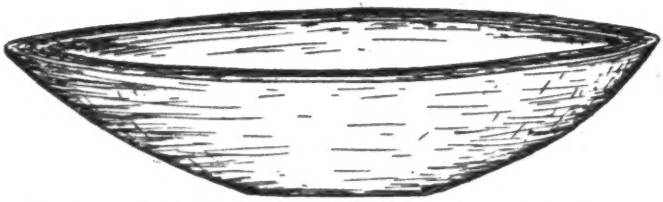
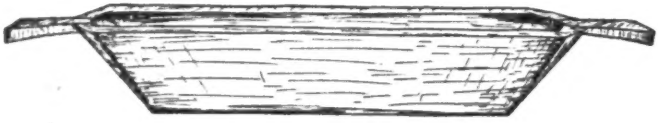


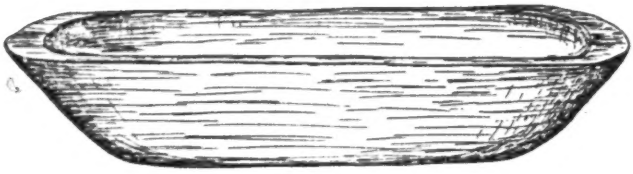
FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau. [177]



a



b

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: **a**, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; **b**, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

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415 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the
322 corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

FIGURE 13.—Wooden tub, *i vakatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanai-
322 thake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

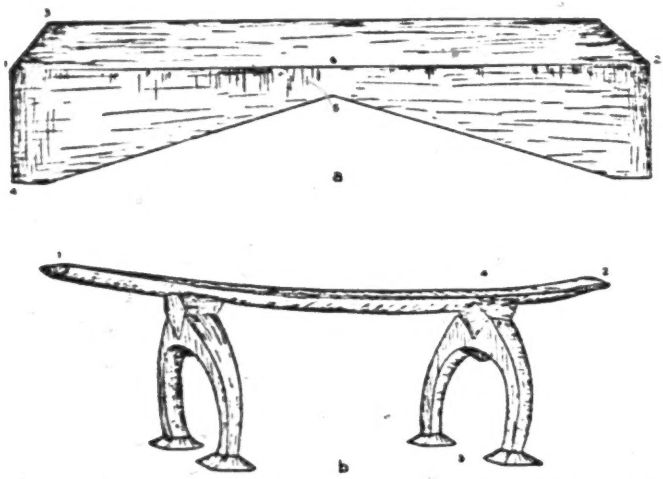

FIGURE 14.—Headrests: a, *tchiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

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Kambara

and a head piece—fitted together and tied with sennit. Usually this type of headrest is carefully made and highly polished. The natives say that formerly headrests of similar shape were made in one piece and called *sauthokō*. 352 322

The *hahapo* is a Tongan type of headrest (*fafapo* in Tonga) made of a single piece of *mbau* wood (fig. 15 *a, b*). It is distinguished by its fine long curves and delicate structure.

Roughly finished blocks of wood (*tchiki* or *tekitcki*) are frequently used as headrests (fig. 14, *a*).

A section of bamboo, about 35 cm. long, with two legs of greenheart attached by means of sennit, is called *kali nduzu*. This type of headrest is imported from Viti Levu, inasmuch as large bamboo does not grow in southern Lau.

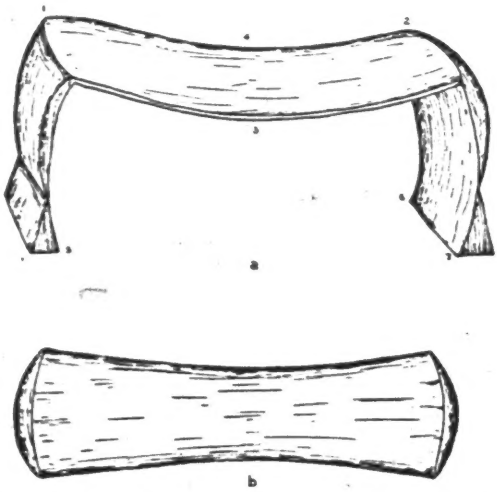

FIGURE 15.—Headrest, *hahapo* type. **a**, side view, 1-2, 30 cm.; 1-3, 9.5 cm.; 3-5, 12.5 cm.; 6-7, 10.5 cm.; 3-4, 7 cm. **b**, view from above.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

An important and very specialized craft in southern Lau is the making of large wooden slit-gongs (*lali*). They are made of a boat-shaped section of greenheart, hollowed out and with an open slot on one side. They are struck on the outside with a pair of wooden beaters. Slit-gongs are made and played in pairs, one large and one small. Two or more pairs are placed at intervals in the village. They are played by youths or men to mark village activities. Each ceremony—such as a funeral procession, the lifting of the 322 534

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322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekiekavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

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Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vui* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

231 legged, razor backed Oceanic type which could undoubtedly be improved by the infusion of new blood.

322 335 We have considered some methods by which the available food resources may be developed. Let us turn to native craftsmanship. The crafts for which southern Lau has been famous are canoe building, woodwork, and the making of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil. All these crafts are very much alive in Lau today, but an increase in the quantity and to some extent also the quality of production would not only add zest to the economic life but would greatly benefit the individual craftsman. The famine islands have an exclusive monopoly on woodcrafts dependent on greenheart because this hardwood grows well nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. The making of canoes is particularly important because of the communal effort and series of feasts which mark each step in the process, and also because canoes provide the transportation which makes native inter-island trade possible. The woodcrafts are controlled by hereditary carpenters who have learned their skill from relatives in their hereditary carpenter clans. On Kambara, the main woodcraft island, there are two such carpenter clans (called Matai Lemaki and Matai Sau), each with its own history, traditions, and standards of craftsmanship. These clans are headed by able and intelligent men, Tatchini of Tanggu and Tandu of Undu. If these two master craftsmen would cooperate by urging more youths to learn the craft, by raising the standards of workmanship which have slumped in recent years, and by encouraging pride in individual creation, the woodcrafts on Kambara would be stimulated.

000 However, still more important to the economic life would be the increased production of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil, which are valuable articles of native trade made by the women. The quality of these articles from southern Lau, especially barkcloth, is still high, and they are in demand for every large ceremonial exchange honoring a high chief in Fiji. In recent years the women of Lau have had far less work than

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

439 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
824 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
322 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for
439 the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
174 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
(pp 1-96 not processed]

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 362 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are ● 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

312 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.--anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former [161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). [310] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only. 241

[p. 16]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 58' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
177
287
322
366

[p. 23]

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Nakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Nakuiloa. The people seemed
177 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181 noticeable Tongan element.
194

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
287
322

[p. 29]

[KAMBARA I.]

361 of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 150
[161] residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the
487 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the
291 three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have
396 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for
322 various kinds of carving.

This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would
13 be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614 Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

621 [291] Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

[166] [197] Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

614 Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

462 The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

323 438 The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made [314] it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vui* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building [657]
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day, 177 and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified 172 village—*(koro)* sites.

323 The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse 531 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. 172 The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

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Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.

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323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

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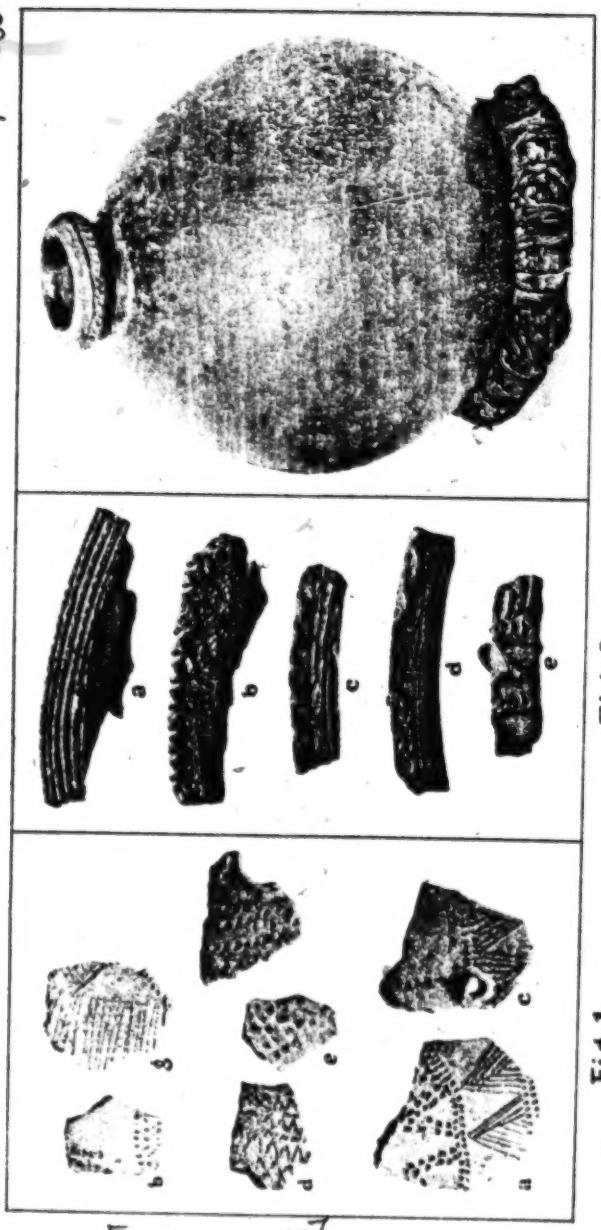

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

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FIGURES.
(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

PLATE A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]

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Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

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the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

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the bevel and the front sides of the edge. It is then straight and wide. The unmodified bevel is narrow transversely. It is slightly convex longitudinally. The surfaces of adzes of this type are convex, and angular margins are absent. Specimens of the circular type have been pecked and ground, and some have been polished. The butt-surfaces of some adzes have been slightly reduced by pecking to give security to the haft, but not sufficiently to form a tang.

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Variations. Adzes of the circular type vary greatly in size. A small adze (fig. 2) found with skeletal material in a cave on Ongea illustrates the small variety. An adze found in the same cave shows a clearly-developed shoulder (fig. 3). This is the only example of a definite shoulder in the collection.

Elliptical Type

Flat adzes with elliptical cross-section have been grouped as the elliptical type. (See Pl. A, 2 and fig. 4). They are the most numerous in the collection. Adzes of this type narrow markedly from the edge, which is wide and slightly curved, to the rounded or flattened pole. The surfaces are convex, the front surface being more curved than the back on most of the elliptical adzes. They are entirely ground and many are polished. Some have been resharpened by grinding on both sides of the bit. On one specimen the whole back surface of the butt and part of the front surface have been slightly reduced by pecking for greater security of the haft.

Variations. An adze found below the surface at the village site of Nggali, Mothe island (Pl. A, 3 and fig. 5) illustrates large, flat adzes of the elliptical type. Both back and front surfaces of this variety are flattened. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the rectangular types. A roughly finished adze from Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga, (fig. 6) illustrates another variety of the elliptical type. This adze shows a tendency toward plane surfaces and angular margins. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the trapezoidal types. The back and side surfaces of the butt have been reduced by chipping to facilitate hafting.

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TRAPEZOIDAL TYPE

324 412 Long narrow adzes with symmetrical, trapezoidal cross-section form the trapezoidal type. (See Pl. A, 4 and fig. 7). This type has four definite surfaces which form angular margins. The front and back surfaces are roughly parallel, the back being wider than the front. On some adzes the back surface is slightly convex transversely. The front surface of this type narrows from edge to pole, thus it is triangular in form. The back surface is widest at the chin and narrows slightly towards the pole. The edge is sharp and straight. The bevel is slightly convex and forms a definite angle with the blade. Adzes of this type have been chipped and ground.

Variations. Adzes of the trapezoidal type vary in size. A small adze found at the mouth of a cave on Namuka measures 117 mm. long and 37 mm. at greatest width. An adze from Fulanga, with narrow, plane front surface, back deeply arched transversely, and flattened ovate cross-section, is a variation on the trapezoidal type, (See fig. 8). The exact form of this adze cannot be determined, because the front and bevel surfaces have been reground. The adze has been made roughly by the chipping-technique and the surfaces have been ground.

RECTANGULAR TYPE

Flat adzes with rectangular cross-section are classed as the rectangular type (See Pl. A, 5 and fig. 9). Front and back surfaces of these adzes are plane and of almost equal width, although the back is slightly wider. The side surfaces are slightly convex transversely. The edge is wide and straight. The bevel is plane with definite chin. The pole is flattened. Most adzes of this type are chipped, ground, and polished. One specimen shows evidence of pecking and subsequent grinding. It is unpolished.

Variations. An adze from Vatoa (Pl. A, 6 and fig. 10) illustrates the large thick variety of the rectangular type.

SHELL ADZES

321 412 There are several shell adzes in the collection. These adzes show a tendency toward angular margins and quadrangular form. One shell adze from Nasau village site,

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Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12). 321 412

Gouges

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs. 324 412

Comparisons

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining third may be classed as western-Polynesian. 171 324 412

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

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Samoa,[5] Rotuma, Tokelau,[6] Futuna,[7] and Uvea,[8] but are absent in the small collection from Fiji proper.

Hence besides the specialization in carpentry, the position of the Lau islands on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia adds interest to a study of the cutting-implements. This marginal position is clearly reflected in the local types of adzes.

[5]See Peter Buck, "Samoan Material Culture," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 75, Honolulu, 1930, Plate 36 C (type 3, rectangular); Plate 37 B and figure 196 (type 6, triangular).

[6]Gordon Macgregor, "Ethnology of Tokelau," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 146, figure 24, 1937.

[7]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Futuna," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 138, Plate 5, A and C, 1936.

[8]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Uvea," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 145, figure 3, 1937.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate A. Adzes from the Lau islands.

1. Adze (C7283) circular type, found in a cave with skeletal material, Ongea island; composed of basalt; blade ground, butt pecked; fusiform narrows toward flattened, pecked poll, and toward slightly curved, narrow edge: back view showing bevel. Weight 24 ozs. 324 412
2. Adze (C7462) elliptical type, found on the surface, Embalailai garden near Muanaira, Fulanga; composed of basalt, ground and polished; truncate triangular form: back view showing flattened surface with plane bevel. Weight 9 ozs.
3. Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat, found 5 centimeters below the surface at Nggali village site, Mothe; composed of basalt, ground: back view showing flattened surface similar in form to front. Weight 26 ozs.
4. Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, from Vatoa, composed of basalt, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front. Weight 7 ozs.
5. Adze (C7293) rectangular type from Ongea, composed of basalt, chipped, ground and polished: a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat. Weight 6 ozs.
6. Adze (C7289) rectangular type large, thick, from Vatoa; composed of basalt, pecked and slightly ground: back view showing plane surface. Weight 81 ozs.
7. Adze (C7433) of shell, from Nasau village site, Namuka; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, with edges narrowing toward flattened poll. Weight 4 ozs. 321 412
8. Adze (C7456) of shell, found 18 centimeters below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front less convex than b, back. Weigth 1 oz.
9. Gouge (C7454) resembling adzes of the circular type, found 18 centimeters below the surface at Mbutonikoro, Fulanga; composed of basalt pecked and ground, fusiform with convex surfaces, narrow edge, and flattened poll; back view showing concave bevel, length 140 millimetres; depth 34 millimetres; cross section circular. Weight 10 ozs. 324 412

Figures (one-third actual size) by Edward Y. Hosaka.

Fig. 1—Adze (C7283) circular type: a, front; b, back; c, side showing similarity of profiles; d, cross-section circular, flattening toward edge.

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PLATE A.

[facing p. 104]

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Fig. 2—Adze (C7286) circular type, small: a, front, well ground and polished, pecked above edge and at poll, front edge ground from resharpening; b, back, ground and polished, flattened; c, side shows edge almost equibeveled from resharpening; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 3—Adze (C7287) circular type: a, front slopes from shoulder to edge and to poll; b, back flattened; c, side showing definite shoulder and chin; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 4—Adze (C7462) elliptical type, truncate triangular form: a, front convex transversely and longitudinally with wide curved edge; b, back flattened with plane bevel; c, side convex; d, cross-section roughly elliptical.

Fig. 5—Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat: a, front; b, back flattened and similar in form; c, sides also flattened with tendency toward angular margins; d, cross-section elliptical with tendency toward rectangular form.

Fig. 6—Adze (C7478) elliptical type, large: a, front, surface ground, slightly convex transversely; b, back blade ground, butt reduced by chipping, surface flattened transversely; c, side surface chipped, reduced toward poll; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical showing slight tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 7—Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front; c, side chipped and polished with definite chin; d, section symmetrically trapezoidal with front and back surfaces roughly parallel.

Fig. 8—Adze (B7925) trapezoidal variation: a, front narrow plane surface which has been reground and polished; b, back convex transversely, polished; c, side showing definite chin and reground bevel; d, cross-section flattened ovate.

Fig. 9—Adze (C7293) rectangular type, a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat; c, side flattened, definite chin; d, cross-section rectangular.

Fig. 10—Adze (C7289) rectangular type, large: a, front plane; b, back plane; c, sides slightly convex; b, cross-section subrectangular.

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Fig. 11—Adze (C7433) shell: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, wide edge narrowing toward flattened poll; c, side showing thin profile; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 12—Adze (C7456) shell: a, front less convex than b, back; c. sides; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

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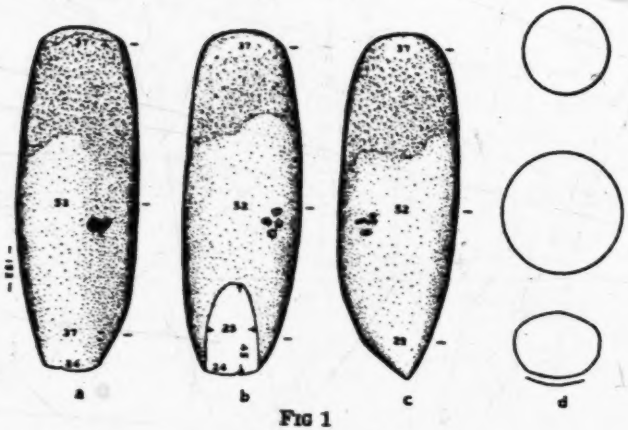

FIG 1

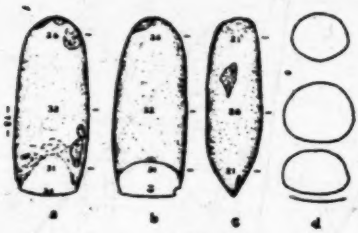

FIG 2

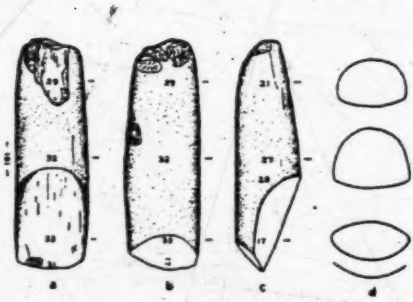

FIG 3

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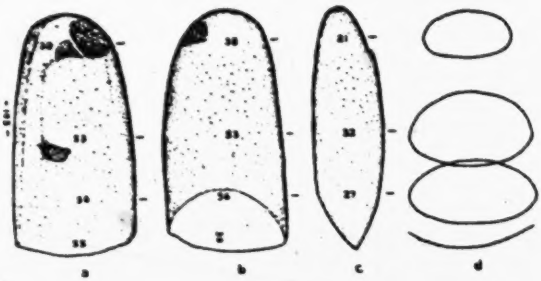

FIG 4

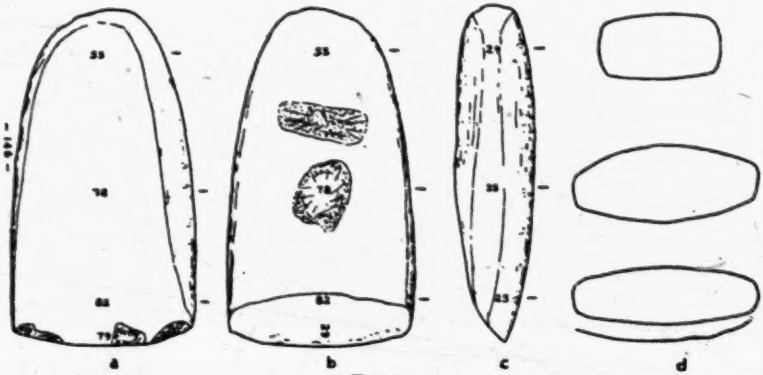

FIG 5

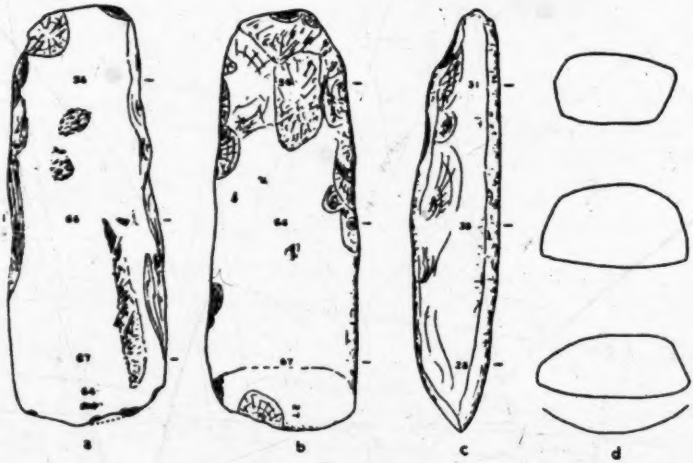

FIG 6

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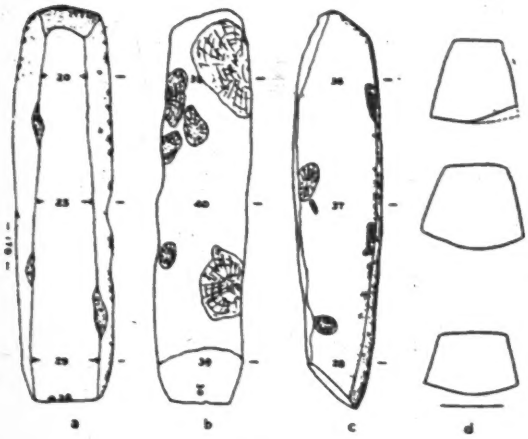

FIG 7

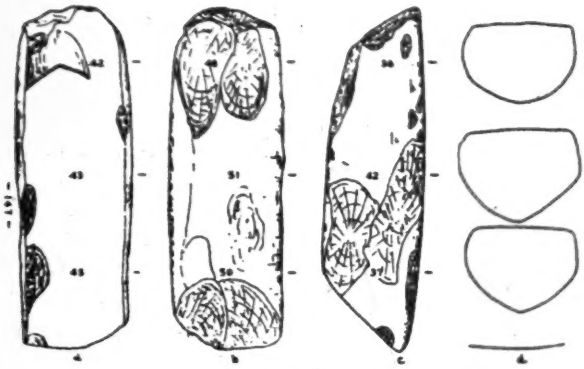

FIG 8

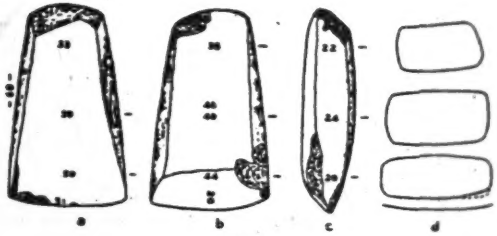

FIG 9

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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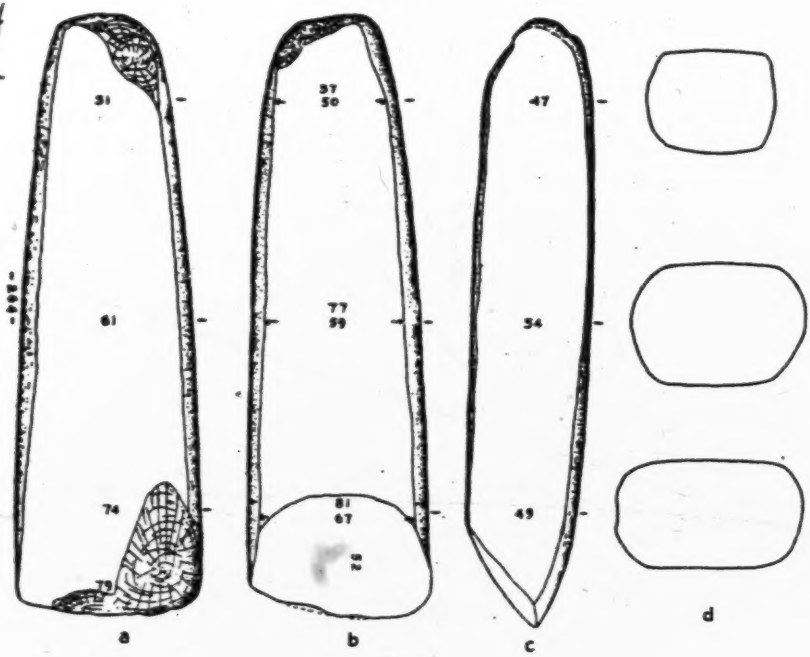

FIG 10

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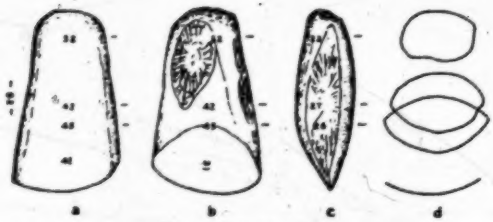

FIG 11

FIG 12

[pp 109- end, not processed]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows: 342

First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans. [804]

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates. [804]

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yavu*) is built by the men of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 342 332 342 333

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 333

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rec-
● 333 tangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
[482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *otuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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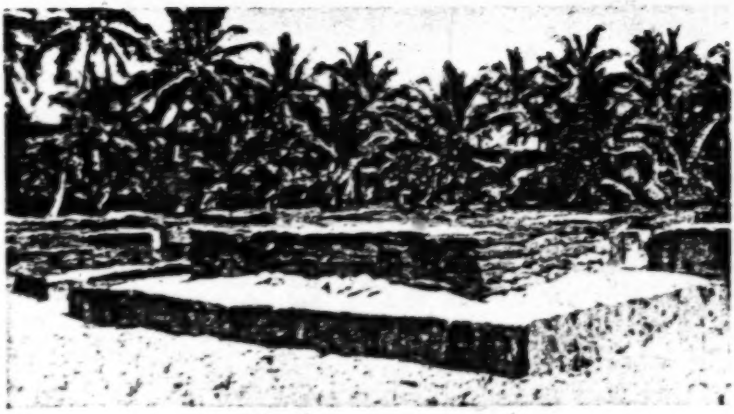


B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

MEN'S CRAFTS

House Building

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished. 342

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food. 342 465 463

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering. [335]

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built. 342

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

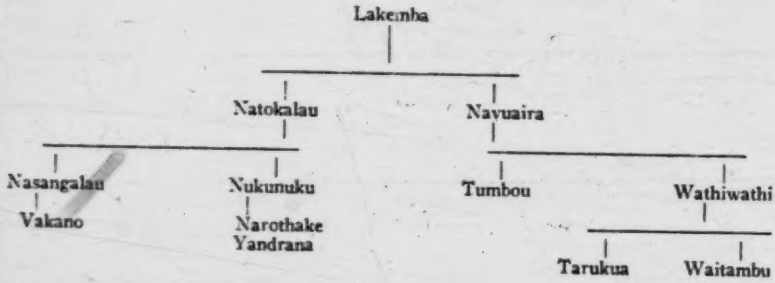
3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

231 legged, razor backed Oceanic type which could undoubtedly be improved by the infusion of new blood.

322 We have considered some methods by which the available
335 food resources may be developed. Let us turn to native craftsmanship. The crafts for which southern Lau has been famous are canoe building, woodwork, and the making of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil. All these crafts are very much alive in Lau today, but an increase in the quantity and to some extent also the quality of production would not only add zest to the economic life but would greatly benefit the individual craftsman. The famine islands have an exclusive monopoly on woodcrafts dependent on greenheart because this hardwood grows well nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. The making of canoes is particularly important because of the communal effort and series of feasts which mark each step in the process, and also because canoes provide the transportation which makes native inter-island trade possible. The woodcrafts are controlled by hereditary carpenters who have learned their skill from relatives in their hereditary carpenter clans. On Kambara, the main woodcraft island, there are two such carpenter clans (called Matai Lemaki and Matai Sau), each with its own history, traditions, and standards of craftsmanship. These clans are headed by able and intelligent men, Tatchini of Tanggu and Tandu of Undu. If these two master craftsmen would cooperate by urging more youths to learn the craft, by raising the standards of workmanship which have slumped in recent years, and by encouraging pride in individual creation, the woodcrafts on Kambara would be stimulated.

000 However, still more important to the economic life would be the increased production of barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil, which are valuable articles of native trade made by the women. The quality of these articles from southern Lau, especially barkcloth, is still high, and they are in demand for every large ceremonial exchange honoring a high chief in Fiji. In recent years the women of Lau have had far less work than

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920), 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 285 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams wrapped in old, coarse matting.

352 513 In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats. The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

352 353 Near the couches members of the household place their European wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror, and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

842 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 614 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [342]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?" 226 773

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given: 226

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent. 342

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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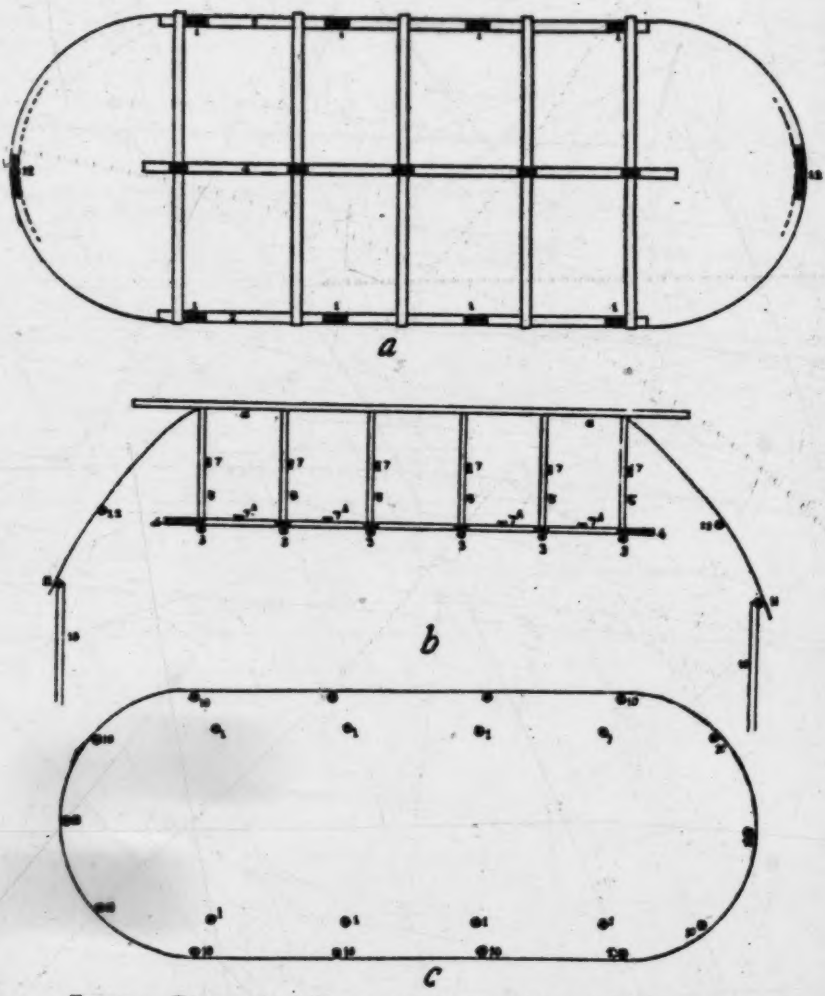

FIGURE 4.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, horizontal section showing tie beams; *b*, longitudinal section; *c*, ground plan, 1, main posts (*nduru*); 2, lower purlin (*kathu mbalavu*); 3, tie beam (*ithoka*); 4, base of king posts (*yavu ni mbou*); 5, king post (*mbou*); 6, ridge beam (*indoka*); 7, collar beam (*ilengge*); 7a, struts; 10, side post (*nduru*); 11, circular wall plate (*ilolo*); 12, apse beam (*feleanga*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

neath. (See Pl. III, *B*.) The thatch consists of dried leaves of screwpine made supple by drawing backwards and forwards round a stick planted upright in the ground. They are pinned together with the stems of a fern called *vativati*. When thatching, some men stand on the ladder which rests

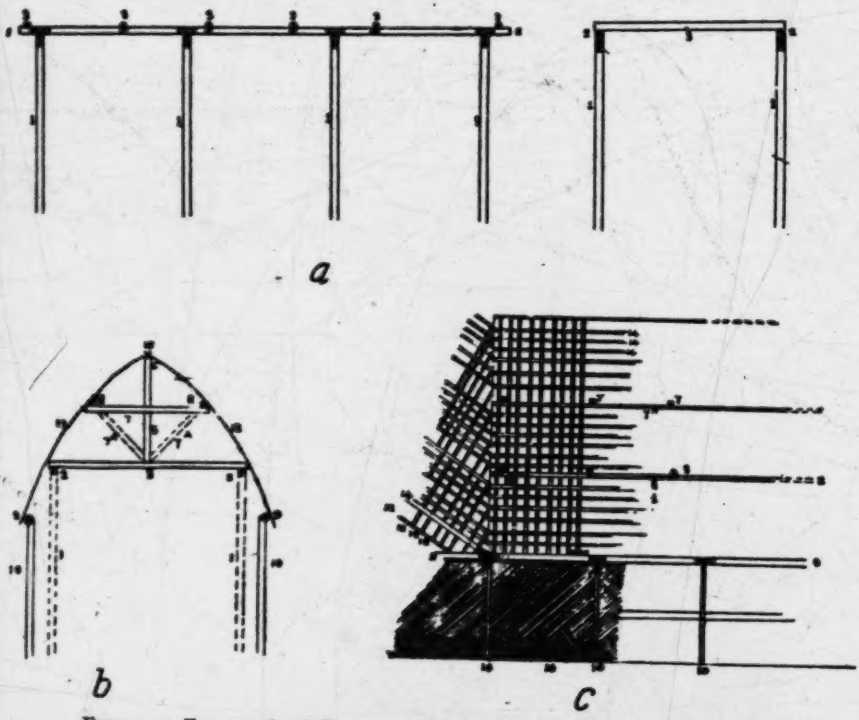

FIGURE 5.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, posts, tie beams, lower purlin (sectional view); *b*, cross section of the outmost tie beam; *c*, walls and roof (interior), 1, main posts; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 5, king post; 6, ridge beam; 7, collar beam; 7a, struts; 8, upper purlin; 9, wall plate (*inggasinggasi ni kolavo*); 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 12, apse beam; 13, rafter (*isu*); 14, reepers (*iapai*); 15, upper ridge (*indokarua*); 16, wall, *lotoa* style.

against the rafters inside the house, while men below spit the rows of thatch leaves on long sticks and pass them up. These sticks are called *thimba* (the same word means "dying," whether by coincidence or origin, I do not know).

The ridge of small houses is covered with plaited coconut leaves; pinned down with sharp sticks called *isanggai*, this covering is called *teviti*. Coco-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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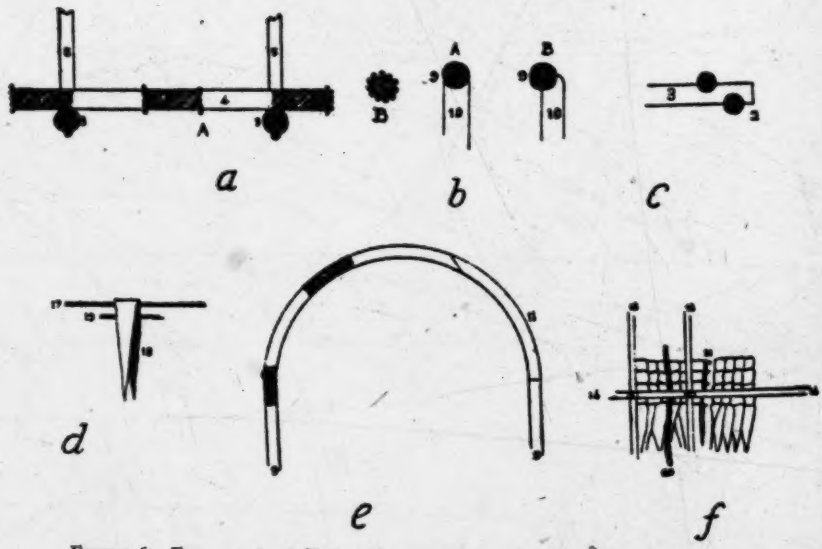

FIGURE 6.—Framework of Tongan style house: *a*, base of king post; *b*, connection of wall plate and side posts; *c*, extremity of a tie beam; *d*, thatch leaf; *e*, apse wall plate showing level and coir string; *f*, thatch rafters and reepers; 2, lower purlin; 3, tie beam; 4, base of king posts; 5, king post; 9, wall plate; 10, side post; 11, circular wall plate; 13, rafters; 14, reepers; 17, thatch carrier (*yava*); 18, thatch leaf (*rau*); 19, leaf pin (*vativati*); 20, thatch cord (*wale*); 21, thatch joint (*nduta*).

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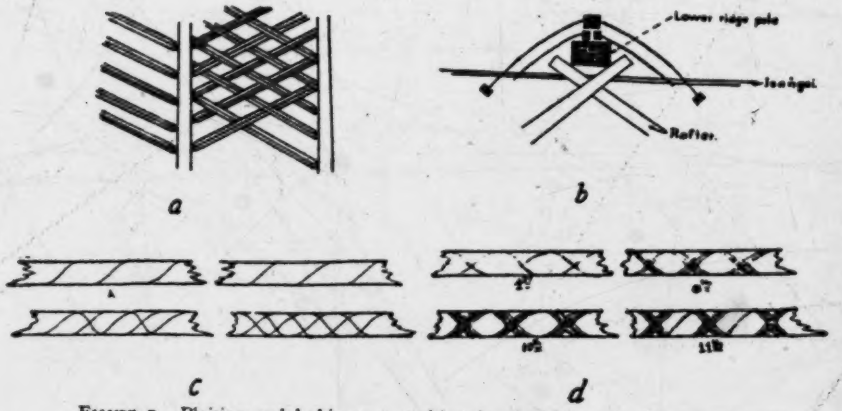

FIGURE 7.—Plaiting and lashing: *a*, *teviti* style of plaiting; *b*, diagram of *teviti*; *c*, stages in design; *d*, first stages of *matani ndavui*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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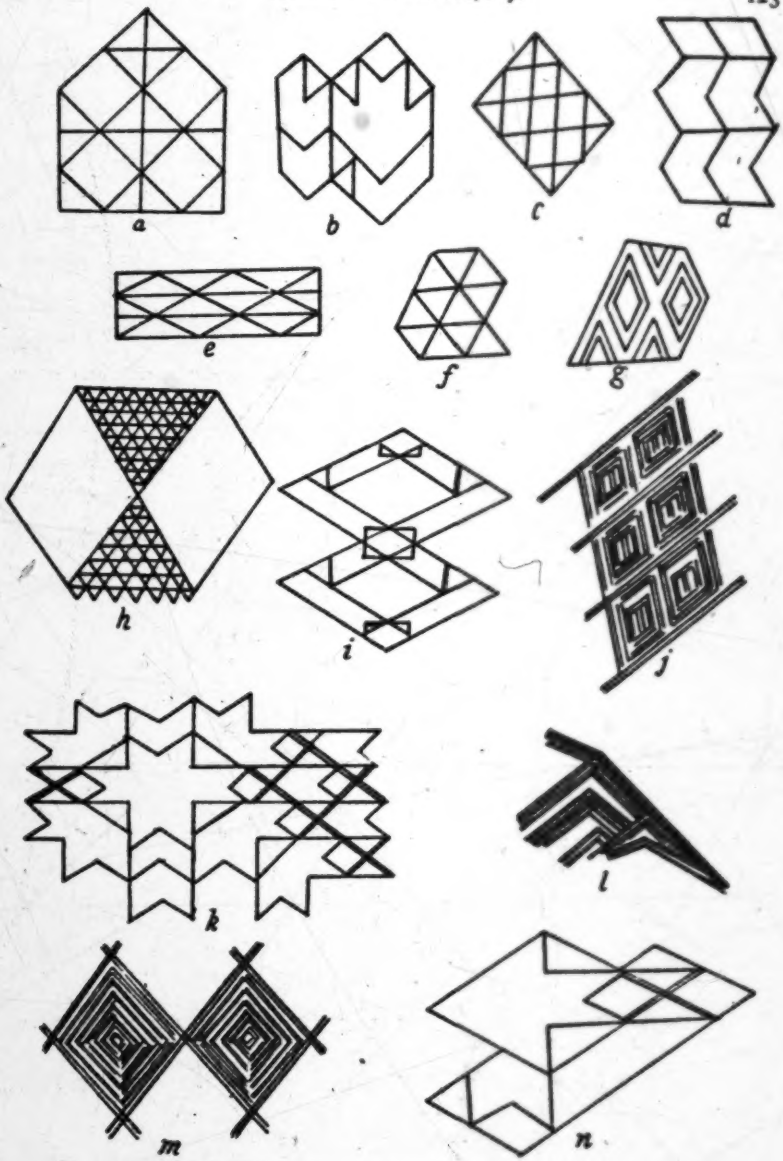

FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a, manufekainaki* (side post); *b,* on main post; *c, fatuingalau; d, veikuku; e, manufekainaki* (side post); *f, manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g, matanindavui; h, fufuikiu,* diagram from main post; *i,* from extremity of base of king post; *j, fatuingalau,* diagram of strands; *k,* from a wall plate; *l,* from a side post; *m,* from a main post; *n,* analysis of *k.*

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 nut leaves however, rot quickly, so the ridge of big houses is packed with small leaves, stamped and pinned down, kept in position by winding in zigzag fashion round the pins from end to end a certain creeper. In this style the creeper is the *teviti*.

The walls are made of reeds in a style called *lotoa*, a Tongan word *loto*, interior, and *a*, fence). In the islands where there are no reeds, thin walls are made of plaited coconut leaves, described as "plaited walls."

In determining the length of a house only the central part is measured, leaving out the rounded ends. The length is reckoned in fathoms.[18] A five fathom house will have about four main posts and six tie beams. Of old, some houses were ten to twenty fathoms long. Joshua's house was 38 feet long; an average house about 21 feet.

COIR ROPE

283 Coir, called *mangimangi*, is made of the fiber from a special kind of coconut. The husk is beaten out so as to separate the fibers which are then cleared of all adhering particles. The fibers are generally baked which gives them a deep reddish color; but raw coir is used in designs to introduce a light brown color.

Plaited coir is prepared in the following manner:

Several fibers are rolled together on the knee, or else kept together by winding a fiber round them. A number of these bundles are plaited in three strands. In the Fijian method the strands are stood up; but in the Tongan method they are turned down after each plait. The bundles or tufts are not inserted at definite distances from the end of the cord, but inserted according to the worker's judgment to secure uniform thickness, not an easy matter. Old and industrious men often plait at little meetings and in the family circle.

Some coir rope is dyed black for working into designs. This is done by beating a banana stump, squeezing out the juice, boiling the coir in it and covering it with leaves of *tunga;* then stamping it in a kind of black mud called *somo*. The coir so prepared is called *somo*.

The plaited coir is made into balls all of one color, according to the Ono style, which is followed in Mothe; according to the Thithia fashion it is made into rolls in which the black and the red form alternate zigzags all round; the same style is followed in Oneata and Naiau. Ono and Thithia are the great places for coir in Lau; Mothe also to a certain extent.

284 The Lauans boast that coir rope is far superior to nails, for it never rots whereas nails rust. All beams are bound together by winding coir string round their joint, and for purposes of ornament black and brown are used, sometimes also yellow, that is raw, coir. This technique is called *i lauvalava*, and is said to originate from Tonga, and indeed most of the

[18] The Fijian fathom is a variable measure according to the size of the man. The last two measurements are actual measurements taken by me.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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names of patterns are Tongan;[10] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts; for the tie beams *falataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who c[illegible] to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the e[illegible] another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The fe[illegible]st of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[10] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

514 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 543 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
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A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN. TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
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Lakemba

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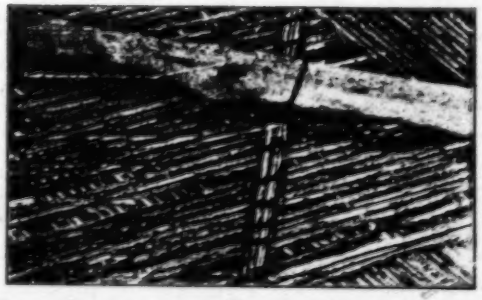

B

C

D

LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS: *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE; *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

MEN'S CRAFTS

House Building

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished. 342

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food. 342 465 463

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering. [335]

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built. 342

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. 313 If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To [431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the 283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental [555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava [272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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chief of crops. When the feast is ready the carpenter is notified and work is suspended. The workers eat the feast at the house site immediately, and, if the feast is a large one, each man takes the remainder of his share home to his family in the evening. After the feast, the work continues until dark.

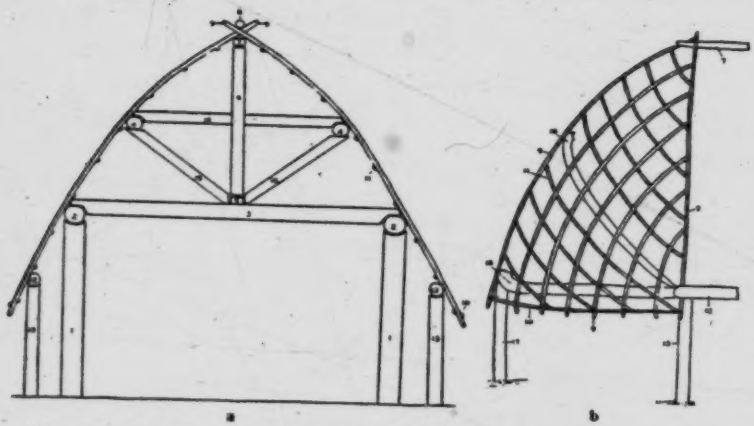

FIGURE 5.—Dwelling house, Tongan type. **a**, middle section, end view: 1, supporting post; 2, tie beam plate; 3, tie beam; 4, roof plate; 5, median plate; 6, king post; 7, main ridgepole; 8, upper ridgepole; 9, rafter; 10, suspended purlin; 11, purlin; 12, straight wall plate; 13, wall post; 14, collar beam; 15, diagonal strut. **b**, end section: 16, curved wall plate; 17, end wall post; 18, curved roof plate.

Middle section. On the first day of the actual house building the main framework of the house (pl. 4, *B*; fig. 5, *a*) is erected as follows: First, the supporting posts (*ndurulelevu*) are sunk. There are usually four of these, but very large houses have six or eight. The supporting posts are logs of greenheart, smoothed and rounded. Holes for the posts are dug by loosening the soil with a digging stick and removing it with a coconut cup (*mbilo*) attached to a stick. Coconut-leaf baskets are used to clear away the soil. The posts are sunk so that one third of the length of the post will be buried when the house mound has been built up and the house is finished. Posts for a medium-sized house are 6 meters long; 2 meters below and 4 above the floor of the house. Next, the two tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) of rounded greenheart beams are lifted up with forked sticks and placed on the supporting posts. The tie beam plates rest in sockets prepared for them. The tie beams (*i thoka*), also rounded greenheart beams, are raised in the same way and placed across the tie beam plates. The tie beams are carefully straightened (*vakandondonu*) and fitted to the tie beam plates. A house with four supporting posts usually has three or four tie beams. Larger houses have six or

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342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

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sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows: 342

First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans. [804]

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates. [804]

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yavu*) is built by the men of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 342 332 342 333

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342 333 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised [482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *otuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of [824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *watchiwatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

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and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths. 342

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm. [284]

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy. [524]

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. [356]

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●342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusiri vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

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part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

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342 as in the *vale vaka Tonga*). Second, a bundle of three or four pliable rods of *ndongo* or *masamasa* is used in place of the curved wall plate; and the curved roof plate and occasionally the curved purlins are absent. Third, the roof of the rounded end is supported by curved parallel purlins and parallel rafters composed of rough laths like those used in kitchen huts today. Fourth, the thatch is of plaited coconut leaves, not of pandanus; and fifth the house is not raised on a mound. There are three doorways, one at the lower end and one on each side of the house.

High rectangular houses

Old informants say that formerly very high, rectangular houses, called *vale vaka ndawandawa*, were found in Lau. The four supporting posts of such a house, belonging to the chief of Fulanga, are still standing on a mound in Muanaithake village. They are about 8 meters high.

Low rectangular houses

Native agree that the houses of olden times were usually small houses with rectangular ground plan, built on a low foundation mound surrounded by a ring of stones. The mound was not much larger than the ground plan of the house.

MEN'S HOUSES

A house, inhabited temporarily or permanently by men only, is called *mbure* or *mbure ni sa*. Usually each clan has a men's house. Any convenient dwelling house is used, but some villages build permanent men's houses. They do not differ in construction from ordinary dwelling houses.

KITCHEN HUTS

343 The kitchen hut (*vale ni kuro*) is small (about 2 by 3 meters) and not so well built as the dwelling house. It is built like the *vale lolova kathukathu* or like a *vale vaka Tonga* and thatched with coconut leaves. Frequently it consists of a thatched gable roof without walls. The hearth occupies one end of the kitchen. Pots, wooden food bowls, strainers, and graters, as well as tapa board and beaters, are kept in the kitchen.

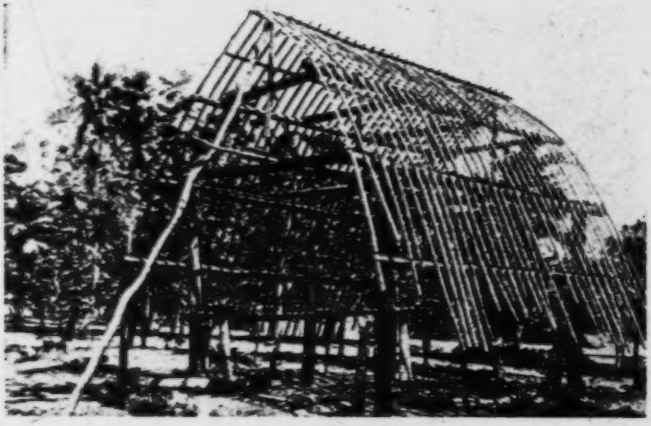
OVEN SHELTERS

The earth oven shelter (*riri* or *vale ni lovo*) is, as a rule, a thatched, gabled roof without walls. The ridgepole and the two wall plates are supported by forked stakes. Any suitable wood is used. Rough laths of *sitchi* tied with vines, such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*, join the ridgepole and the wall plates. The simple framework is thatched with plaited coconut leaves, tied with vines to the rafters. Some earth oven shelters are simple thatched lean-tos.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342

A



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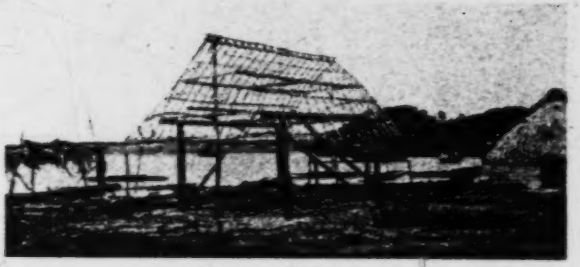

C

A, SMALL DWELLING HOUSE OF TONGAN TYPE, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. B, MIDDLE SECTION OF LARGE DWELLING HOUSE TONGAN TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION, MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA. C, HOUSE OF THE *VALE LOLOVA KATHUKATHU* TYPE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT NAIVINDAMU, FULANGA (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[Fiwa Plate 4]

361
342

28. The village on Vanua Vatu is one of the neatest in Lau.

133

29. Volcanic and coral limestone hills near Tarukua village, Thithia.

[p.102]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

291
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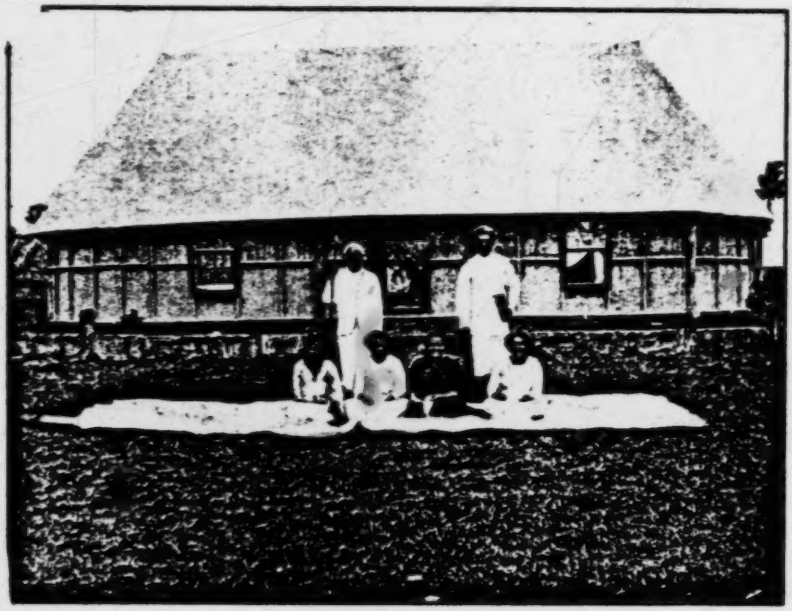
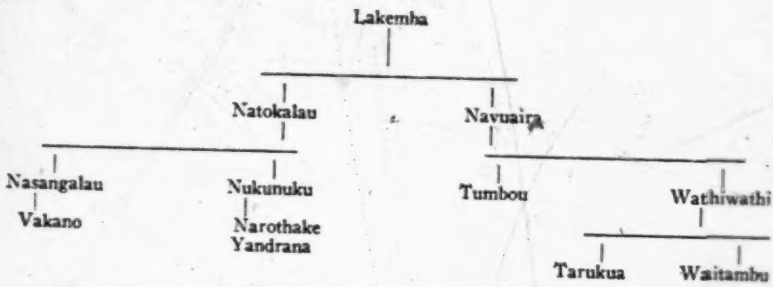


A typical round-ended house of the Lau Islands.

[facing p. 92]

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, all of them have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably on one side to avoid a post im the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordimary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loalou*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *uui*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 as in the *vale vaka Tonga*). Second, a bundle of three or four pliable rods of *ndongo* or *masamasa* is used in place of the curved wall plate; and the curved roof plate and occasionally the curved purlins are absent. Third, the roof of the rounded end is supported by curved parallel purlins and parallel rafters composed of rough laths like those used in kitchen huts today. Fourth, the thatch is of plaited coconut leaves, not of pandanus; and fifth the house is not raised on a mound. There are three doorways, one at the lower end and one on each side of the house.

High rectangular houses

Old informants say that formerly very high, rectangular houses, called *vale vaka ndawandawa,* were found in Lau. The four supporting posts of such a house, belonging to the chief of Fulanga, are still standing on a mound in Muanaithake village. They are about 8 meters high.

Low rectangular houses

Native agree that the houses of olden times were usually small houses with rectangular ground plan, built on a low foundation mound surrounded by a ring of stones. The mound was not much larger than the ground plan of the house.

MEN'S HOUSES

A house, inhabited temporarily or permanently by men only, is called *mbure* or *mbure ni sa.* Usually each clan has a men's house. Any convenient dwelling house is used, but some villages build permanent men's houses. They do not differ in construction from ordinary dwelling houses.

KITCHEN HUTS

343 The kitchen hut (*vale ni kuro*) is small (about 2 by 3 meters) and not so well built as the dwelling house. It is built like the *vale loiova kathukathu* or like a *vale vaka Tonga* and thatched with coconut leaves. Frequently it consists of a thatched gable roof without walls. The hearth occupies one end of the kitchen. Pots, wooden food bowls, strainers, and graters, as well as tapa board and beaters, are kept in the kitchen.

OVEN SHELTERS

The earth oven shelter (*riri* or *vale ni lovo*) is, as a rule, a thatched, gabled roof without walls. The ridgepole and the two wall plates are supported by forked stakes. Any suitable wood is used. Rough laths of *sitchi* tied with vines, such as *yaumitha* or *tuva,* join the ridgepole and the wall plates. The simple framework is thatched with plaited coconut leaves, tied with vines to the rafters. Some earth oven shelters are simple thatched lean-tos.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. 343
The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter 284
high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quar- 343
ters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves.

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process [504]
of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes.

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built 343
with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, 235
and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

233 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black
[824] sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 514 [343] In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach, in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [349] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni vwai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

INTRODUCTION

196 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*; it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate" (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

● 346 Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sou*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
793 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked

346

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
"One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself
793 and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the ~~party~~ enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. 575

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.) [349]

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it. [557] [648]

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils." [778] 776 575

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They 575 [785]

jump, dance, and club one another.

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAILANGILALA I.

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131
133
361
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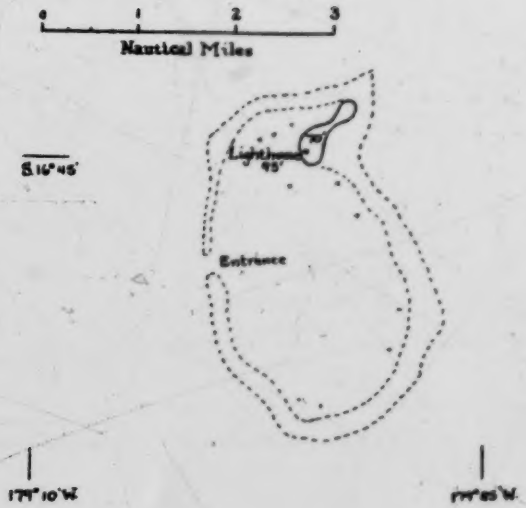

[p.80]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and coconut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 361 241 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive coconut grove. Some [312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

114 An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

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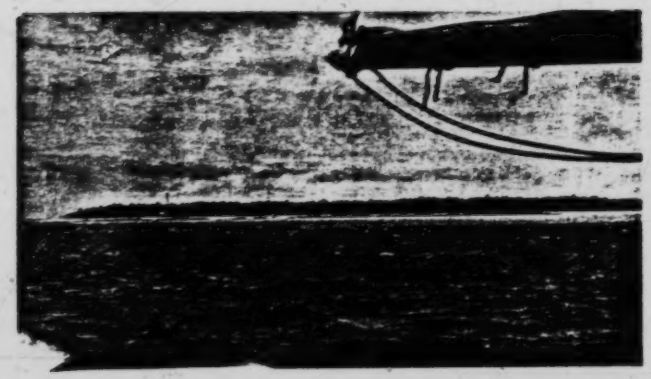
(Bottom)

45. Bedded tuff formation in the north cliff of middle Kimbombo islet.

[349]



46. Wailangilala I. from the S.W. The island is low and sandy, rising to a height of 70 feet to the tops of the coconut palms. The lighthouse is at the left.

[p.109]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

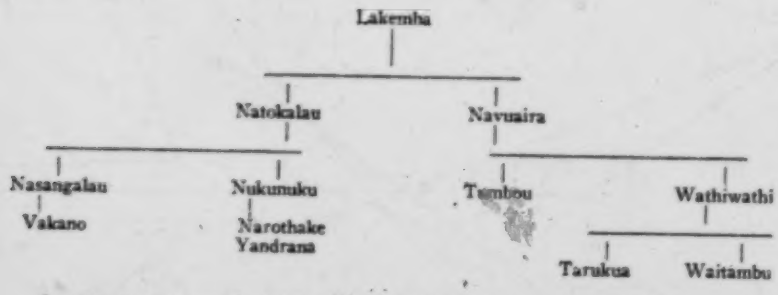
10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

352 In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
513 simply a pile of mats; in other it is a long, broad stage spread with mats. The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

352 Near the couches members of the household place their European
353 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror, and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nagali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven, but when the food is ready, the whole is put

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

●352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevutevu* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by [554] ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

415 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the
322 corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

FIGURE 13.—Wooden tub, *i vakatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanai-
322 thake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

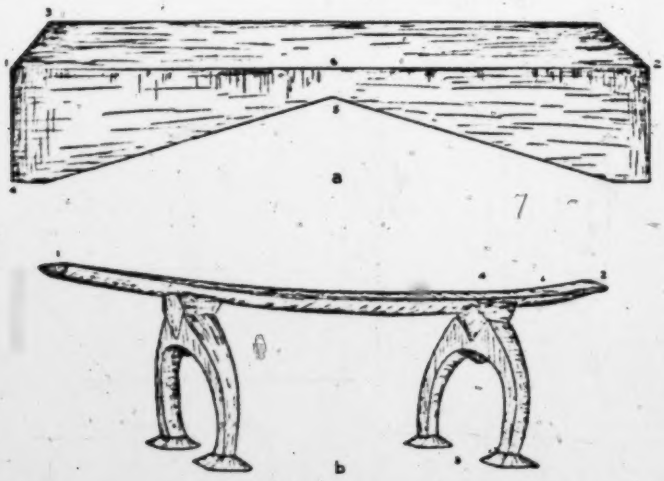


FIGURE 14.—Headrests: a, *tehiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and a head piece—fitted together and tied with sennit. Usually this type of headrest is carefully made and highly polished. The natives say that formerly headrests of similar shape were made in one piece and called *sauthoko*. 352 322

The *hahapo* is a Tongan type of headrest (*fafapo* in Tonga) made of a single piece of *mbau* wood (fig. 15 *a*, *b*). It is distinguished by its fine long curves and delicate structure.

Roughly finished blocks of wood (*tchiki* or *tekitcki*) are frequently used as headrests (fig. 14, *a*).

A section of bamboo, about 35 cm. long, with two legs of greenheart attached by means of sennit, is called *kali nduvu*. This type of headrest is imported from Viti Levu, inasmuch as large bamboo does not grow in southern Lau.

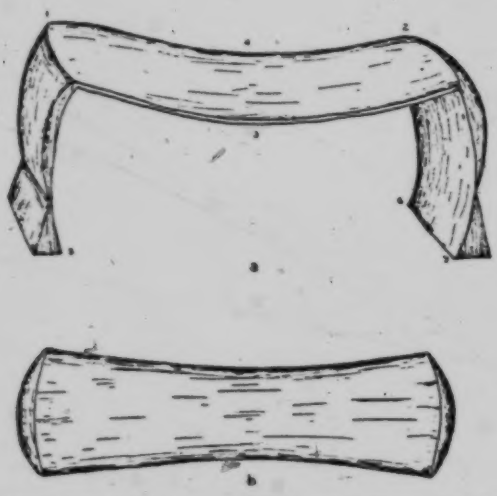


FIGURE 15.—Headrest, *hahapo* type. **a**, side view, 1-2, 30 cm.; 1-3, 9.5 cm.; 3-5, 12.5 cm.; 6-7, 10.5 cm.; 3-4, 7 cm. **b**, view from above.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

An important and very specialized craft in southern Lau is the making of large wooden slit-gongs (*lali*). They are made of a boat-shaped section of greenheart, hollowed out and with an open slot on one side. They are struck on the outside with a pair of wooden beaters. Slit-gongs are made and played in pairs, one large and one small. Two or more pairs are placed at intervals in the village. They are played by youths or men to mark village activities. Each ceremony—such as a funeral procession, the lifting of the 322 534

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakoveveu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.

Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.

The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide, [554]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

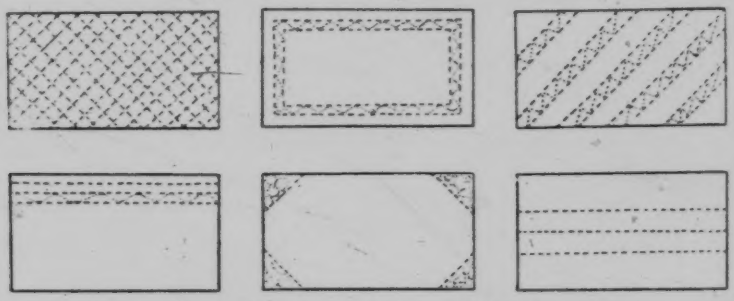

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was
[237] formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish. 262

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk. 231

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week; the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*. 252

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro, [354]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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252 breadfruit, or whatever is required for puddings, is roasted, and banana leaves are heated to make them supple. When the stones are hot they are spread out with sticks and covered with leaves, on which the food is placed. If both taro and yam are put in together the contents of the oven are said to be like a sea-snake, in other words brindled. Taro is put in pealed, yams unpealed. Fish is usually wrapped in breadfruit leaves lain inside a fan palm leaf, an envelope of fish (*i sala ni ika*) it is called; but sometimes it is placed with sauce, inside a banana leaf like a pudding. A pig is singed whole, scraped, the legs are cut off, and the entrails removed by making a slit in the abdomen and one in the throat; then the belly is filled with hot stones and it is put into the oven whole; the legs are put in separately; the liver and the edible viscera are put in a leaf with water and put into the oven or else they are boiled and eaten by the workers. Oxen are no longer cooked whole, as it was found better to cut them up raw and let each man take his share home and boil it.

When the oven is full it is covered with old baskets and sacks, then buried. While the food is cooking, baskets are plaited of coconut leaves. The steam coming through the top of the oven indicates that the food is cooked.

354 Sometimes ovens are made in the evening and dug up in the morning; this is called *melo*.

Puddings

252 Puddings (*nggalu*) appear at most feasts, but are seldom made except for feasts, as they involve much labor.

Most puddings are made with taro, none with yams. For some puddings the taro is roasted to keep its flavor. The taro may be pounded or grated; grated puddings are more esteemed. For pounding, the taro is placed in a long trough. A man stands on either side armed with the stump of a coconut leaf and pounds it into a sticky mass (*matu*); then an expert wets his hands, seizes some of the mash in each hand and squeezes it so that it oozes out between the thumb and forefinger, then shakes it off in pellets about an inch thick. One who has the knack can throw pellets on alternate hands with great speed. The pellets are rolled in the sauce, then put into banana leaves which are gathered up round them and tied at the top with a piece from the midrib. The sauce is always made with coconut cream, raw or cooked; puddings with cooked sauce are more esteemed. Formerly if the sauce were raw the banana leaf was simply tied round the top of the leaf; if the sauce were cooked, one end of the leaf was turned down like a hood, then tied round; now all puddings are tied alike.

For white *sivaro*, pellets are prepared as above; for sauce raw coconut cream with sea water and sugar is used. This is a quick method. Sometimes the sauce is mixed with *Dracaena* juice.

Another pudding of which I do not know the name, was made in this way:

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

STEAMING

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252

A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick. 354

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata)*, banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd [731] together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands.

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic 342 prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump 751 of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits.

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a 342 protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a 354 hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward.

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vaxaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the [824] fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single 373 coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
[354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *etuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
[622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
[731] *tembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*), or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths. 342.

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm. 244

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vaka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy. 524

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. 356

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old. 854

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

361
[161]

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promentory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country," Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

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Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Saleśi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven, but when the food is ready, the whole is put

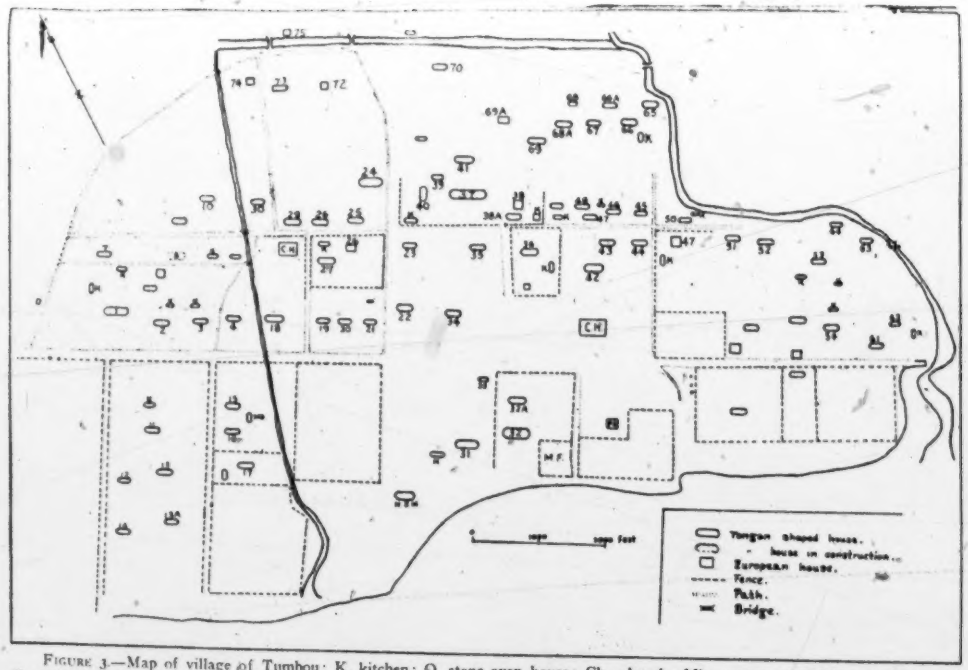

FIGURE 3.—Map of village of Tumbou: K, kitchen; O, stone oven house; Ch., church; Mb., young men's house (*mbure*); M. F., unknown; N. S. M., native magistrate; N. M. P., native medical practitioner; P. O., provincial office. The names of the houses are: 1, Thakaundroveiwai; 2, Mbenau; 3, Nggararaninggio; 4, Koronivia; 5, unknown; 6, Seanggangga; 7, Nakoromaluia; 8, unknown; 9, Nggakilanggi; 10, unknown; 11, unknown; 12, Welangi; 13, Mbouono; 14, Motulala; 15, Manono; 16, Undukathu; 17, Samoa; 18, Vanua Masi; 19, Naveruarua; 20, Thithia; 21, Taira; 22, Seanggangga; 23, Lakembanawa; 24, Vunisavisavi; 25, Tuvukei; 26, Naitasiri; 27, Natambusoro; 28, Nakuki; 29, Matanivolau; 30, Tuvatuvarua; 31, Matailakemba; 32, Kaukilangi; 33, unknown; 34, Matai Naiau; 35, Muailangi; 36, Matanalailai; 37, Vatuwangga; 38, Wangganui; 38A, Sekoula; 39, Vunilangakali; 40, Vunimanggo; 41, Yangasa; 42, Niu Kini; 43, Mbateteva; 44, Ndranivono; 45, unknown; 46, Muanakauli; 47, Veiravui; 48, Muairewa; 49, Verata; 50, unknown; 51, Mbiaungunu; 52, Solomone; 53, Mathuata; 54, Nukuselala; 55, Nathurumothe; 56, Wainingasau; 57, Sawakasa; 58, Naveretambu; 59, Newai; 60, Tiaina; 61, Naisongotheva; 62, Vunimakosoi; 63, Nggalimosi; 64, Mbateteva; 65, Nggaranithava; 66, Loa; 67, unknown; 68, unknown; 69, Mbatiniwai; 70, Taiti; 71, Ndenivonu; 72, Niu Silandi; 73, Naingginggi; 74, Tukituki.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an important part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

ONGEA ISLANDS

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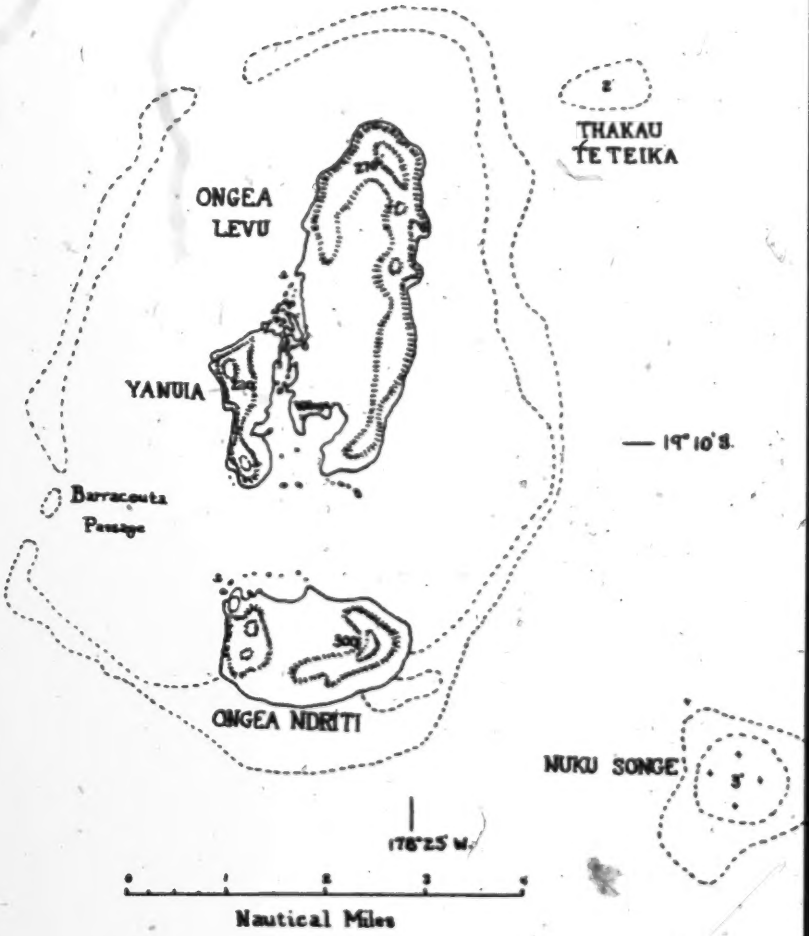

[p. 10]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

Unmapped Channel Between

Ongea Levu & Yanuia.

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[p. 11]

13 1. ONGEA Islands consist of three limestone islands situated at the south-east end of the group; (S.19° 10', 178° 25' W.). They are encircled by a barrier reef 5 1/2 by 8 miles, thru which there is one good (Barracouta) passage, on the west side.

Ongea Levu, the largest of the three, is elongate eliptical in outline, 3 1/2 by 1 1/4 miles, with a deep sandy bay on the south, [361] at the head of which is located the village. The central portion is a flat, rising to a height of 270 feet on the east in a nearly continuous line of hills facing the sea, and sloping up slightly to the west and north.

The south-west portion of this main mass is a separate island, called Yanuia, which is separated from Ongea Levu by a narrow, winding passage, nearly dry at low tide. It is hilly and rough, with an elevation at the north-west of 220 feet, rising sharply from the sea. The south-eastern portion is much indented and filled with mangrove swamps. Both ends of the passage are filled with small rocky islets, a line of which also fringe the south coast of Ongea Levu and the shore line of Ongea Ndriti.

Ongea Ndriti, which lies about a mile to the south of Levu, is ovate in shape, 1 3/4 by 1 1/4 miles. The eastern and western ends are rough and hilly, rising to an elevation of 300 feet. The north center is a partly cultivated flat, and there is a broad sand beach on the south.

All three of the islands are of typical upraised coral limestone formation, and are covered with a dense growth of lowland forest. Most of the sea face is steep undercut cliff, but there are several small sand beaches.

The best anchorages for vessels of moderate size are off the north-west end of Ongea Ndriti, and off the north end of the deep bay on the west side of Ongea Levu. At both of these landing is good.

[p.12]

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
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[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

FULANGA I.

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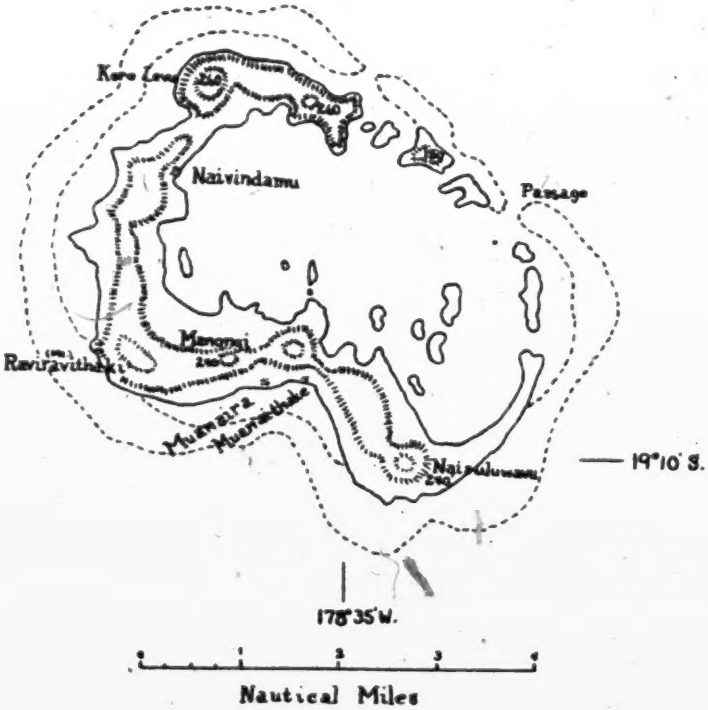

[p. 14]

[FULANGA I.]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former [161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). [312] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only. 241

[p. 16]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAMUKA-I-LAU

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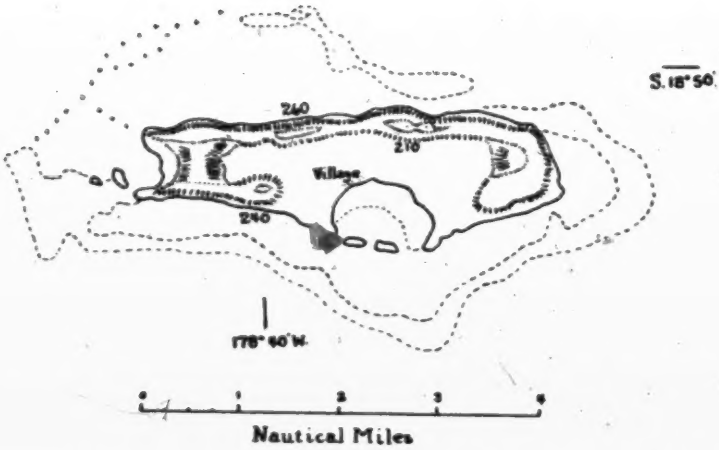

[p. 22]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

MOTHE & KARONI

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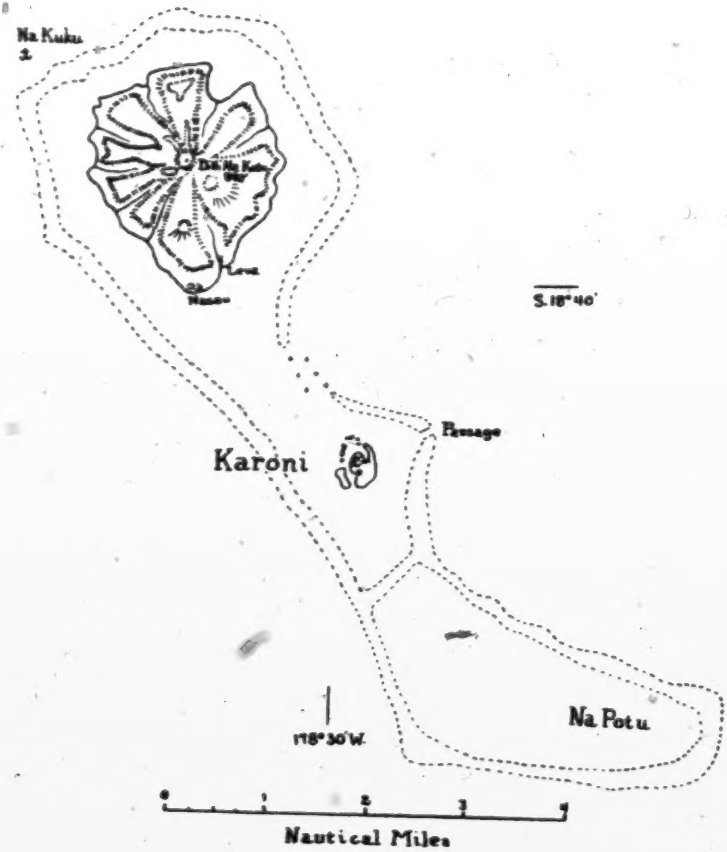

[p.24]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

● 361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.

226 241 281 285 231

<u>Karoni</u> is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

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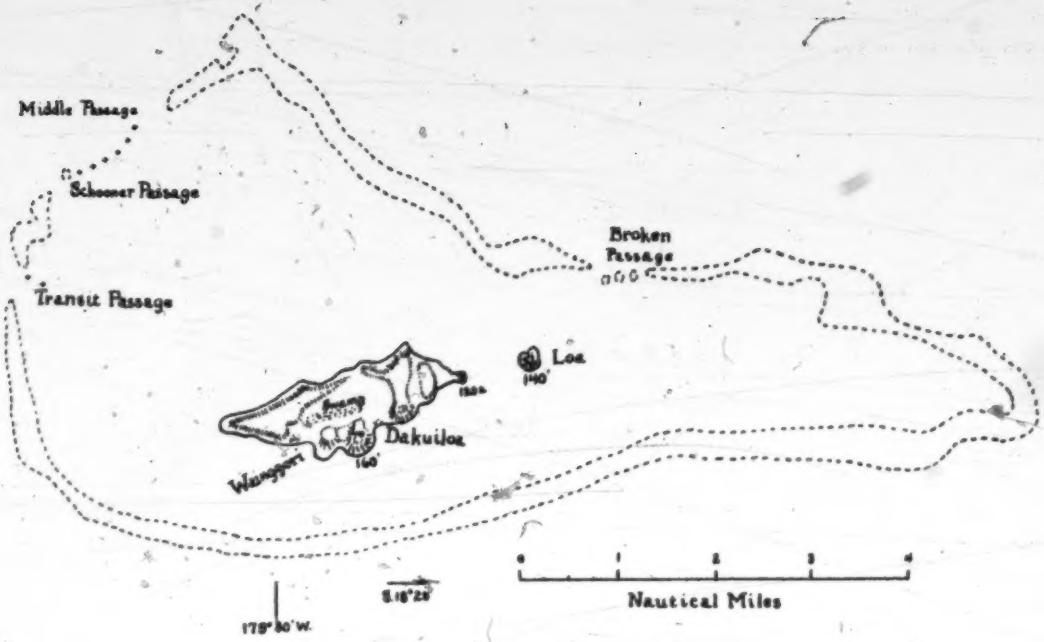
9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OUTAKA I.



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[p. 27]

13 7. ONEATA is a partly coral limestone, partly bedded sandstone island, lying about 12 miles north of Mothe. (S.18° 25', 178° 30' W.) It is 2 1/2 miles long and about 7/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends, and with three small wooded peaks up to 160 feet high on the south-east. Toward the east end there are two cross-ridges covered with forest. Off the east point a small conical islet, Loa, rises to a height of 140 feet. The west end has a sandstone hill, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina. A volcanic ledge borders the east point. The central portion of the island is occupied by a narrow brackish swamp. South of it (between the two villages) are to low knobs or ridges of sandstone. On the north side of the low central depression is a large area of coconut palms and cultivated patches.

The island is surrounded by a long triangular barrier reef, extending six miles to the eastward and four to the north-west. Thru it there are four passages, three on the west and one on the north. The water is moderately deep within the lagoon, except off the S.W. point of the island. There is good anchorage off the main village, Wainggori, in the S.W. bay.

312 Water is abundant. It is piped to Waing-gori from a spring in the west end sandstone hill, which is said to run all year round. There is also a fresh water bathing pool near the swamp. Rainwater is caught at Dakuiloa, the other village.

13 In addition to the usual lowland and littoral trees, noted "yasi" sandlewood. Land birds numerous, but no water birds seen. No snakes reported. Aquatic insects numerous, and mosquitoes very troublesome.

361 There are two villages, Wainggori (Waigori) and Dakuiloa, both
[161] situated on the south side. The former claimed a population of 250 although the 1921 ~~census~~ census gives the figure 138. There were

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[161] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
181 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
194 noticeable Tongan element.

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
285 and wood carving is done.
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322

[p. 29]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

OLORUA & KOMO

Detail of Olorua.

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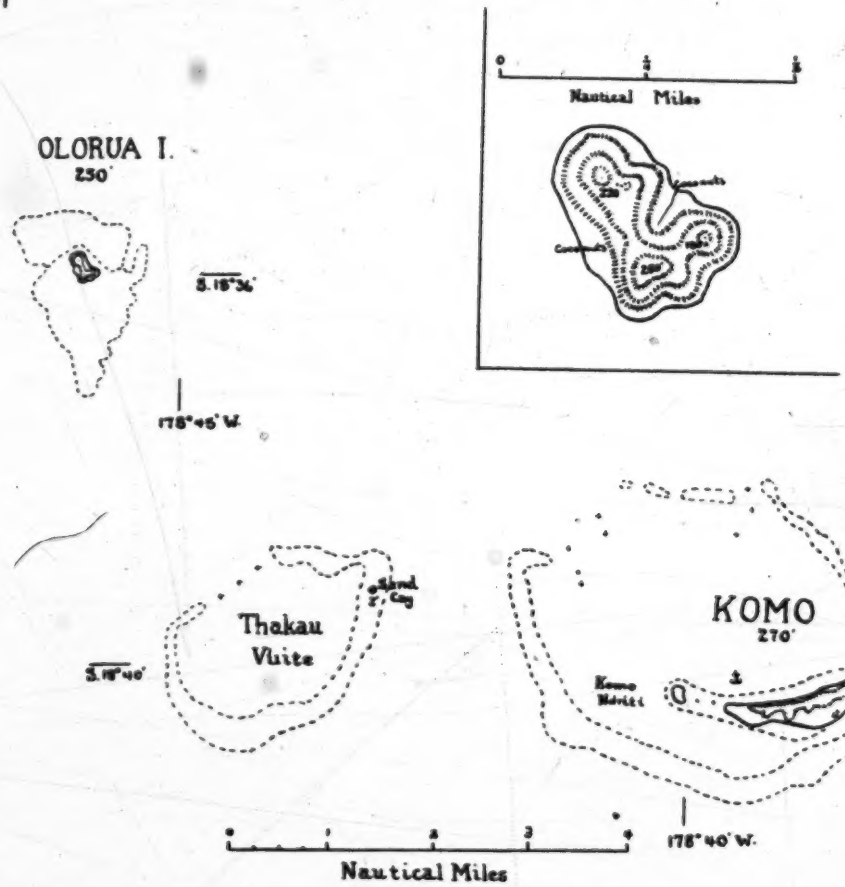

[p. 30]

13 T. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 3/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of cocoanut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of cocoanut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
231 sweet potatoes.
241

[p. 31]

KAMBARA, MARAMBO, WANGAVA
nand TUVUNASITHI.

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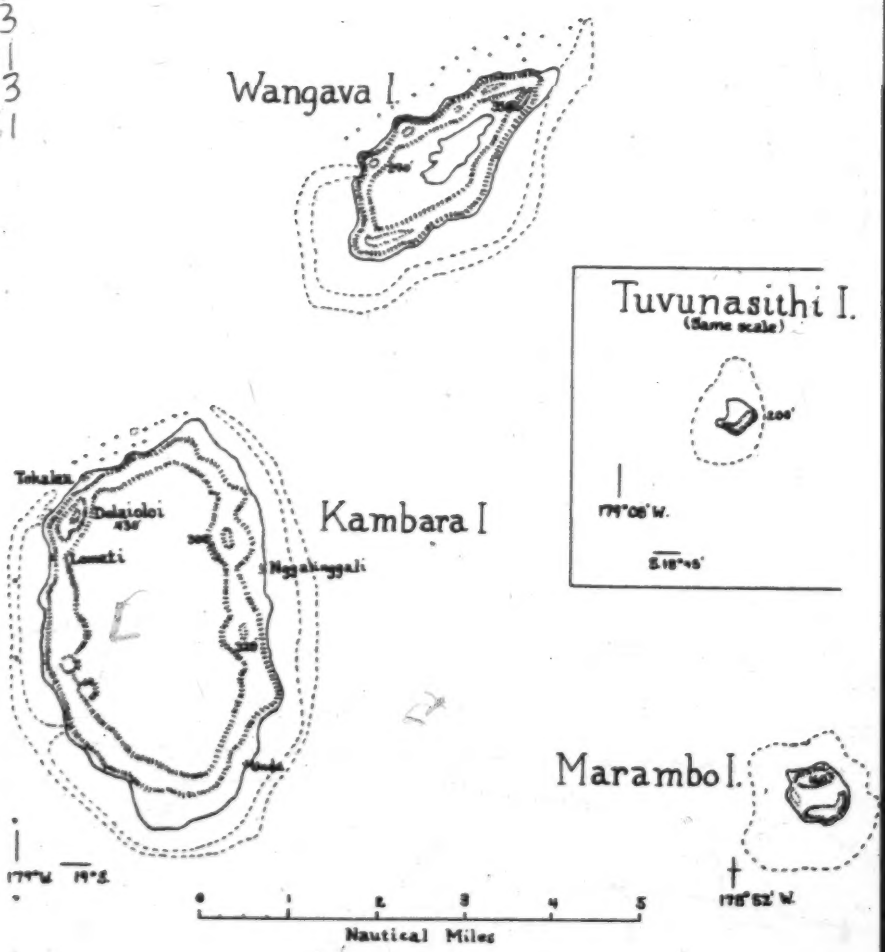


[p. 33]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 350 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by coral sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with
[161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but
[368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and
[161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qvaliqali), the largest

[KAMBARA I.]

361 of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 130
[161] residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the
487 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the
241 three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have
396 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for
322 various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 245 484 161 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a population of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts 484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in 241 addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 12. **WANGAVA** island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [139] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 484 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 161 245 trees have been felled in places. 484

[p.37]

13 13. TUVUNASITHI is a very small island of upraised coral limestone, 13 miles N.W. of Wangava and 25 miles S.W. of Olorua. It is sub-circular in outline, 1/2 mile in diameter, and rises in a steep, crescent shaped ridge on the east side to 200 feet elevation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef with no entrance. The S. and E. sides are rocky, the N. and W. sandy. The east ridge and west flat both consist of well forested coral "badlands".

There is no anchorage. Landing is possible on the N.W. side at half tide or higher; a small break in the reef giving access to a sandy basin from which the sand beach may be reached.

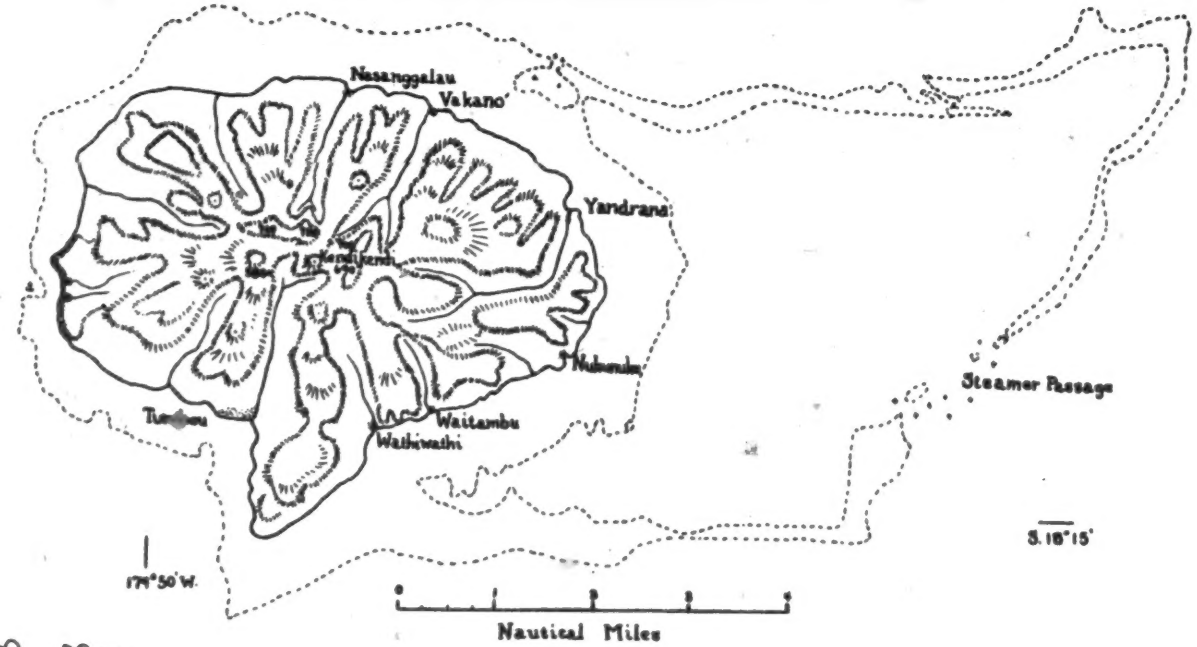
[312] There is no fresh water.

There is the usual littoral vegetation, the north and west beaches having more Pemphis than usual. There are small clumps of coconut palms.

245 The island is uninhabited, but the copra is collected and there is
161 a small hut on the N. beach.
361

[p. 38]

LAKEMBA I.



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[p.41]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
245 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 18. YAROUA is a small sand island, nine miles east of the south point of Tuvutha' I. and 20 miles W.N.W. of Reid Reef. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, varying from 200 to 400 yards wide. The island is flat, smoothly oval in outline, about 500 yards long by 300 to 400 yards wide, and 70 feet to the top of the coconut palms, which thickly cover its surface. This vegetated portion is surrounded by a broad steeply sloping sand beach.

Landing would be possible at high tide off the N.W. point, but as wind and tide were unfavorable we did not stop.

[361] On the N.W. point are a few huts, which were occupied at the time of our visit. The coconut grove, which is similar to that on Wailangilala, should produce some little copra. There were no canoes on the beach.

The two reefs, Thakau Nokeva and Thakau Lasemarawa lie respectively two miles to the east and three miles south. The latter contains rocks rising to a height of three feet.

[p.49]

13 19. **KATAFANGA** (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 25 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 45' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

TUVUTHA' I.

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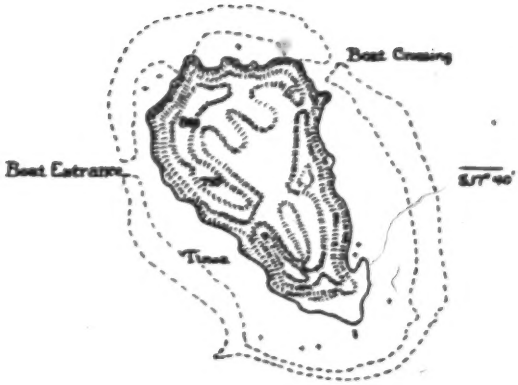

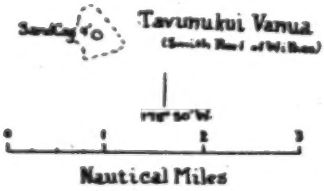

[p.53]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NAIAU I.

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[p.55]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 [366] 177 [161] There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117 people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried 487 13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than 181 245 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 361 712 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.

[p.56]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

VANUA VATU.

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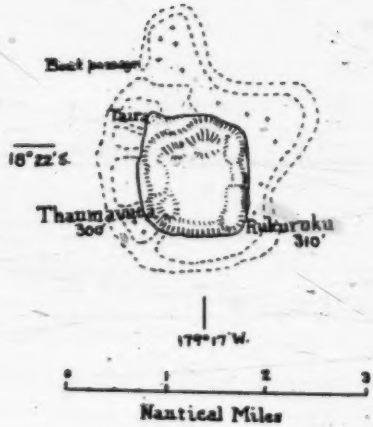

[p.57]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166, p.375), we found the people quite 262 prosperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 312 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 13 pockets of fertle soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and 134 [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

THITHIA I.

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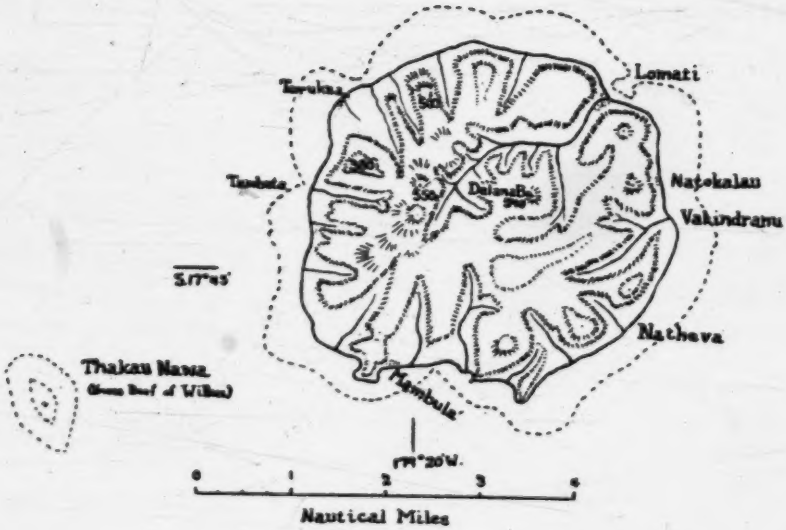

[p. 59]

13 **24. THITHIA** (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naisu and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, [312] flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Nambula', at the S.W. 179 [143] [159]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
[366] also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
[177] Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous
361 village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
361 cocoanut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[205] mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
[245]
[466]
423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive
groves of cocoanuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

MANGO I.

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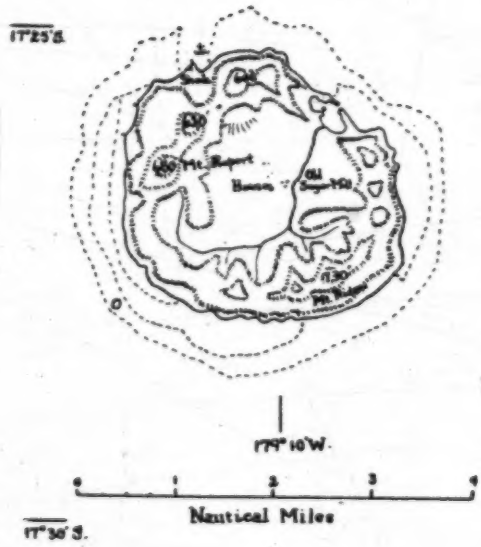

[p. 62]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Xanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KANATHEA I.

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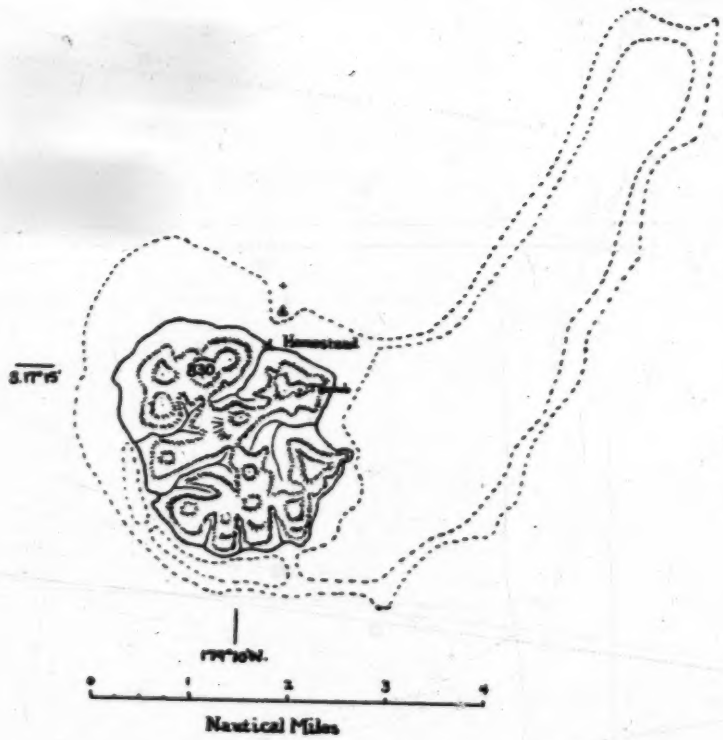

[p.65]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [349] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

36 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yanuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population
161 of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a
312 cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.
487

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy
[291] and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other
[245] portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

[SUSUI I.]

13 the highest portion of which is a central transverse ridge, 430 feet high. The eastern half is a long, grassy flat of volcanic material, thickly covered with groves of coconut palms, which run up the eastern slope of the central hill. On the flat are two small hills covered with Casuarina trees. The village of Susui is situated at the N.W. [361] corner of this flat, at the head of a small bay. It has a population [161] of 67. The island is said to be used as a grazing ground for cattle. [233] Considerable copra is also produced.

[245] To the eastward are two small islands. The larger one, 190 feet high, has a small grove of coconut palms. The smaller, 80 feet high, rises more abruptly with rocky slopes adorned with Casuarina trees.

[p.71]

MUNIA & THIKOMBIA - I - LAU

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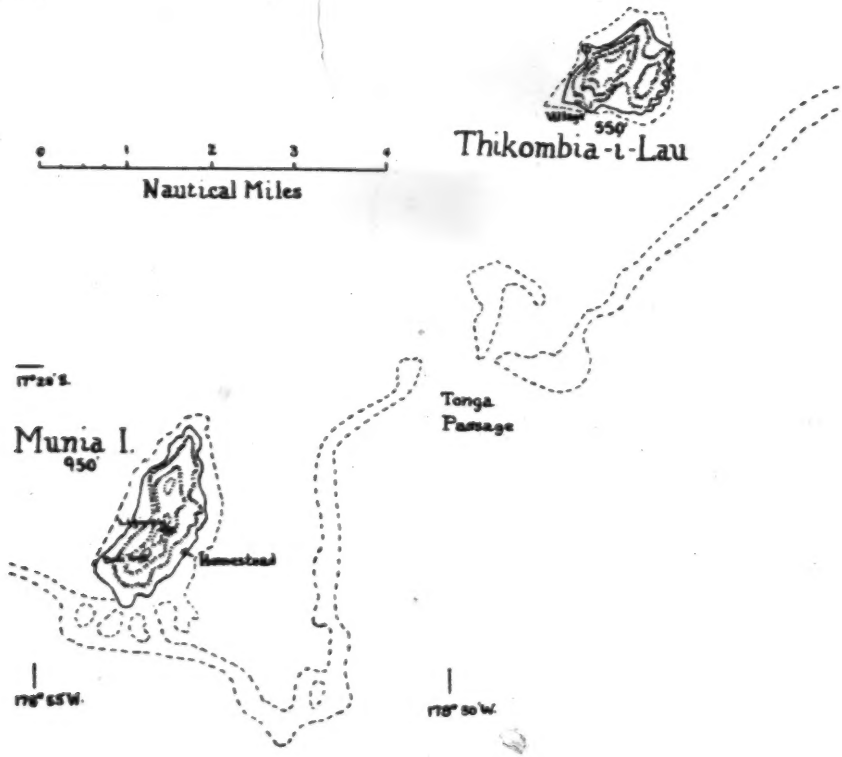

[p. 74]

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is trregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses,
[161] with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the
291 volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being waught
312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good
13 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto
487 the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave
764 containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.
172

[p.76]

13 [161] 34. The KIMBOMBO IS. are a group of 3 small, uninhabited islets, 6 miles north of the N.W. end of Vanua Mbalavu and 13 miles eastward of Naitaumba. They are surrounded by a barrier reef, 4 1/2 miles E.& W. by 3 miles N.& S. An entrance on the N.W. admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The largest islet, the south-eastern one, is sub-crescent-shaped, about 300 by 400 yards. It is composed of exceedingly rough coral limestone and surrounded by an undercut shelf. The islet slopes up gradually from the N.& W. to a height of 190 feet, to fall sheer to the water on the east. The slopes are densely covered with the usual trees, shrubs and herbs found on rough limestone islands. There is no fresh water [312] and insect life is scarce. A number of "flying foxes" (fruit bats) and the usual land crabs were seen. There are two small rocks off the N.W. side.

The middle islet, although only 200 or 300 yards to the N.W., is composed of conglomerate and bedded tuff of volcanic origin. The bedded strata dip to the E. and N.E. at an angle of about 30°. The islet is 100 by 60 yards and 120 feet high. It slopes up gradually from the S.E. with a cliff on the N. and N.W. A sand beach borders the W. and S.E. ●[361] sides, with a hut and small grove of coconut palms. The rounded summit is covered with small trees, and the slopes with casuarinas.

The small islet, on the W., is a steep pinnicle of tuff and conglomerate, about 100 feet high, completely surrounded by a sand beach, with coconut palms on the south and a fes small trees on the summit. A line of reef rans out to a patch of flat rocks on the N.E., and a similar reef connects the islet with two flat rocks to the south.

114 The observations of Agassiz (Bull.Museum Comparative Zoology, XXXIII, p.88, 1899), that the highest island is volcanic and the other two of elevated limestone, is incorrect.

[p.79]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

WAILANGILALA I.

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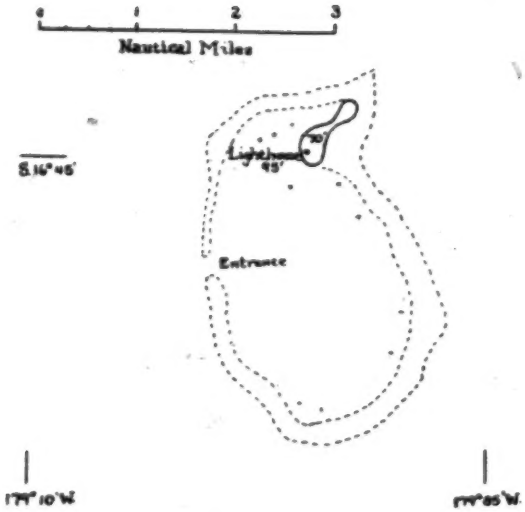

[p.80]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and coconut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 361 241 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive coconut grove. Some [312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

114 An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the lighthouse is different.

[p.81]

KAITAUMBA I.

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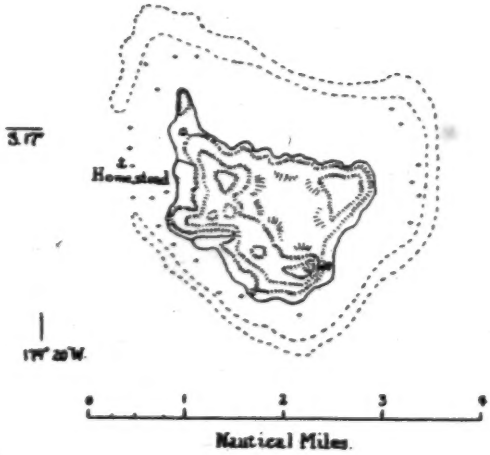


[p.82]

13 56. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

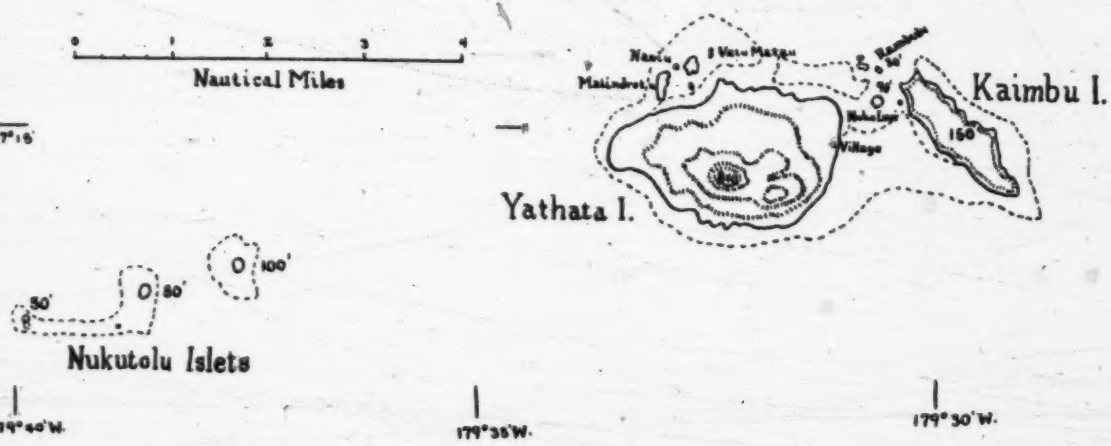
423 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a
361 homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh
245 water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc.,
312 might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island.
487 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.
161
464

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

NUKUTOLU ISLETS, YATHATA AND KAIMBU.



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[p. 84]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Bukulure, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1830 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.
312
241

[p.88]

361
342

28. The village on Vanua Vatu is one of the neatest in Lau.

133

29. Volcanic and coral limestone hills near Tarukua village, Thithia.

[p.102]

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group —so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no "wireless" on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 115 123

[361 / 622]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 58' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
295 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
177
287
327
366

[p. 23]

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 23 houses. Dakuiloa is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
366 Chinese at Wainggori, Japanese at Dakuiloa. The people seemed
197 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
194 noticeable Tongan element.

Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good
241 corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
181
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

13 15. LAKEMBA is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 30 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

[312] Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in every valley, and also a convenient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of coconut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 285. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
● 366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 22. KAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 [366] 177 [161] There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117 people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried 487 13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than 181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce 245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 361 712 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.

[p.56]

13 84. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ä) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naisu and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Buli[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 177 [143] [759]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
[366] also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
[177] Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous
361 village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
361 coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[205] mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
[242]
[466]
423 on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
245 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive
groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andawathi I. (250') and Yamuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 350 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaicloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

[241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

36 There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with
[161] 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but
[368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and
[161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qaliqali), the largest

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13 [103] 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are [241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 368 312 487 172 712 13 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The volcanic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat 13 surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly [241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.

[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or
272 death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle
[372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco
276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to
527 both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served
[262 only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men,
171] while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

"That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the
[534] big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevuteru* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by [554] ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

257 of *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

531 Patterns, consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kaihu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

531 386 Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai ndina; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

531 The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed
302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair
●386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark
[824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce
302 this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara.

but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes. 643 574 431

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. 843 [557] [851]

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant. 842

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held. 843 [386 302]

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black
[824] sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boiling a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A*, *B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu,* repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu,* or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa,* used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

[824] (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesowai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

[438] Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *kesa,* soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wungga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

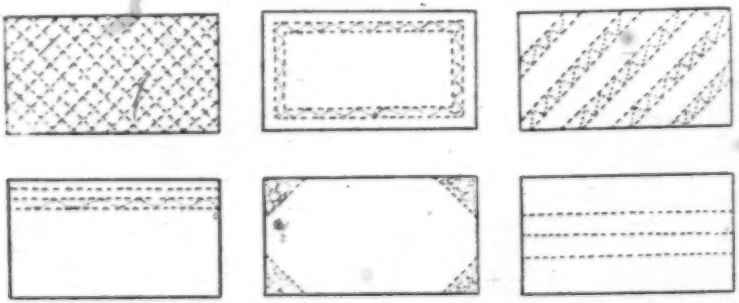

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was
[237] formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843
Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571
in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843
marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's
clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386]
with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302]
present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do
not know why it is done. Four days later the women go
fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast
for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much
joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first
100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community,
a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she
must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the
fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look
upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783]
any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before
being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She
may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse,
nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut
her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she [302]
usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman
is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called
kunekune. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast.
Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the
communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by
the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman
is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These
ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first preg-
nancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth,
both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of
pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which
have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga yonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

●396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

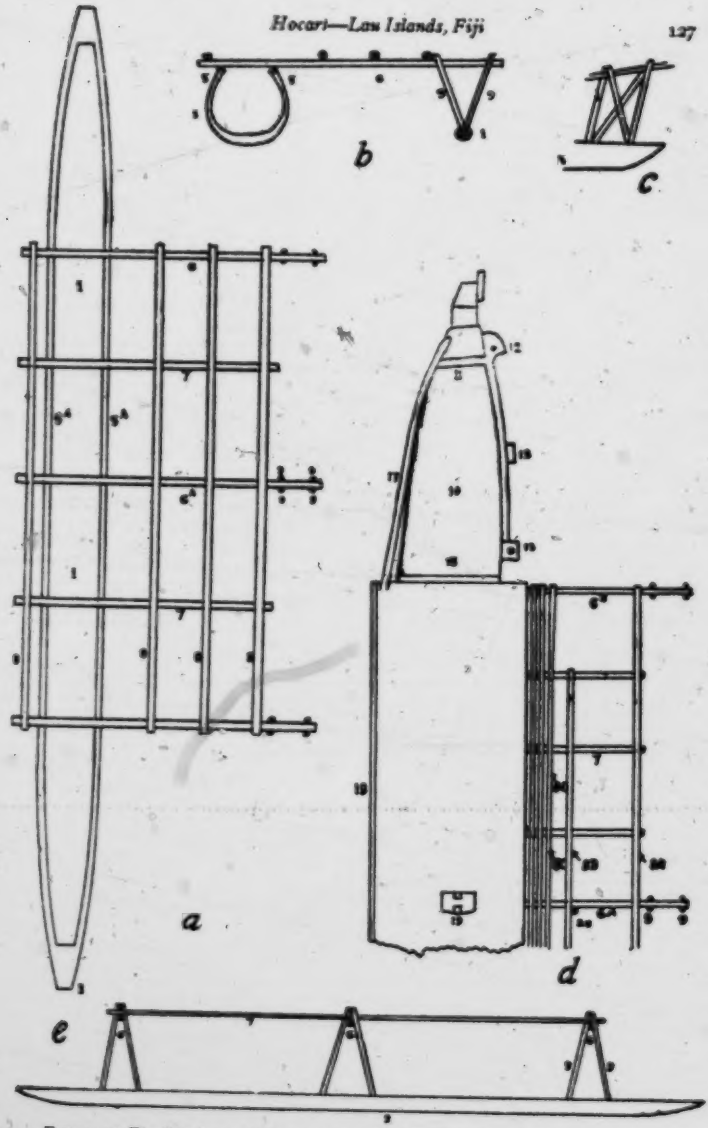

FIGURE 9.—The Kandavu sailing canoe: *a*, plan; *b*, cross section; *c*, attachment of outrigger; *d*, plan of sailing canoe; 1, hull; 2, float (*thama*); 3, bow; 4, stern; 5, washtrake (*sea*); 6, 6A, principal outrigger booms (*ikaso tu*); 7, short outrigger booms (*ikaso leka*); 8, outrigger crosspieces; 8A, B, C, *ravuniua*, *ivakosonindoko*, *isuasua*, spars; 9, float sticks (*ivatoto*); 10, fore deck; 11, emplacement of the point of the sail (*i tutu ni vu*); 12, *mbaserisei*; 13, *sau*; 14, main deck (*rara*); 15, *latitumbu*; 16, *tavia*; 17, *ivavandava*; 18, railing (*mbaniua*); 19, step (*vungakoto*); 20, mast; 21, *roko*; 22, cleat (*teke*); 23, bow stay (*uthuimua*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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struction of a canoe seen at Soso in Kandavu. The hull is made of Fijian *kauri* or of greenheart. The lower end of the masthead is levelled and lashed to the mast; two stays called *tu ruarua* (I use the Kandavu terms) are fastened to the joint; the other end of one is lashed to the outmost spar, the end of the other to the lee side; one single stout stay called *tu ruarua* runs from the blocks (*i sandali*) on the masthead to the central outrigger boom and the outer float sticks. Two stays also run from the base of the masthead to the further blocks on the weather side of the canoe

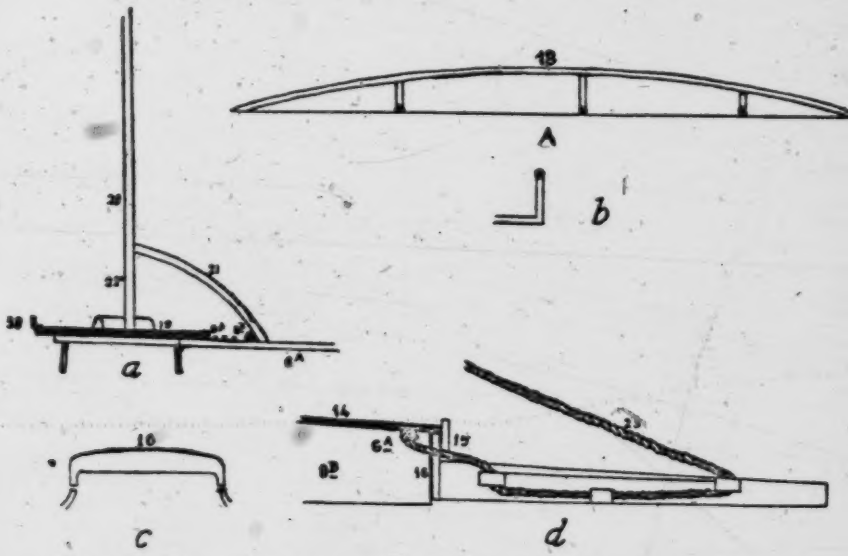

FIGURE 10.—The Kandavu canoe: *a*, mast; *b*, railing and detailed section; *c*, section of the fore deck; *d*, longitudinal view of the fore deck.

fore and aft, then back through two more blocks to the outer outrigger booms. The spaces (*ndungundungu*) under the fore and aft decks are almost completely partitioned off from the main hold (*ndreke*). The hold is partly covered by a platform on which a small hut may be erected. In larger canoes these become regular deck cabins which have flat roofs known as the sail shelf.

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Large double canoes are spoken of as sacred canoes (*wangga tambu*). Any one can cut a dug-out paddling canoe and without ceremony, but large canoes are put into hands of carpenters, this entails feasts at various stages of the construction.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way." 396 431 574

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed; 396 184

No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*). 396 574

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A, B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu,* called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

●396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, ***mbau,***
313 or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
[824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village
483 go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out
[412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal. 396 313 483

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon. 396

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it. 396 483 [401] [824]

When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes, 396 284

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 which are lashed in the same way. Before proceeding to the third pair of holes the sennit is looped backward and knotted through the sennit carried 284 from the first hole. The holes are calked with coconut fiber plugged in with [401] a wooden wedge and hammer.

Head- and stern-boards (*mua levu* and *mua lailai*) are hewn from solid 396 *mbau vuntchi*. They are fitted over the entire fore-and-aft parts of the hull and are lashed to it in the same way as the washstrakes. The head-board of large canoes is decorated with simple ornamental carving (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).

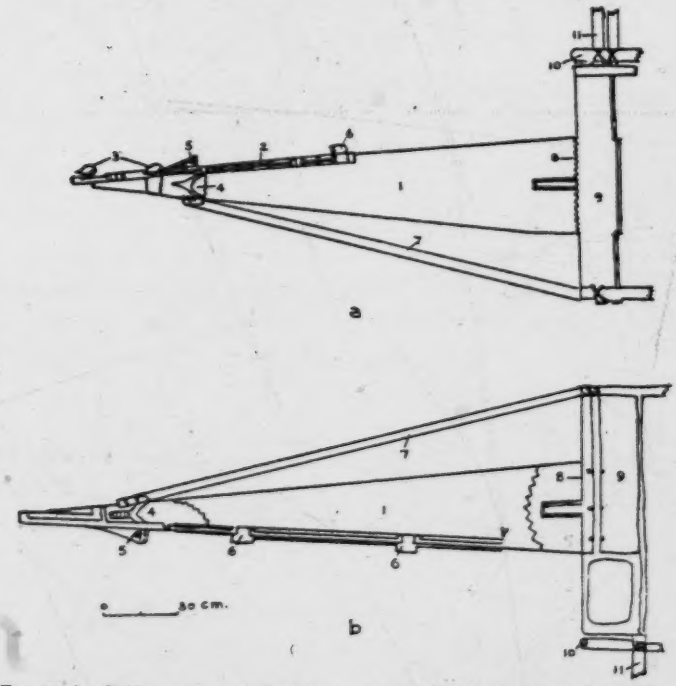

FIGURE 6.—Sailing canoe, plan of bow. **a**, with outrigger attached to starboard; **b**, with outrigger attached to port: 1, head-board; 2, ornamental carving; 3, cowry shells; 4, yard socket; 5, stay hole; 6, guard projections covering horizontal leads; 7, diagonal strut connecting head of hull with lee corner of deck platform; 8, breakwater; 9, deck; 10, stringer; 11, outrigger boom.

Outrigger attachment. The weight, size, and attachment of the float (*thama*) is of utmost importance, for the chief problem in rough weather sailing is to maintain the balance and prevent the float from sinking. The outrigger is attached to the port side of the canoe except in canoes built by

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the *lemaki* carpenters, who attach it to the starboard side. The float consists of a rounded log of light wood with flattened upper surface and pointed ends. It is little more than half the length of the canoe and is attached indirectly to it by means of over-crossed stick connectives (*vatoto*). On Kambara breadfruit wood is preferred for the float, on Ongea *ngandoa* is used. 396

The booms (*i kaso*) of breadfruit wood, run athwart the canoe from the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger toward the float. They rest in squared sockets cut out of the upper edge of the washstrakes and are tied with sennit to the washstrakes through two holes drilled in the washstrakes below each socket. The holes are usually drilled on the same horizontal plane, along one line of the grain. On a few canoes they are on different planes and therefore stronger, for the wood of the washstrake is less likely to split. The three primary booms, longer and thicker than the secondary booms, are placed at each end and in the middle of the washstrakes. They extend a few centimeters beyond the float and are indirectly connected with it. The secondary booms, placed between the primary booms, extend to the outermost stringer and are not connected with the float. The number of secondary booms varies according to the size and strength of the canoe (fig. 7).

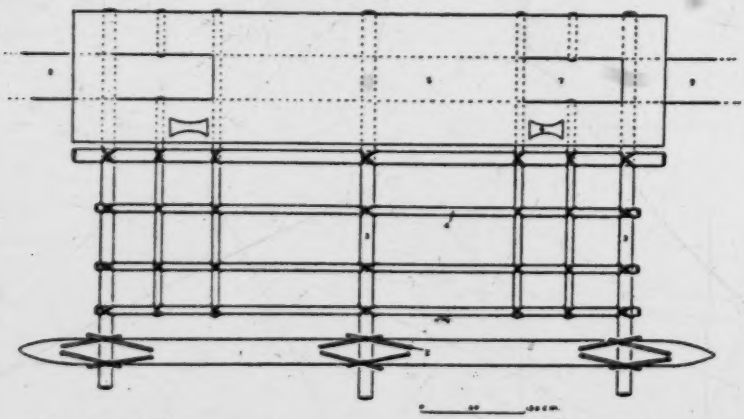

FIGURE 7.—Sailing canoe, outrigger plan: 1, float; 2, stick connective; 3, outrigger boom; 4, stringer; 5, deck; 6, hole for scull; 7, hatch; 8, head-board; 9, stern-board.

The float is attached to the three primary booms by means of six pairs of overcrossed stick connectives, two pairs to each boom. The pointed lower ends of the connectives are hammered into the float. The upper ends are crossed over the booms and lashed together in pairs. To reinforce the attachment on large, well-built canoes secondary stick connectives (*lengge*) run from the float below each primary boom to the outermost stringer.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
[177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than
285] the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The head and foot[1] are tied to two spars, the yard (*vu*, forefather) and the boom (*alewa*, woman). At the tack of the sail the yard is stepped in a socket (*tutu ni vu*) on either the head or the stern board, and the forked end of the boom is fitted to the yard. The attachments *vu* and *alewa* are phallic symbols. 396 [831]

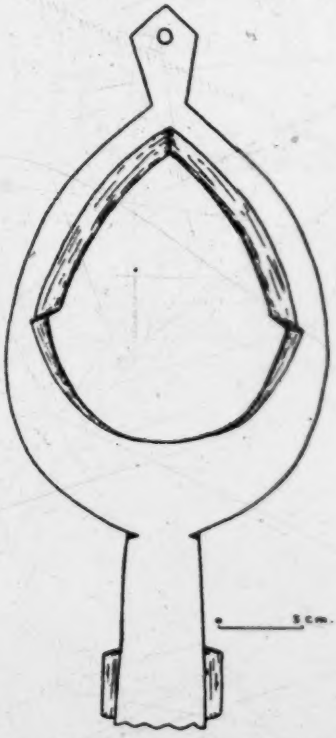

FIGURE 8.—Sailing canoe mast truck from Fulanga.

One or two halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are tied to the yard at a point about two thirds of the distance from tack to peak, and the sheet (*sila*) is attached to the boom at a corresponding point two thirds of the distance from tack to inside of timberlake.

To raise the sail the halyards are drawn over or through the mast-prong or the aperture in the masthead and made fast to a cleat at the foot of the mast. The sheet is twisted around an inner stringer and held by one of the crew. If the wind is fair and constant it may be tied to a stringer. Furling the sail is shown in plate 5, *A*.

1 [of the sail.—Analyst]

/2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
'Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622] are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau[illegible]na ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
[354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *ervevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
[622] *tamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
[731] *tembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

439 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
824 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
322 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for
439 the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
174 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
(pp 1-96 not processed)

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

[KAMBARA I.]

361 [161] of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 180 residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the 487 241 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have 396 322 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

396

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon.

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[401]

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it.

[824]

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When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 which are lashed in the same way. Before proceeding to the third pair of holes the sennit is looped backward and knotted through the sennit carried 284 from the first hole. The holes are calked with coconut fiber plugged in with a wooden wedge and hammer.

[401] Head- and stern-boards (*mua levu* and *mua lailai*) are hewn from solid 396 *mbau vuntchi*. They are fitted over the entire fore-and-aft parts of the hull and are lashed to it in the same way as the washstrakes. The head-board of large canoes is decorated with simple ornamental carving (fig. 6, *a*, *b*).

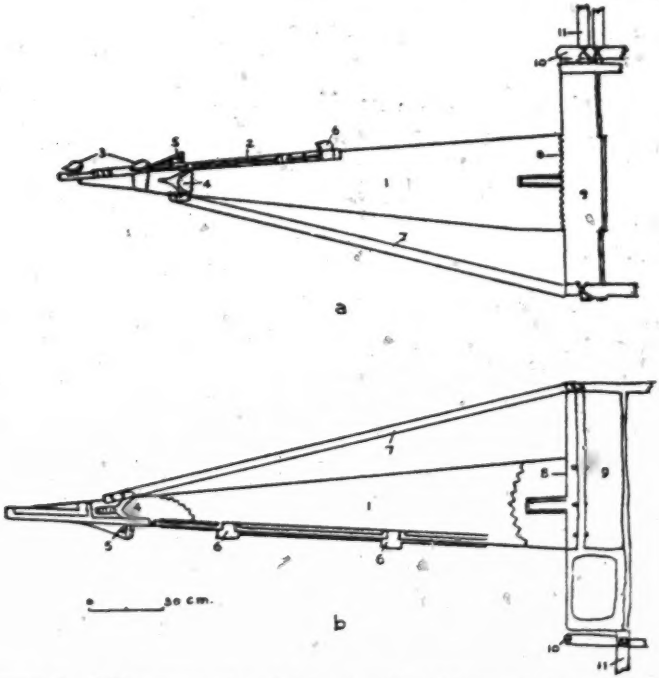

FIGURE 6.—Sailing canoe, plan of bow. **a**, with outrigger attached to starboard; **b**, with outrigger attached to port: 1, head-board; 2, ornamental carving; 3, cowry shells; 4, yard socket; 5, stay hole; 6, guard projections covering horizontal leads; 7, diagonal strut connecting head of hull with lee corner of deck platform; 8, breakwater; 9, deck; 10, stringer; 11, outrigger boom.

Outrigger attachment. The weight, size, and attachment of the float (*thama*) is of utmost importance, for the chief problem in rough weather sailing is to maintain the balance and prevent the float from sinking. The outrigger is attached to the port side of the canoe except in canoes built by

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PREPARATIONS

648 When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauri-tambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

411 The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

726 European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children, allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i vakathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
[411] (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges
712 of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies
(*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
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Lakemba

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A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN. TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

yaka wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. 766 [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni* or *mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yangona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni rengurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

distributed. The sauce is sweetened with sugar cane, ti, or imported sugar. 252
Stalks of sugar cane are ground on a sharp piece of coral called *i thoronga* and strained with a hibiscus strainer. The juice is placed in a large pot and [412] stirred over the fire with a paddle-shaped stick called *i yali,* made for the occasion out of the lower end of a coconut-leaf midrib. The resulting caramel mixture is called *salasalaki.* Coconut cream (*lolo*) is added slowly to the *salasalaki* and the whole is boiled. The sauce is called *loloriri.*

To make manioc pudding (*mavu*) roots of the poisonous varieties are first made into *tapioke solo* (p. 153). Roots of nonpoisonous varieties are scraped and boiled. The cooked manioc is placed in a long oblong wooden bowl. Two boys, one sitting at each end of the bowl, hold it between their legs, while two young men, one standing on each side of the bowl, pound the mass with pounders (*i mbutu ni nggalu*) made from the lower end of the midrib of a coconut leaf. The pounding is done rapidly and in rhythm, first one lifting and lowering his pounder and then the other. Every three or four minutes fresh men replace the pair who are pounding. The two holding the bowl are replaced less frequently. The pounding continues for about 20 minutes. An older man then sprinkles some sauce over the mass and mixes it by hand. Then he takes some of the pudding in each hand and squeezes each handful quickly into three balls (*nggelena* or *nggele ni nggalu*), which fall into one corner of the bowl. When he has about 15 balls he sprinkles some sauce on a scorched, folded banana leaf (on which the midrib has been trimmed), places the balls on the leaf, and adds more sauce. Another man pleats the leaf into a bag and ties it. A bag of pudding is called *i thovo nggalu. Mavu* is also made of roasted breadfruit or of boiled or steamed taro.

Puddings without sauce are made of manioc, sweet potato, Tahitian chestnut, banana, taro, and *yambia.* Some pudding recipes follow:

Malimali. Peeled ripe bananas are pounded by hand in a wooden bowl. Dry *yambia* starch and the milk of green coconuts is added. The mass is mixed and divided into portions, each portion is wrapped in a scorched banana leaf, then in breadfruit or ti leaves and steamed.

Vakalolo vunitchi (banana pudding). Coconut cream is added to peeled, ripe, pounded bananas. The mixture is divided into portions, which are wrapped in banana leaves and steamed.

Vovo. Green bananas are boiled, peeled, and pounded. Grated coconut is added and the pudding is ready to eat.

Tololo. A mixture is prepared as for *tapioke solo.* Before steaming, coconut cream and grated coconut are added.

Tahitian chestnut pudding. Grated Tahitian chestnuts, grated coconut, and coconut cream are mixed and divided into portions which are wrapped in ti leaves and steamed.

Preserving

Fermented food (*mandrai*) is especially important on Fulanga, where any 251
surplus of food is preserved for times of scarcity. Manioc imported from

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu*, called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau*, or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest 313 and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it [824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a 313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village 483 go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out [412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut. [824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sau una ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
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the bevel and the front sides of the edge. It is then straight and wide. The unmodified bevel is narrow transversely. It is slightly convex longitudinally. The surfaces of adzes of this type are convex, and angular margins are absent. Specimens of the circular type have been pecked and ground, and some have been polished. The butt-surfaces of some adzes have been slightly reduced by pecking to give security to the haft, but not sufficiently to form a tang. 324 412

Variations. Adzes of the circular type vary greatly in size. A small adze (fig. 2) found with skeletal material in a cave on Ongea illustrates the small variety. An adze found in the same cave shows a clearly-developed shoulder (fig. 3). This is the only example of a definite shoulder in the collection.

Elliptical Type

Flat adzes with elliptical cross-section have been grouped as the elliptical type. (See Pl. A, 2 and fig. 4). They are the most numerous in the collection. Adzes of this type narrow markedly from the edge, which is wide and slightly curved, to the rounded or flattened pole. The surfaces are convex, the front surface being more curved than the back on most of the elliptical adzes. They are entirely ground and many are polished. Some have been resharpened by grinding on both sides of the bit. On one specimen the whole back surface of the butt and part of the front surface have been slightly reduced by pecking for greater security of the haft.

Variations. An adze found below the surface at the village site of Nggali, Mothe island (Pl. A, 3 and fig. 5) illustrates large, flat adzes of the elliptical type. Both back and front surfaces of this variety are flattened. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the rectangular types. A roughly finished adze from Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga, (fig. 6) illustrates another variety of the elliptical type. This adze shows a tendency toward plane surfaces and angular margins. It is intermediate between the elliptical and the trapezoidal types. The back and side surfaces of the butt have been reduced by chipping to facilitate hafting.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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Trapezoidal Type

324 412 Long narrow adzes with symmetrical, trapezoidal cross-section form the trapezoidal type. (See Pl. A, 4 and fig. 7). This type has four definite surfaces which form angular margins. The front and back surfaces are roughly parallel, the back being wider than the front. On some adzes the back surface is slightly convex transversely. The front surface of this type narrows from edge to pole, thus it is triangular in form. The back surface is widest at the chin and narrows slightly towards the pole. The edge is sharp and straight. The bevel is slightly convex and forms a definite angle with the blade. Adzes of this type have been chipped and ground.

Variations. Adzes of the trapezoidal type vary in size. A small adze found at the mouth of a cave on Namuka measures 117 mm. long and 37 mm. at greatest width. An adze from Fulanga, with narrow, plane front surface, back deeply arched transversely, and flattened ovate cross-section, is a variation on the trapezoidal type, (See fig. 8). The exact form of this adze cannot be determined, because the front and bevel surfaces have been reground. The adze has been made roughly by the chipping-technique and the surfaces have been ground.

Rectangular Type

Flat adzes with rectangular cross-section are classed as the rectangular type (See Pl. A, 5 and fig. 9). Front and back surfaces of these adzes are plane and of almost equal width, although the back is slightly wider. The side surfaces are slightly convex transversely. The edge is wide and straight. The bevel is plane with definite chin. The pole is flattened. Most adzes of this type are chipped, ground, and polished. One specimen shows evidence of pecking and subsequent grinding. It is unpolished.

Variations. An adze from Vatoa (Pl. A, 6 and fig. 10) illustrates the large thick variety of the rectangular type.

Shell Adzes

321 412 There are several shell adzes in the collection. These adzes show a tendency toward angular margins and quadrangular form. One shell adze from Nasau village site,

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
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Namuka (Pl. A, 7 and fig. 11), resembles the rectangular type of stone adze, as does another shell adze found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga (Pl. A, 8 and fig. 12). 321 412

Gouges

The collection contains two gouges. Both are fusiform with circular cross-section, similar in form and technique to adzes of the circular type. The bevel is narrow and concave transversely. The edge is curved. Both specimens are pecked and ground. The gouge illustrated in Plate A, 9 was found below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga. The other gouge was found on the surface at Velavela, Wangava. It is an unusally long and narrow implement. It measures 335 mm. long and 49 mm. at greatest width. It is composed of basalt and weighs 50 ozs. 324 412

Comparisons

The type of cutting-implements which have been described fall clearly into two groups; those with curved cross-section and convex surfaces and those with quadrangular cross-section and a tendency toward flat surfaces and angular margins. For the sake of classification I have called the first group Fijian and the second western-Polynesian. The Fijian group includes the circular and elliptical types, and the western-Polynesian includes the trapezoidal and rectangular types. About two-thirds of the 44 specimens from Lau which were examined fall into the Fijian group, while the remaining third may be classed as western-Polynesian. 171 324 412

Adzes similar to the circular and elliptical types are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Fiji proper and from the Marianas islands. Adzes of the rectangular type also occur in the Marianas collection.[4] Adzes of the elliptical type are common in Melanesia.

Adzes of the quadrangular or western-Polynesian type are found in the Bishop Museum collection from Tonga,

[4]See my "Archaeology of the Marianas islands," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 100, Honolulu, 1932, Plate 6 A (type 1, circular), 6 C (type 2, elliptical), 6 D (type 3, rectangular).

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

171 Samoa,[5] Rotuma, Tokelau,[6] Futuna,[7] and Uvea,[8] but are
324 absent in the small collection from Fiji proper.
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Hence besides the specialization in carpentry, the position of the Lau islands on the border between Polynesia and Melanesia adds interest to a study of the cutting-implements. This marginal position is clearly reflected in the local types of adzes.

[5]See Peter Buck, "Samoan Material Culture," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 75, Honolulu, 1930, Plate 36 C (type 3, rectangular); Plate 37 B and figure 196 (type 6, triangular).

[6]Gordon Macgregor, "Ethnology of Tokelau," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 146, figure 24, 1937.

[7]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Futuna," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 138, Plate 5, A and C, 1936.

[8]Edwin G. Burrows, "Ethnology of Uvea," *Bishop Museum Bul.* 145, figure 3, 1937.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate A. Adzes from the Lau islands.

1. Adze (C7283) circular type, found in a cave with skeletal material, Ongea island; composed of basalt; blade ground, butt pecked; fusiform narrows toward flattened, pecked poll, and toward slightly curved, narrow edge: back view showing bevel. Weight 24 ozs. 324 412
2. Adze (C7462) elliptical type, found on the surface, Embalailai garden near Muanaira, Fulanga; composed of basalt, ground and polished; truncate triangular form: back view showing flattened surface with plane bevel. Weight 9 ozs.
3. Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat, found 5 centimeters below the surface at Nggali village site, Mothe; composed of basalt, ground: back view showing flattened surface similar in form to front. Weight 26 ozs.
4. Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, from Vatoa, composed of basalt, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front. Weight 7 ozs.
5. Adze (C7293) rectangular type from Ongea, composed of basalt, chipped, ground and polished: a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat. Weight 6 ozs.
6. Adze (C7289) rectangular type large, thick, from Vatoa; composed of basalt, pecked and slightly ground: back view showing plane surface. Weight 81 ozs.
7. Adze (C7433) of shell, from Nasau village site, Namuka; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, with edges narrowing toward flattened poll. Weight 4 ozs. 321 412
8. Adze (C7456) of shell, found 18 centimeters below the surface in Mbutonikoro garden, Fulanga; composed of tridacna, ground: a, front less convex than b, back. Weigth 1 oz.
9. Gouge (C7454) resembling adzes of the circular type, found 18 centimeters below the surface at Mbutonikoro, Fulanga; composed of basalt pecked and ground, fusiform with convex surfaces, narrow edge, and flattened poll; back view showing concave bevel, length 140 millimetres; depth 34 millimetres; cross section circular. Weight 10 ozs. 324 412

Figures (one-third actual size) by Edward Y. Hosaka.

Fig. 1—Adze (C7283) circular type: a, front; b, back; c, side showing similarity of profiles; d, cross-section circular, flattening toward edge.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
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PLATE A.

[facing p. 104]

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Fig. 2—Adze (C7286) circular type, small: a, front, well ground and polished, pecked above edge and at poll, front edge ground from resharpening: b, back, ground and polished, flattened; c, side shows edge almost equibeveled from resharpening; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 3—Adze (C7287) circular type: a, front slopes from shoulder to edge and to poll; b, back flattened; c, side showing definite shoulder and chin; d, cross-section subcircular.

Fig. 4—Adze (C7462) elliptical type, truncate triangular form: a, front convex transversely and longitudinally with wide curved edge; b, back flattened with plane bevel; c, side convex; d, cross-section roughly elliptical.

Fig. 5—Adze (C7443) elliptical type, flat: a, front; b, back flattened and similar in form; c, sides also flattened with tendency toward angular margins; d, cross-section elliptical with tendency toward rectangular form.

Fig. 6—Adze (C7478) elliptical type, large: a, front, surface ground, slightly convex transversely; b, back blade ground, butt reduced by chipping, surface flattened transversely; c, side surface chipped, reduced toward poll; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical showing slight tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 7—Adze (C7288) trapezoidal type, quadrilateral with well defined angles: a, front polished, slightly convex longitudinally, narrowing from edge to flattened poll; b, back chipped and polished, is flat and wider than front; c, side chipped and polished with definite chin; d, section symmetrically trapezoidal with front and back surfaces roughly parallel.

Fig. 8—Adze (B7925) trapezoidal variation: a, front narrow plane surface which has been reground and polished; b, back convex transversely, polished; c, side showing definite chin and reground bevel; d, cross-section flattened ovate.

Fig. 9—Adze (C7293) rectangular type, a, front slightly convex longitudinally, slightly narrower than back; b, back flat; c, side flattened, definite chin; d, cross-section rectangular.

Fig. 10—Adze (C7289) rectangular type, large: a, front plane; b, back plane; c, sides slightly convex; b, cross-section subrectangular.

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Fig. 11—Adze (C7433) shell: a, front and b, back convex transversely and longitudinally, wide edge narrowing toward flattened poll; c, side showing thin profile; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

Fig. 12—Adze (C7456) shell: a, front less convex than b, back; c. sides; d, cross-section irregularly elliptical with tendency toward angular margins.

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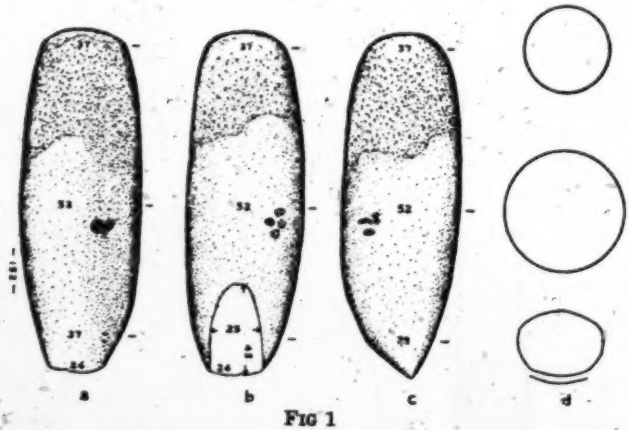

FIG 1

FIG 2

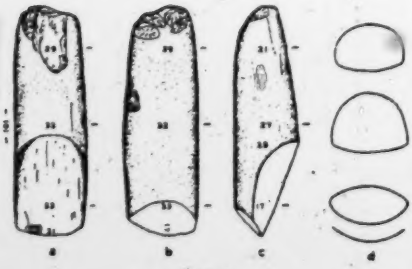

FIG 3

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

324
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FIG 4

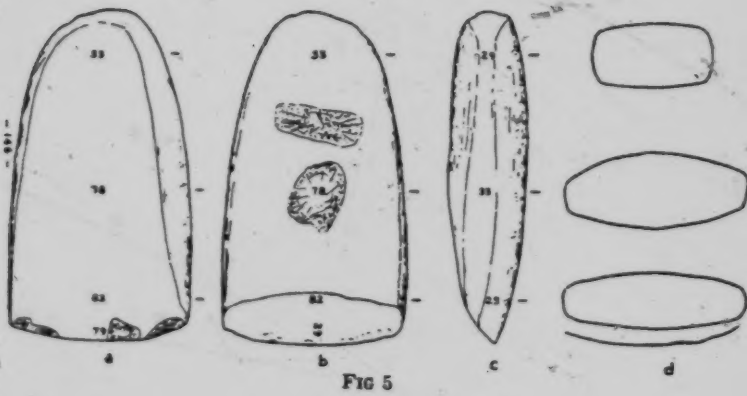

FIG 5

FIG 6

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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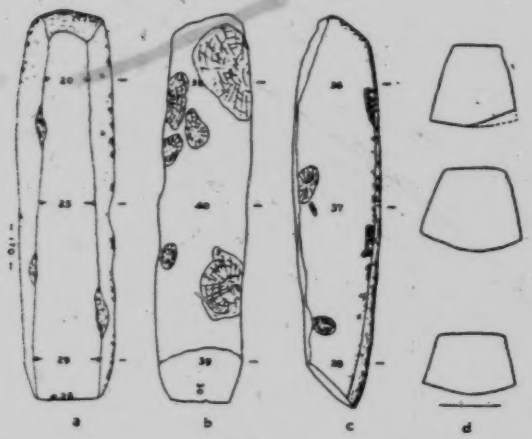

FIG 7

FIG 8

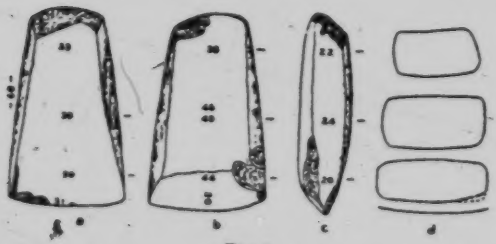

FIG 9

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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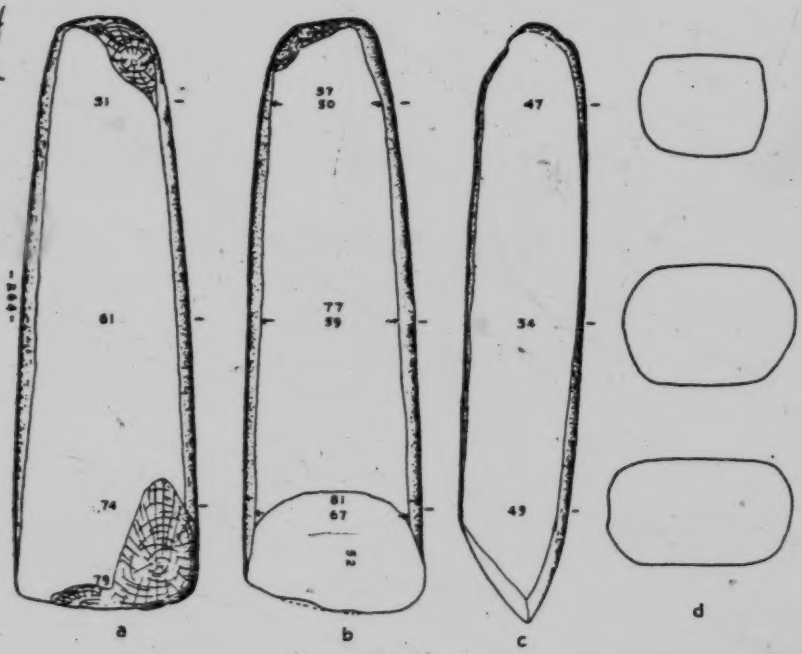

FIG 10

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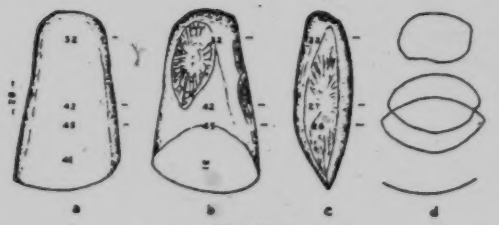

FIG 11

FIG 12

[pp. 109 - end, not processed]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

[p.106 is blank]

SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

I WAS examining a curious stone axe-head in the house of Adi Letila, a very old widow of chiefly rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good implement to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir;

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness, though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

"In the days before the first foreign ship came to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ra, an island to the north of Fiji.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

Woodwork

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son. 415 322 [428 413]

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina*; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

long strip of bark, about 7 cm. wide is then rolled (*vakaveveu*) into a coil (*vakavivi*) inside out. The inner bark (*vanggangga*) is peeled from the outer bark (*kulina*) by separating the two at the lower end with a shell or knife and carefully pulling and cutting them apart, a process called *vothi*. The inner bark is then placed on a piece of bamboo and scraped (*kari*) with a *mulo* shell in order to clean and whiten it. The strips of bark are dried for about a day in the sun, a process called *singani*. In this dried state they may be kept indefinitely, but they keep best if wrapped in *mbekambeka* mats. They are stored on the beams of dwelling houses. 287

The next step is to beat out the bark, a process called *samusamu*. The dried inner bark is soaked (*toni*) in salt water for a day or it is rolled and soaked in fresh water in a wooden bowl (*kumete vakalofau*). It is then called *vue*. The *vue* is taken to a kitchen hut and beaten on a tapa board (*ndundua*) with a tapa mallet (*ike*). The tapa boards on Namuka are composed of *mbolavatu* or *mbuambua* wood; those on Mothe are composed of *tavola, mbuambua*, and *ndawa* wood obtained locally, and of *tavo* or *mbolavatu* wood imported from Fulanga, Ongea, Yangasa, or Namuka.. On Kambara the tapa boards are of *yake*. The four-sided mallet of *thau* wood varies in size but not in shape. Two or three sides are incised with four or five deep grooves, the others left smooth. (Tapa board and beater are made in Lau by men.) The bark is beaten with the grooved sides first, then with the smooth side to eradicate watermarks. During the beating process the width of the bark increases to from 60 cm. to 1 meter. The strips are hung in the house to dry or spread out in the sun, the edges weighted with pebbles. The dry strips (*siku*) are now ready to be made into one of the following types of barkcloth: *i sala, masi tutuki, masi kuvui, masi vakarerenga*, or Fijian sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Vitchi*). 287 413

I sala is made of a single strip of one thickness, beaten out thin. The edges are usually cut into a fringe (*tatavu*). This type of tapa is the natural cream color of the inner bark. *I sala* is often soaked in coconut oil before being used. It is worn on ceremonial occasions and was formerly used for turbans worn by chiefs. 287

Masi kuvui (smoked tapa) is made of two strips fitted together into one thickness. It is folded and soaked in coconut oil in a wooden bowl. A wooden tripod is erected over a fire of green sugar-cane and ti leaves. Several pieces of oiled *masi* are placed on the tripod, covered with mats, and smoked to a golden brown color. *Masi kuvui* is occasionally worn at ceremonies.

Masi vakarerenga is made of a strip of *masi* soaked in oil mixed with powdered mangrove root and dried indoors. The resulting burnt orange tapa is used on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, as a covering for the body or as streamers for wreaths.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Serving

264 [272] [415]

Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

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When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him; as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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yaka wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. 766 [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni or mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanggona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni renggurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turangu*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

Fishing with Nets

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *swimariri* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [439]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovizi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622 are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa* 765 *ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

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There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

Figure 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina*; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

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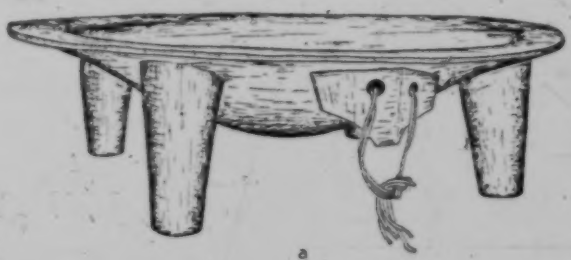
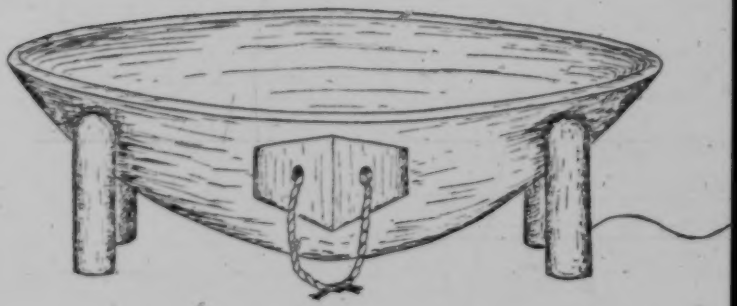
clumsy than those of the *tanoa ntchina*. The *sese ni tanoa* is used as a kava bowl also.

The *tanoa ntchina* and the *sese ni tanoa* are occasionally made with six or eight legs. Multiple-legged bowls are said to have been introduced into Lau by the *lemaki* carpenters.



a



b

FIGURE 10.—Kava bowls: a, *tanoa ntchina* type from Kambara (B6918), made of greenheart, diameter 78 cm., leg 18.5 cm. long; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2), diameter 48 cm., leg 16 cm. long.

The *vakalofau* differs from the *sese ni tanoa* type 2 in that the cavity at the rim is elliptical and not round. The *vakalofau* also has a deep cavity and four cylindrical legs. It is used as a container for food or coconut oil.

The *sendre* is a round bowl with flat base and usually without legs. In some *sendre* the base forms a definite angle with the side walls. The rim either extends upward to a straight edge or curves slightly outward. The rim of a *sendre* seen on Ongea was incised with a simple geometric design (fig. 11). This type of bowl is made without a lug. A small *sendre (sendre lailai)*, 60 cm. or less in diameter at the rim, is used as a food bowl and occasionally

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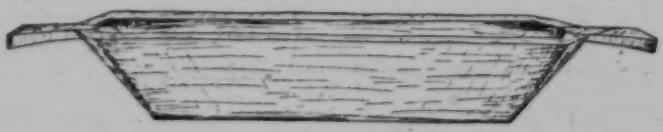
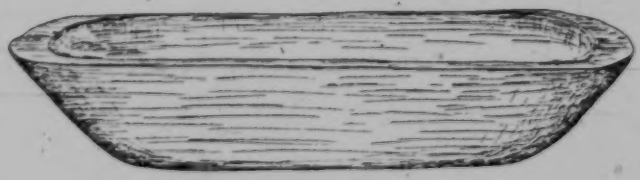
FIGURE 11.—Wooden bowl, *sendre lailai* type, with incised design on rim.

as a kava bowl. A large *sendre (sendre levu)*, used for storing coconut oil, has four knob legs at the base and two knob handles, which extend outward from opposite sides of the rim. Many *sendre* were seen on Ongea but none on Fulanga.

The *vonu* (turtle) is an elliptical bowl, shaped like a turtle, with four legs and a V-shaped lug which forms the turtle's head. It is used as a container for food or on informal occasions for kava. The *vonu* type of bowl is not popular and is said to have been recently introduced into Lau.



a



b

FIGURE 12.—Wooden oil bowl, *papasia* type: a, 150 cm. long, 52 cm. wide, walls 1.5 cm. thick; b, (B7938), 58 cm. long, 39 cm. wide, walls 1 cm. thick.

The *papasia* (fig. 12) is an elliptical bowl, rectangular or sectagonal at the rim. Large *papasia* often have two handles, one at each end, which jut either outward or inward. Bowls of this type were used for storing coconut oil paid in large quantities as taxes to the high chief at Lakemba under Tongan rule. They are now used as oil or food bowls.

The *i vakatoka* is a large, deep, flat-based tub (fig. 13). The cavity is four-sided with rounded corners and is almost square at the rim. Frequently

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415 322 this type of bowl has four knob handles which project outward at the corners of the rim. It is used as a wash bowl, especially for babies.

FIGURE 13.—Wooden tub, *i vakatoka* type, 96 cm. long, 73 cm. wide, 26 cm. deep, walls 1-2 cm. thick.

The *i sovasova* is a fish board of elliptical or rectangular form, used as a platter upon which to carve large fish. It is cut from a solid section of the root of the *mbau* or from *makota* or greenheart. Fish boards are usually fairly flat with a slight rim at least 1 cm. high.

HEADRESTS

352 322 Headrests (*kali*) of several types are made in Lau, especially in Muanaithake village on Fulanga. Generally only the highest ranking member of each household owns a headrest.

Informants say that the *kali thinggi* (fig. 14, *b*) is an old type of headrest. It is made of *mbau* or occasionally of greenheart, in three pieces—two legs

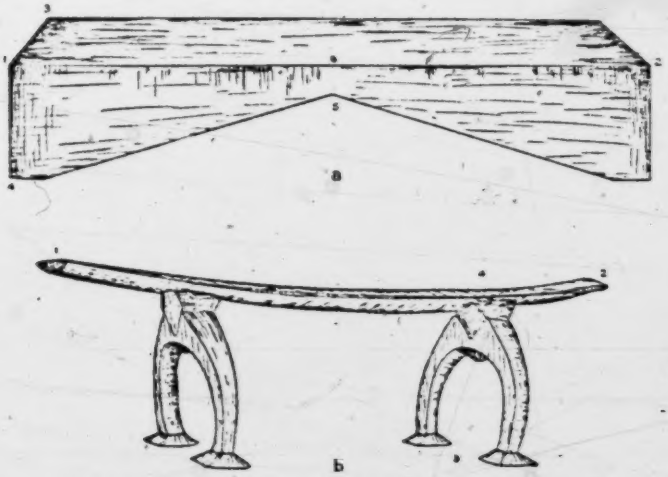

FIGURE 14.—Headrests: a, *tehiki* type, 1-2, 43 cm.; 1-3, 8 cm.; 1-4, 8 cm.; 5-6, 2 cm. b, *kali thinggi* type (B5234) made of greenheart, 1-2, 44 cm.; 3-4, 13 cm.

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322 534 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 415 272 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 411 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i sambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama,* and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

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COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*nokk*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

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FLOWERS

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by [832] *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni sa*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 324

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

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291

[252
415]

A

[516]

B

[287
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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142
291
301
415
285
516

A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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123 hardly know the meaning of. After a little while,
574 the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid
272 state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated
[30] with coloured leaves round their arms and legs,
[415] started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same;
[20] deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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An old informant says:

Before the time of the colonial government we had many pigs because we did not need to feed them. A fence of posts, running along the outskirts of the village from the beach to the cliff, kept the animals away from dwellings, but gave them access to the beach and the jungle where fruits, roots, insects, and greens afforded abundant food. Each household had its pigs and had a special place along the fence where it threw food to them. Often the fences were not kept in repair and animals found their way into the village and the houses. Hence the government ordered each pig owner to keep his animals in pens outside the village. Since that time pigs have had to be fed and, as food is scarce, the number has declined rapidly. 231 [417]

In December 1933, there were only 14 brood sows and one boar on Kambara. All these pigs, with the exception of one that had been brought as a farrow from Totoya, were of the razor-backed, long-legged, Polynesian breed. The animals were kept in pens about 9 meters square, with stone or wooden fences 1 to 1.5 meters high. Each sow had a single pen. In Tokalau one large pen was divided into two parts by a stone wall. The wall had a hole large enough for a farrow to slip through. Whenever the sow wanted a rest she would urge the litter into the other pen where the pigs were fed. The owner said, "Some day the farrows will be so big that they cannot return to the mother and then we shall know how big they are." [417]

The farrows stay with the sow as long as she can give them a drop of milk, often three or four months. The sow by that time has been reduced almost to a skeleton. Pigs of the same litter weigh from 20 to 40 pounds at the age of four months. If a farrow is slow in development the owner takes it home, where it is tied to a tree and given special food. Children play with it and occasionally the owner takes it for a walk. Some owners let their pigs run about after they have left the mother. They are usually kept out of the village, but there are often one or two to be seen around the earth oven and occasionally they enter the houses.

Pigs may be fed by men or women; the women usually feed them with coconut in the late forenoon. Beside each pen a husking stake (*ndoko*) is driven into the ground. In the evening a man, usually the owner, goes to the pen with a bundle of grass and leaves carried on a stick resting on his shoulder. He feeds the grass to the animals and gives them coconut meat. Most pigs are killed when they weigh 90 to 100 pounds, and are presented ceremonially to visiting chiefs or government officials.

The natives did not know the period of gestation for pigs. Their estimate of from three to five months is significant, as a farrow born only a day or two before it is due cannot live. Sows with many teats are preferred for breeding for they are considered most fertile. I did not find any pig able to suckle more than eight young ones and not one animal with a litter of more than six.

A boar is considered best between four and six years. Later he loses in potency. The only boar on Kambara was seven years old. The year before a

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and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a breeding pond for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

Gardening

New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

Garden Produce

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbavisondoi* (many branched); *vula telu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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CHATTELS

422

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[16] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena,* food.

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau,* to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua,* probably from *tambu,* sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents.

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate.

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerei*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau,* located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova,* is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [184] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 555

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman. [156]

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 762 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna,* the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula,* the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau,* the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [566] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu,* causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the
618 father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but
[427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing the thick jungles of the limestone islands. 24 461

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance. 423

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-
427 208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of
[177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua*, as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu*. A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed
[558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [84] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

BLOOD AND SOIL

Nonggui tau,
Solia nonggu yau.

My friend.
Give me some property.[27]

423 IN LAU the basic landowning unit is the clan. The land is divided into three classes: garden land, village land, and bush. The natives say that according to the pre-Tongan system of tenure in Lau each hamlet owned a part of each class of land. This system is found on the island of Mothe, which is divided into sections shaped like pieces of pie, each containing bush, garden, and village land. Each section was formerly owned and occupied by a hamlet and is still owned by the same group, which is now a clan in one of the two villages of the island. After the Tongan conquest, according to informants, on some islands clan titles were established to the garden and village land only and the bush was considered free. The post-Tongan system is found on the island of Kambara.

423 648 One of the most important policies of the British administration in Fiji has been the protection of native land ownership. Before annexation, white settlers in Fiji had acquired large areas of land (about 414,615 acres) from the native chiefs, but since 1875 practically all sale of native land, except to the government for specific purposes, has been prohibited. Tenure has been granted only by leaseholds, which may extend up to 99 years for agricultural purposes. In 1936 only about one-fifth (863,211 acres) of the total area of the colony (4,523,620 acres) had been alienated by sales and leases.[28]

[27] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 118.
[28] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 70.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from the modern western economic system. He is economically independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in southern Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or
471 not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden
261 paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang'-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. [423] The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the [245] copra from several small patches of coconut palms. [484]

YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few coconut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

NAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the S.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Navutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

[p. 20]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 295 224 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the
423 mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
366 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
177 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
245 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 19. **KATAFANGA** (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 51', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

[THITHIA I.]

is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents. Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a propperous village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe, coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store, mainly for the ~~[illegible]~~ convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta on the west side and Yakindranu on the east, are privately owned by the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present
245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the
[248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The
[249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center
361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.
491

The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son.
423 There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the
469 plantation, which are mostlt Indians. It is one of the most productive
162 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended
13 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are ~~patches~~ groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 26. KANATHEA is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material. [312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams. The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with [245] coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of ~~ABA~~
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

13

[p.66]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

13 XI. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 36. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 361 245 312 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~[illegible]~~ might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island. 487 161 469 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E. 13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 464 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. 304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 531] Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the [177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 555

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupètchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndauu*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The [424] recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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554 A nephew is spoken of as *vasu,* which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu.* A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu,* or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

604 425 There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa sauni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sausau* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko,* "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425 554

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*.

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. 591
Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna,* the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula,* the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau,* the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [766] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu,* causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

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Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

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Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

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Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutôka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[18] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Tahai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[18] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena,* food. 422

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau,* to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua,* probably from *tambu,* sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents. 301

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate. 431 425

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerci*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

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621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the
618 father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but
[427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

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423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-
● 427 208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of
[177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua,* as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu.* A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed
[558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

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Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

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working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

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It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai wai*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters. 615 618

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal. 618

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his 618 428

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classificatory brothers by seniority or, if he has no brothers, to his eldest son. The title remains in the subclan of the first-born of the original band. There are, however, exceptions to this rule of succession. If the rightful descendant is mentally deficient, either the next in succession becomes headman or the elders of the clan choose a headman from among themselves. Although the affairs of the clan are discussed by the male clan elders, the headman makes important decisions and has a strong influence on the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of his clan.

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and frequently between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and barkcloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i tokatoka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *tokatoka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mbatchi ni lovo* (literally "teeth or edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan, grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (pp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, waiving the rule of patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, marries into a clan and his children form a new subclan within that of their mother (pp. 54-55).

The subclan, functioning under the clan headman, serves to subdivide the social, economic, and ceremonial activities of the clan. It often functions as an economic unit in the daily tasks of gardening, fishing, sailing, barkcloth making, and mat plaiting. Some small subclans prepare the evening meal as a group, using the same earth oven and kitchen hut. Small feasts are celebrated by the subclan only.

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624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen
622 from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

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usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo,* literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala,* literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi.* If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [197] [428]

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848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people. [554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554] descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold ●428] the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger 561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] ● 423 674

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*. 501

WOODWORK

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son. 415 322 [428 413]

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: **a**, *tanoa ntchina*; **b**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); **c**, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake. 322 411

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers. 285 [171]

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara. 287 [463 428]

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

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OFFERINGS

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Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

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If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

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Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Se mbalambalavu e nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vuuura."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E*." The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase." 431 576

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*). 431 576 537 195

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good." 431 576

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

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term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro,* or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, *"O oa."* He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

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Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ŏ ŏă,*" they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki,* to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa.*" Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono.* The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha.*

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i luva ni tawake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

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board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending *"ē."* The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i wawa*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love, let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be pro-

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 43 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[13] The green heart tree, *vesi,* is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga*."

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi*."

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

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whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*solevu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[15] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevusevu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

[15] This must be a mistake. At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

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Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vakathambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai a vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, "*e.*" They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted "*kamunanga,*" while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

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back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo,* after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[186a] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo,* etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono.* Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[186a] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

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drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, *"O, oa."* The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo,* and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu received the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the church grow." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out *"kamunanga."* The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

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535 resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

[293] The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*muru*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

535 533 177 The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

535 The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an [431] expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European. 535

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance. 535 431

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations. 535

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again. [177]

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi. [177] [293]

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous. [177]

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

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one another, and they are also expressed by different possessives; *nona* refers to manufactured articles; *kena,* food. 422

The term *i yau* covers all such articles as mats, bark cloth, canoes, whale's teeth ornaments, kava bowls, oil, raw mulberry bark, pots, coir. That is, however, not the etymological meaning of the word which is an instrumental derivative of *yau,* to bring—*i yau* is therefore what is brought, that which is used as gifts. It is a difficult word to translate: I shall use the terms : manufactured articles, stuff, goods, property, gifts, as may best suit.

Whale's teeth, called *tambua,* probably from *tambu,* sacred, are polished and rubbed with oil and turmeric, and thus acquire a reddish tint. They are suspended on a coir string attached at both ends. These ornaments are becoming increasingly scarce, but are still valued as potent presents. 301

BEGGING SYSTEM

The looseness found in the transference of land applies even more so to chattels owing to the custom of begging from one another (*kerekere*). The Fijian practice of *kerekere* is one of the corner stones of Fijian life, so much so that to translate the term as begging is erroneous, for there is no stigma attached to *kerekere;* it is a normal practice, perhaps better translated with Dr. B. Malinowski, soliciting. If there is no kava in the house a young person will be sent to beg some from neighbors. Should a man want land to plant in, he begs it; if he is in want of money, he goes to a kinsman and begs for some, or he begs for the use of the coconut trees on a certain land in order to make copra and sell it to the stores. To take an example: Taumbale, a woman of Moala, wanted money to build a house, so she came to Fane, Salesi's wife, because they were sisters on account of their mothers being sisters, and begged to use Salesi's coconut trees. She and the men who were doing the work were put up at Salesi's and took part in the family work, Taumbale helping in the household work. The day of a church collection is a great begging time, as many have to beg in order to have enough to put in the plate. 431 425

Tongans are given to beg from all and sundry; Fijians beg from kinsfolk only. Tongans are reckless in begging; Fijians have a sense of delicacy (*mandua*).

When a man comes to a kinsman with a big request he usually brings a begging gift (*i kerci*) which he offers up (*vakathambo*) with the usual formula of apology, explaining his request and appealing to their ties of kinship. This is especially done when a village comes to make a request to a nobleman.

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It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

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The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

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Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele,* which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [177] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matuā*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo,*" then the "little *palolo,*" then the "great *nungga,*" and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

431 643 The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 643

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis.

[539]

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The south-east and thereabouts is called *theva*; it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 823

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[279] The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already intoxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it [431] pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

574 In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 643 262

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [537] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *raurau mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ningai*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way." 396 431 574

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed; 396 584

No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*). 396 574

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea. Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa, A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa. Ure, ure wi urea. Laki kau mai a masi volavola. A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the black cloth, A rag for the sailor boys. Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the variegated tapa, A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai, Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back, Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which [431] are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes 501 574 ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

50: Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Screivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [85]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

304 281 The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tavu sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. [824] Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

[431] There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

831 The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [?nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was [431] brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things 757
and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755
boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431]
feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758
the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757
some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755
natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262]
(b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262]
fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262]
and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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763 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be
565 blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the
431 dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth in-
431 side, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a
565 Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*taura wale nga*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rengurengu*) because after putting down
431 the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles: these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*).
From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house. 554 576

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion. 516

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls. 431 796

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern. 241 796

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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796 their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga
431 (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

Meke

796
533 A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by
535 drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

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643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [43] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes. 643 574 431

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. 843 [657] [851]

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant. 842

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held. 843 [386 302]

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of [184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is 852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are [851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is [431] divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

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585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 [431] 292 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it to the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 5 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

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585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble
[431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata,* the "eating together" feast.

[515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman.

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu:

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited.

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or
313 make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To
[431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the
283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task
[555] takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-
[272] leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 324

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

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431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the pay-
651 ment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

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The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

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851 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name
553 and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the
851 mother and child are visited by relatives from both the
602 mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts
431 consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth
[554] feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a
[848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. [162] Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday. — Analyst]

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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

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476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 ASIDE from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously.

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
4 31 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
4 38 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
4 31 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
4 38 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 006 Lau 006
Behavior Theory W3

the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analysing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch-holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup, and filled with sand, into which the dropping fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful features of the men, sitting silent as a row of graven images; while dimly in the shadows behind could be seen rows of spectators, men, women, and children, all silent and motionless until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was in readiness for the *Kawakawanua*, or ceremony. First of all appeared at the far end of the line a pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling side by side, and holding up on their folded arms a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees, and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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[48]

series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

[624]

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always.

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre *sinnet*. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.
273 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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SOME LEGENDS OF THE EXPLORING ISLES.

I was examining a curious stone axe-head in the house of Adi Letila, a very old widow of chiefly rank, at Loma Loma town, when she looked up at me from the woven grass mats on which she was seated, and said, with that innate courtesy which no amount of "civilization" has yet dispelled from the Lau islanders, "It is yours, sir, if you desire to have so small a thing." Knowing that she would only feel hurt by refusal I accepted the gift—mentally resolving to send her some small present in return; and then sat down to have a chat with her. And so we talked of the days of old—the days when this axe-head had been used by her ancestors, or, perhaps, even her father—for so recent is the Stone Age in this race of cultured people among whom the mere absence of iron did not necessarily denote barbarism.

I asked her if she thought it was a good implement to hew out a canoe with, and she replied, with a smile on her still handsome old face, "No, sir;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:
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1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

433 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food
134 resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

soil of the Exploring Islands is similar to that of Lakemba; Totoya, Moala, and Matuka are the most fruitful of all.

The inhabitants of Lau may best be described as a cross between the negroid Fijian and the Polynesian. Their hair ranges from fuzzy to wavy,

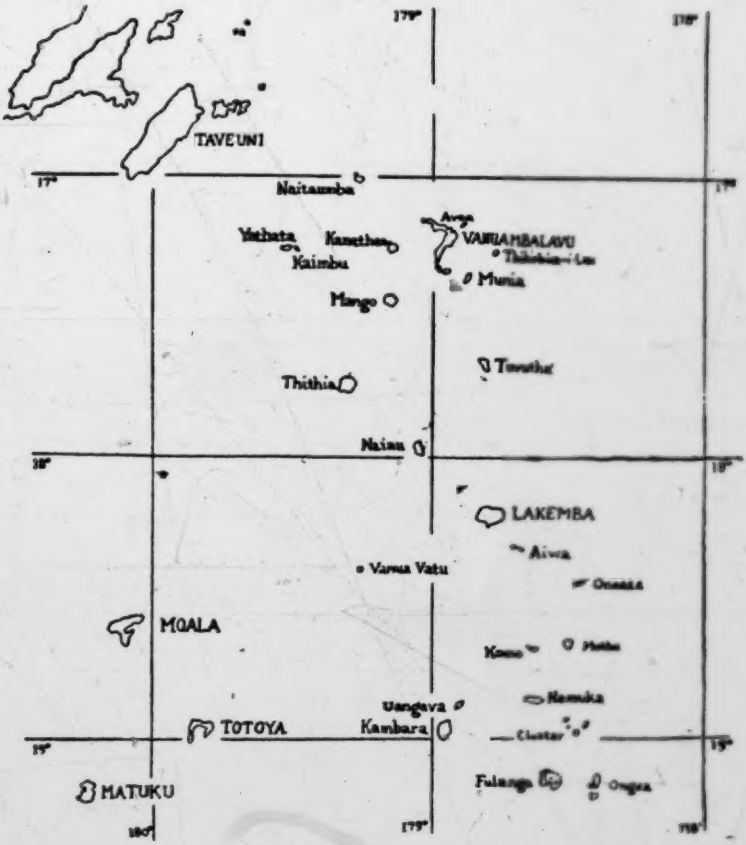

FIGURE 1.—Map of Lau.

or even straight, but curly hair is probably the most common. Many of them have eyes with a slight Mongolian appearance. Their speech is softer and more sing-song than that of people further west. They pronounce *ti* like *chi* and *ndi* as *nji*, and have many words peculiarly their own.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[89] 439 245 [435]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java. [654]

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily 439 178 434

[89] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 312 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 136 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

556 431 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redistribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 431 585 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 436 Under the old native system there was no definite standard by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java.

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	120,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate, the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always. 123 574 431

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could [237] [435]

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 [679] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it. [184]

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

2: Thompson E. 5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valu- 422
ables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important 436
objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial
presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great
deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials
as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of
the whales' teeth in Fiji.

According to Marinner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man [177]
other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By
amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth
through ceremonial exchange.

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manu- 422
factured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly
by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the
property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they
may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial
exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses,
canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered
to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor.
The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the
payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle
nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which
are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be
village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats,
made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island.

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane
knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are
always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (kupetchi) for [424
rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited 428
from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by
his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless
they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father
or older brother becomes the guardian.

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told 424
only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the
headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the in-
dividual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child.
I found no privately owned *meke*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

437 For example, at a recent *solevu* between Muanaithake and Komo (pp. 73-74), held at Fulanga, besides the property for the *solevu*, each Komo man brought property to barter (*vakasombu*) with his Fulangan relatives. He simply placed the gift (*vakasombu*) in the relative's house, saying, "This is your so and so." Later the recipient asked what was wanted as a return gift (*i tala*) and he tried to outdo the other in the quantity and quality of the gift.

One Komo man gave his Fulangan relative as *vakasombu* two baskets of manioc, one basket of bananas, and one basket of breadfruit. The Fulangan man gave as the return gifts four mats, two wooden bowls, and three chickens. The Fulangan man won. Those carrying goods to another island initiate the exchange and usually return with more than they have given.

Interisland Trade

Native Trade Goods

Kambara

438 The chief exports of Kambara are large canoes, wooden bowls (especially kava bowls), mats, some Tongan barkcloth (the foregoing are distributed all over Lau and in Fiji proper), timber for house posts and digging sticks distributed to the volcanic islands, and coconut oil and *vetau* bark for hair dye. The chief imports of the island are tobacco, kava, and food (including yams, sweet yams, taro, and breadfruit) from the volcanic islands and Namuka, basaltic stones from the volcanic islands, barkcloth from Namuka, bamboo and *waloki* baskets from Fiji proper, and perfumes for oil from Lau and Viti Levu. Kambara gets from Wangava turtles, garden produce, and shellfish.

Namuka

The most important export of Namuka is Tongan barkcloth. Most of it is traded to Lakemba in exchange for yams and taro; some is traded to Kambara for mats, kava and food bowls, and occasionally for a small canoe for use within the reef; a small amount finds its way to all the southern Lau islands except Ono (which produces sufficient Tongan barkcloth to supply her own demands). Namuka also exports gongs, which go to Lakemba, Suva, and Kambara and small canoes for lagoon use. Last year seven canoes were sent from Namuka to Lakemba, Matuku, and Moala. Manioc, breadfruit, yams, and bananas are traded to Fulanga and Ongea in return for mats and bowls; yams to Kambara in return for mats and bowls; to Komo and Mothe in return for food; sweet potatoes and watermelons (known as the best in Lau) to Lakemba.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

539*
173

with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land [438] for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber [824] tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our [501] ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much [285] *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of [437] Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 561 [438] Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

(1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The [824] inner bark of the *kesawai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also [438] produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

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Kambara

437 For example, at a recent *solevu* between Muanaithake and Komo (pp. 73-74), held at Fulanga, besides the property for the *solevu*, each Komo man brought property to barter (*vakasombu*) with his Fulangan relatives. He simply placed the gift (*vakasombu*) in the relative's house, saying, "This is your so and so." Later the recipient asked what was wanted as a return gift (*i tala*) and he tried to outdo the other in the quantity and quality of the gift.

One Komo man gave his Fulangan relative as *vakasombu* two baskets of manioc, one basket of bananas, and one basket of breadfruit. The Fulangan man gave as the return gifts four mats, two wooden bowls, and three chickens. The Fulangan man won. Those carrying goods to another island initiate the exchange and usually return with more than they have given.

Interisland Trade

Native Trade Goods

Kambara

438 The chief exports of Kambara are large canoes, wooden bowls (especially kava bowls), mats, some Tongan barkcloth (the foregoing are distributed all over Lau and in Fiji proper), timber for house posts and digging sticks distributed to the volcanic islands, and coconut oil and *vetau* bark for hair dye. The chief imports of the island are tobacco, kava, and food (including yams, sweet yams, taro, and breadfruit) from the volcanic islands and Namuka, basaltic stones from the volcanic islands, barkcloth from Namuka, bamboo and *walaki* baskets from Fiji proper, and perfumes for oil from Lau and Viti Levu. Kambara gets from Wangava turtles, garden produce, and shellfish.

Namuka

The most important export of Namuka is Tongan barkcloth. Most of it is traded to Lakemba in exchange for yams and taro; some is traded to Kambara for mats, kava and food bowls, and occasionally for a small canoe for use within the reef; a small amount finds its way to all the southern Lau islands except Ono (which produces sufficient Tongan barkcloth to supply her own demands). Namuka also exports gongs, which go to Lakemba, Suva, and Kambara and small canoes for lagoon use. Last year seven canoes were sent from Namuka to Lakemba, Matuku, and Moala. Manioc, breadfruit, yams, and bananas are traded to Fulanga and Ongea in return for mats and bowls; yams to Kambara in return for mats and bowls; to Komo and Mothe in return for food; sweet potatoes and watermelons (known as the best in Lau) to Lakemba.

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Kambara

Mothe

Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, *sikethi* for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara. 438

Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra. 439

TRADERS

Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders (p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of 438

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

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Kambara

Gaming Grounds

A long shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*), called Wainikeli, which the natives say was formerly used for the dart game (*tchingga*), was examined in east central Wangava. The site has been described on pages 78-79. 172

Canoe Builders' Pit

On the beach at Naimarai, reputed to be the site of a village located on the northeast coast of Kambara and formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders, is a pit which informants say was used in building double canoes. The rough hull was drawn across the mouth of the pit so that the canoe builders could stand conveniently in the pit while building up and finishing the hull. This was probably used especially for the *tambetembete* type of Tongan double canoe with keel. 172 396

Fishponds

On Mothe fishponds bordered by walls of basaltic stones were seen. These have been described on pages 135-136. 172

Cannibal Earth Oven

The site of an earth oven which informants said was formerly used for steaming human bodies (*lovo ni 'mbakola*), was seen near Undu village. It consisted of a somewhat circular pit in the ground, larger than the usual pit used to steam food for a feast. [354] [266]

Shell Mounds

An extensive, low shell mound, formed of the shells of edible mollusks, was seen on the shore at Yawalevu, Fulanga. The edge of the mound was used for a sweet potato garden. By pushing aside the shells which covered the surface of the ground and scraping the earth below into a mound, a small circular clearing had been made for each sweet potato plant.

Potters' Clay Site

The natives of Kambara say that potters' clay was formerly obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi. It was made into pots by the women of Levuka, Lakemba, when they visited the island on regular trading expeditions. The women of southern Lau were not potters but obtained their pots from the Levuka women, from Matuku, Kandavu, and Tailevu (24, pp. 111-112). [323] [438]

Stone Quarries

It is probable that sites of quarries, which formerly supplied basalt for the manufacture of stone implements used in southern Lau, occur on the volcanic islands but none was located. [324] [316]

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133 On the other hand, the limestone islands (e.g., Fulanga) have cliffs and
137 forested low plateaus, which tend to erode into basins whose sharp-crested rims drop steeply to the sea. They have no valleys or streams, all the rainfall sinking underground and reaching the sea by an intricate system of subterranean caverns. Except in Namuka, where the soil is relatively deep, only a
[134] thin layer of rather poor topsoil occurs in pockets in the interior basins. Such limestone soil supports a distinctive flora. Useful hardwoods, such as the greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*), *mbau* (*Pittosprum brackenridgei*) and *makota* (*Dysoxylum richii*), as well as other jungle plants which are absent or scarce on the volcanics, flourish on the limestones of southern Lau. However, yams do not grow well in this type of soil. Apparently these islands had no horticulture before manioc and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) found their way to Lau in historic times.[7]

In sum, good garden land and food are generally limited on the limestone islands but plentiful on the volcanics, while forest products are scarce on the
[438] volcanics but abundant on the limestones. Thus, the resources of the two geological types complement each other, the fifteen islands forming a naturally balanced community or self-sufficient native trade area.

13 The foundations of this ecological arrangement extend far back in the geological history of the region. On the basis of paleogeological evidence, Ladd and Hoffmeister[8] infer that organic life in the island community under consideration began during the Lower Miocene before the Lau group had emerged above sea level, and it played a major part in the formation of the various islands and in laying the foundations for their present ecological structures. As soon as the islands projected above the level of the sea and the processes of erosion began to develop topsoil, we assume that the fundamental biotics of each island began to develop—limestone biotics on the limestones and volcanic biotics on the volcanics.

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shrubs and stunted trees; and scattered *Pandanus* and *Casuarina*. The dominant littoral species are: *ndilo* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), *vutu* (*Barringtonia speciosa*), *evu* (*Tournefortia argentea*), *evueve* (*Hernandia peltata*), *nawanawa* (*Cordia subcordata*), *tatang-ngia* (*Acacia lauriflora*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola koenigii*), *tavola* (*Terminalia littoralis*), *ndrala* (*Erythrina indica*), etc. Besides these there are the usual *Pandanus*, numerous vines and groves of coconut palms."

[7] According to Bryan (MSS.): "All the limestone islands . . . support one type of forest. It is made up throughout the group of the same fifty or so species of trees and tall shrubs, with an undergrowth of *Piper* (*wangawa*), bird's eye pepper (*rokete*), ferns, herbs and several vines. The luxuriance alone depends upon the size and elevation of the island. There is an interesting, rapid and progressive increase in the number of species and the height of growth, from the nearly bare rocks, such as Latei Viti and Bacon Island with but two or three species of prostrate herbs, to the splendid forests of Kambara, Mango, etc. First to appear after the herbs and vines are low, stunted trees of such widespread species as *Hernandia peltata*, *Tournefortia argentea*, and a *Ficus* with orange fruit commonly eaten by pigeons. A few of the small islands have native palms in considerable numbers. *Pandanus* and *Casuarina* appear early in the scale."

[8] Ladd and Hoffmeister, 1945; Ladd, 1934.

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13 Another institution which is part of the total system under discussion is the
431 intervillage ceremonial exchange, called *solevu*. Food from the volcanic islands
438 is exchanged for craft goods such as mats, barkcloth, wooden bowls and canoes from the limestone islands, by means of the *solevu*, a complicated pattern of exchange between related villages based on an adaptation of the ancient ceremony used in the presentation of first fruits, mentioned above. Along with the public ceremonial exchange of goods between the two participating villages, there occurs during the four days of the *solevu* a certain amount of private exchange of gifts and barter between related individuals from the two villages. This gives a high degree of flexibility to the arrangement. The *solevu* also provides an occasion for the exchange of feasts, dances, and songs between the two groups and for intervillage games and sports.

The institution of the *solevu* functions not only to provide a pleasant interlude in the daily routine of hard work necessary to group survival in southern Lau, but also as an efficient and self-regulatory "mechanism" to stimulate production of food and craft articles and to expand the system of distribution of each island to include a group of both limestone and volcanic islands whose complementary resources form a natural trade area. We have noted how the institutions of the crop custodian and the master fisherman, in the ecological context of each island, function traditionally to increase in size and nutritive value the local food supply and operate toward its more equitable distribution. We now observe that the *solevu* provides an integrating, logical link in the total productive and distributive system which unites the various islands of the community into a balanced, interdependent and co-operative whole whereby sectional differences in resources are transformed into assets and each group, regardless of its resources, is enabled to obtain what it needs for a balanced diet and economy.

13 The importance of the *solevu* in the total economy of southern Lau is
431 brought into relief by the effect of its prohibition by the Colonial Government.
438 Some years ago British officials outlawed large ceremonial exchanges in Fiji,
178 because, it was said, they thought such a prohibition would prevent waste of needed energy and resources. Doubtless, in other parts of Fiji, where food is more plentiful, there was a wastage of resources in connection with the *solevu*. The effect of the regulation in the community under consideration, however, was not to abolish the *solevu* but rather to reduce the number of *solevus* held in the area. This in turn tended to reduce the output of craft goods, especially mats and barkcloth, the main *solevu* craft goods. According to the local division of labor, mats and barkcloth are made by the women, who also tend the babies, care for the houses, and, as noted above, procure and prepare part of the food. The men, on the other hand, besides their food producing and cooking functions already noted, hunt and fish with spears, care for the pigs, build and sail large sea-going canoes, trade between islands, and produce wooden bowls and

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Behavior Theory W3

the community made available by the indigeneous technology. Analyzing Lauan culture from this viewpoint, we find a complementary set of institutions which do actually tend to function toward just this end.

For example, after the birth of a child the father moves out of the family dwelling and sleeps in the men's house of the clan. He is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until the baby is weaned, a period of from nine months to two years. The strict observance of this custom is attested by the fact that siblings in Lau are almost without exception at least eighteen months apart. Thus the men's house complex, correlated with certain tabus, functions as a means of birth spacing and population control and of protecting maternal and infant health. Ritual continence was practiced in Lau on many occasions. Several methods of abortion were used, mainly by unmarried mothers. In Fulanga old people who had outlived their usefulness, according to native standards, were formerly abandoned on a small island in the lagoon. Where chieftainship was highly developed, those who broke tabus concerning the nobility were clubbed to death. Raiding between villages, in the course of which men, women and children were killed, was not infrequent in the group, and those who were captured, regardless of age or sex, were consumed by the victors at cannibalistic feasts. These are some of the Lauan practices which, together with accidents, hurricanes, disease, and a rate of infant and maternal mortality which was probably rather high, tended to limit the size of the population in relation to the available resources within the natural and cultural setting. Although in historic times Fijian population totals were greatly reduced, especially by the ravages of white man's diseases, the low point was reached at about 1911. Thereafter the trend has been slowly upward. The population of southern Lau gained 155 per 1,000 between 1921 and 1935.[21] At the time of the present field work, the population of the community was about 1,500.

Certain significant generalizations which grow out of the foregoing analysis may now be formulated.

We noted that in our island community a unique and balanced biotic system developed in isolation over a very long period of time and in the absence of large land animals. The advent of man, which occurred relatively late in the ecological developmental sequence, introduced not only a new species, namely *Homo sapiens*, into this natural community but also other fauna and flora, as well as the artifacts carried by man as part of his cultural equipment. Still more important, perhaps, it added human cultural processes to the fundamental ecological processes already operating in the area. In a relatively short time, from the eco-historical viewpoint, there emerged, on the basis of the ancient biotics, a new eco-cultural structure which involved plants, animals

[21] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, p. 137.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from 323
the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets 463
(kato mbolambola) by young women to the village. Black 317
sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, [482]
Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To
make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed
thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, 323
sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of [824]
makandre-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for 323
trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their 438
men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived 323
in the village for which they were making pots. The clay 463
was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi 438
near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried
it in baskets to the village where the women were working. [482]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

539*
173

with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land [438] for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber [824] tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made [501] only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much [285] *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of [437] Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

> One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faees the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133 512

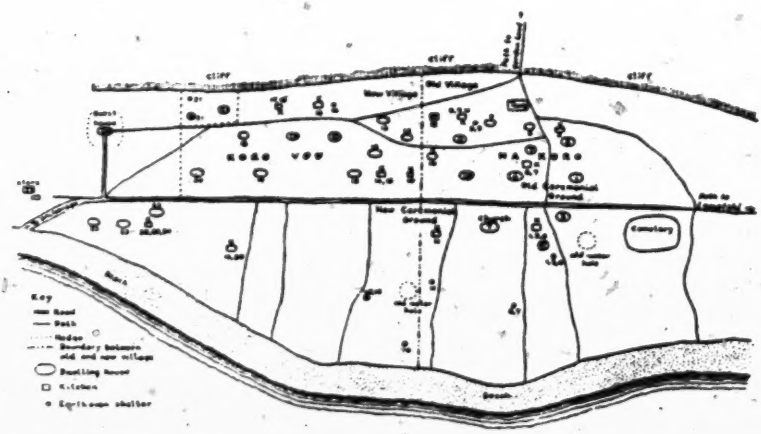

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters. 621 133

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalavu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity. 621 133 172

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village. 621 133 [439]

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth. [13

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Roasting

Roasting is a quick method of preparing food. Breadfruit is often placed whole, stem down, directly on the coals or placed on sticks across the oven pit above a fire in which stones are heated. After roasting, the skin of the breadfruit is quickly removed with a small, sharp stick. The breadfruit is ready to be eaten or be made into pudding. Wild yams and bush fruits are often roasted over an open fire in the bush. After roasting they are scraped, dipped in salt water, and eaten. 252

Boiling in Pots

Food was formerly boiled in earthenware pots (*kuro*), but now large imported iron pots are used. The fire is laid at one end of the kitchen and the pots are placed upon two iron rods above it. It is fanned with a pandanus-leaf fan (*iri*). The pots are covered with dry breadfruit leaves, which fall from the trees in the village and are gathered when needed. [415] [439]

Sweet potato and non-poisonous manioc are usually boiled in fresh water, but most of the boiling is done in coconut cream (*lolo*). Coconut cream is made as follows:

Ripe nuts are husked by ripping the husk open at the stem end of the nut on the upturned pointed end of a husking stake (*ndoko*). The strip of husk, which has been freed, is pulled off by hand. The process is repeated until the husk has been removed. The nut is then halved by one blow from a cane knife and the flesh is grated on the tooth edged, upturned end of a piece of iron attached to a board. A person sits on the board astride the rod and grates into a wooden bowl. (Usually little girls do the grating for the kitchens.) Coconut milk is added to the gratings and the mixture is strained with a hibiscus strainer.

Salt is not manufactured in Lau. According to Tchosaia of Tokalau, formerly salt water was sometimes used for boiling. Today it is little used in pots although food is occasionally soaked or dipped in salt water before being eaten. [263]

Mboro, the daily boiled dish, is made of greens and coconut cream with or without fish. Leaves of the cabbage, the sweet potato, *mboroa sovivi* (*Ipomea gracilis*), *mbele*, pumpkin, or manioc are picked from the stems. They are placed in the pot with coconut cream and some of the coconut gratings from which the liquid has been extracted for coconut cream. Fish or shellfish, if available, are added to the greens and coconut cream, and the pot is covered with a slightly dry breadfruit leaf and boiled slowly for about two hours.

Fish or shellfish are cleaned on the beach, but scales are not removed from the fish.

Soups are popular but are not made every day. A delicious fish soup called

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Stringers (*kaiakisa*) are placed above the booms and securely lashed to
[284] them with sennit at every intersection. This lashing must be renewed often. The innermost stringer is thicker and stronger than the rest.

Deck. Breakwaters are inserted between the ends of opposite washstrakes. A deck of planks, built over the boom, covers the space between the washstrakes and extends beyond them on both sides. The rectangular hatch at each end is closed with planks in rough weather. Hourglass-shaped holes for the scull (*i sua*) are cut in the deck between the hatches and the outrigger. The scull is a long, slender oar, two thirds of which is manipulated below the deck. A well equipped sailing canoe has two sculls.

Two struts, one lashed to the fore corner of the deck platform opposite the outrigger, the other to the aft corner, extend to and are lashed to the tip of the head and stern boards respectively. On large, well-built canoes a low wooden rail (*koli*) is built along the edge of the deck opposite the outrigger side.

Mast, rigging, and sail. The mast (*i vana*) is a straight pole of *ndamanu* wood which tapers toward the head. Its length equals at least half the length of the canoe. It is topped with a masthead of greenheart. Either of two types of mastheads are used. One has a mast-prong, shaped like a crab's claw,
[177] through which the halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are rove. The other has a truck (fig. 8) which the natives say is recent. Trucks, however, are shown by Williams (27, vol. 1, fig. opp. p. 88). The truck aperture is called *nggara ni vakavakarewa*. The mastheel is either stepped in a circular hollow cut in the deck amidships or it is pivoted in a solid socket (*vunga*) fitted to the deck at the same place.

[439 The rigging is usually imported rope, which is considered stronger than
283] the native twist. The standing rigging consists of two shrouds, one forestay, and one backstay. The upper shroud (*i lomba levu*) and the lower shroud (*i lomba lailai*) run from the masthead to the central boom above the float. The forestay (*i tuku ni mua levu*) and the backstay (*i tuku ni mua lailai*) run from the masthead to the stay holes (*nggara ni tuku*) on the edge of the head and stern boards.

A curved mast-shore (*vangga loa*) extends from the lower part of the mast to the outer part of the central boom.

[285] The sail (*i latha*) is of the Oceanic lateen type. It is made of strips of pandanus matting sewn together with a sail needle (*saulatha*) threaded with sennit. Informants on Kambara say that besides pandanus, *kuta (Elaeocharis articulata)* was formerly used for making sails. *Kuta* does not grow on
[439] Kambara. It was brought in long rolls about 65 cm. wide from Viti Levu and cut and sewn into sails on Kambara. The margins of the sail are turned down and sewn with a bolt rope composed of sennit. The head and foot

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along
531 one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth,
531 which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature
[439] (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration. They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

COCONUT-LEAF MATS

Coconut-leaf mats, which have no trade value, are made throughout the Lau group. There are two types, the *tambakau* and the *mbekambeka*. 285

The *tambakau* mat is made by either a man or a woman out of a single young, tender coconut leaf. The leaf is dried in the sun until it turns yellow brown. Then the midrib of the leaf is trimmed and the close leaflets are plaited from the midrib outward. The ends are turned under and worked into the weave. *Tambakau* mats are used as mat cushions on the floor of the dwelling house to protect the floor mats. They are also used as door screens. [352]

Mbekambeka are rough mats made easily and quickly by either men or women, and used for door screens, fish ropes, and protective coverings for rolls of dried pandanus, pandanus mats, and barkcloth. The *mbekambeka* mat is made out of a single mature coconut leaf. The midrib of the leaf is trimmed and split lengthwise. The open leaflets of each half are plaited from the midrib out, and the halves are rejoined by braiding together the ends of the leaflets, starting at the upper end and working toward the lower end of the leaf.

BASKETS

The most common type of women's basket in Lau is the *kato tchina*, which is common in western Polynesia. The type is called *ola tu* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (*2*, p. 198; pl. 14, *B*). Other women's baskets are the fishing basket (*noke*) and the carrying basket (*ketekete*). [415]

Baskets of pandanus made by the method of right-angled plaiting have been introduced recently into Lau from Fiji proper. *Walaki* baskets of the coiled type are made in Lau and are imported from Rotuma. *Walaki* baskets of the twined type are not made in Lau but are imported from Fiji proper. [177] [439]

Temporary plates (*i tambe*) of the common western Polynesian type (called *mailo* in Samoa, Buck, 2, p. 183; pl. 12, *C*; fig. 91), made of open coconut leaflets, are used for feasts in Lau and discarded immediately afterwards.

Permanent trays made of closed coconut leaflets are called *lalakai*. They are used by persons of high rank only and are rarely seen in southern Lau.

COCONUT OIL

Coconut oil (*waliwali*) is made only by women in Lau. Usually the women of a household or a subclan cooperate in the task. The Lauans like their coconut oil strongly and pungently scented, so gathering and combining fragrant flowers, fruit, bark, leaves, and roots is the first step in the process of oil making. The following plants are used: 303

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FLOWERS

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

FRUIT

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

BARK

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

LEAVES

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

ROOTS

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit
● 439] of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by
[832] *meke* dancers. The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

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Mothe

Mothe exports manioc, sweet yams, yams, and bananas, tobacco, kava, *sikethi* for dye, volcanic stones and reeds to Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara. Mothe also exports Fijian barkcloth in small quantities to all the neighboring islands, but chiefly to Lakemba. Mothe receives from the islands to the south all her canoes, heavy timber for house posts, adz handles, wooden bowls, digging sticks, tapa boards, and mats. Some of these manufactured articles are used locally but others are traded in turn to Lakemba. Mothe also imports banana shoots and taro plants, as well as taro roots from Lakemba, paper mulberry plants from Namuka, and sandalwood seed from Oneata and Lakemba. She receives *vunga* leaves, used for dyeing the hair, from Komo and Kambara. 438

Fulanga

The chief exports of Fulanga are canoes, headrests, mats and mat sails, timber, fowl, wooden bowls, digging sticks, and shellfish. These articles are sent chiefly to Mothe and Namuka in return for food, mainly manioc.

Ongea

The chief exports of Ongea are canoes, mats and mat sails, food bowls (especially *papasia*), and timber, mainly to Mothe, in exchange for food, tobacco, barkcloth, and kava.

IMPORTED TRADE GOODS

Metal axes, knives, and cooking pots, matches, tobacco, fishhooks and a small amount of trade cloth, kerosene, and soap are imported to the southern islands. They are usually bartered in exchange for copra. 439

TRADERS

Formerly the Levukans of Lakemba were professional sailors and traders (p. 35). There are no professional traders in Lau today. The most active traders are the natives of Fulanga and Ongea, who are dependent on the islands to the north for food. They trade chiefly with Mothe and Namuka, never with Kambara. On Fulanga the natives of the village of Naivindamu do most of the sailing, although Muanaira owns the largest number of sailing canoes. Fulanga and Ongea are rarely visited by traders. Mothe, situated at the junction of trade routes from the north, south, and west, is a trade center. The natives of Mothe trade with all their neighbors. They act as middlemen in exchanging goods, especially from southern Lau northward as far as Lakemba. Namuka is also a trade center. Both Namuka and Mothe are visited by trading canoes from all the southern islands. The natives of 438

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FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central [797] Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji [648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally 177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a ●439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

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177 trade articles. With the slump in the copra market after the
439 war, however, the import of these articles ceased as in many parts of the Pacific, and when I visited the group in 1934 the natives had regained much of their old economic independence. As the market price of copra has risen since then, trade articles have begun again to be imported.

178 Here is a native culture which, like many others in the South Seas, has gone through the throes of first contact with the western world and the economic depression and is well on its way toward making a new adjustment. What do we find on Kambara today? What has been the effect of the contact of two vastly different cultures, one simple, the other complex? On Kambara we meet individuals who represent the past, the present, and the future—from pious old Moto, whose father was a cannibal and warrior of the old order, to the alert and inquiring youths of the young generation who are building a new Fiji. Between age and youth lie a diversity of personalities, for there is a variation in temperament and intelligence akin to that found in a western community. Each individual reflects aspects of the great change affecting every phase of native life. By viewing these natives, their daily activities, their problems, satisfactions and fears, we gain a picture of life in this part of Fiji today. Their attitudes toward life mirror the diversity of influences, both from the old and from the new, which are moulding Fijian culture into a new form.

121 The aim of this study is to analyze the changes taking place in native life on Kambara, to try to understand the new culture which is emerging, and to apply this understanding as far as possible to the practical problems of colonial administration. How far is the change politically conditioned? What is the rôle of the colonial official in achieving a new, harmonious adjustment? Ethnologists have long been concerned with recording lengthy and technical descriptions of the lives of peoples who live in remote parts of the world, and in discussing theoretical implications. It is hoped that we have now reached

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volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

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the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

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Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed. 423 648 [647]

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31] 423 439 [427]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle. 423

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

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There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

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food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

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doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts. 439 245

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. [651] 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 178 245

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[39]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java.

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily

[39] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

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439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

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"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type. 245 439

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41] [654]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment. 178 245 439

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world. 178 182

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
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ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D., Honolulu.

439 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre
824 of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
322 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for
437 the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
174 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
[pp 1-96 not processed]

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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the colonies of Tongans which sprang up in Lau had a marked effect upon the Lauan culture and race.[2]

The use of hardwood and the high development of carpentry account for the large number and range in size of the cutting-implements found in southern Lau.

Blades of stone and shell are no longer used as cutting-implements in Lau. They have been replaced by metal tools, hafted according to the old patterns, but many old implements are found in archaeological sites. Some are used today by the natives for *ivi* (*Inocarpus edulis* Forst.) nut-crackers or earth oven-stones.

Most of the stone cutting-implements are carefully made of selected, fine-grained basalt. They have been either pecked or chipped into shape, and all surfaces have been ground, and occasionally polished. A few specimens are composed of resistant sandstone, which is almost quartzite. All basalt implements found on the limestone islands such as Fulanga, Ongea, Wangava, and Namuka, have been imported from volcanic islands, probably chiefly from Komo, Lakemba, and Kambara (composed of limestone with a volcanic outcrop).

Stone Adzes[3]

The stone adzes have been classified according to cross-section into four types:— circular, elliptical, trapezoidal, and rectangular.

Circular Type

Fusiform adzes with circular cross-section are grouped as the circular type. (See Pl. A, 1 and fig. 1). There are a large number of adzes of this type in the collection. They narrow toward the pole, which is slightly flattened, and toward the edge, which is slightly curved and narrow, except when the adze has been worn down by sharpening of both

[2]For further information concerning the Tongans in Lau see my "Kulturgeschichte der Lauinseln (Fidschi gruppe)," *Archiv für Anthropologie* vol. 76, 1937.

[3]The terminology used in this study follows Buck, Emory, Skinner, and Stokes, "Terminology for ground stone cutting-implements in Polynesia," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1930.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots 463 were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large 438 cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
197 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

[p. 68]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

575

The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

all they would willingly give him in order to retain him. Joshua and his brothers were the hardest workers among the nobles; Joshua had the largest house next to Big House, and built for his brother Isoa the finest home for size and decoration combined; by hard work and forcefulness he had attained an importance quite out of proportion to his real rank. Nowhere have I found hard work to be so esteemed as in Fiji.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

551 (Ship-of-Tui Naiau), Thamailawathi (Oufrigger-of-Lawathi), Lembaikelekele (Necklace-of-Kelekele).

Koroi, Seru, Wangga are names given to one who has slain an enemy. Thama and Lemba are given on the grounds of kinship, and to inferiors. A man may call his younger brother's son Thama after his own son. Lawathi and Thamailawathi were both sons of Ndranivia, but by different mothers; the mothers, however, were sisters, and younger sister's son was called after the elder sister's son. Lemba is given to women in the same way; a *lemba* is an "after-eater" or younger sister. "If two brothers have daughters the daughter of the younger is *lemba* to the daughter of the elder. Lemba and Thama are used only for our inferiors."

Nicknames are called *yatha ni vakathivo*. *Vakathivo* (to lower) is the custom of shouting out some humorous remark after drinking a cup of kava; a nickname is therefore properly a name given at a kava party. One boy was nicknamed Silini (Shilling) and another Penitolu (Three-pence) because as a small child he had put three-pence in the collection plate; another was supposed to look like a billy goat and so was called Tamanime.

A man addresses his namesake as My Name, in Fijian this is *nonggu yatha,* whereas a man speaks of his own name as *yathanggu,* using the suffixed possessive. "If two men have the same name," says one informant, "they are related." Of course, it is generally because they are related that they have the same name, but a common name does seem to bring them closer together, and people sometimes speak as though having the same name were a close tie. I could, however, get nothing definite on the subject beyond the following example: Pasoni, a Tongan, is related according to Tongan custom to Repeka, because his father was born when her father, Leonaitasi Ngu, was in Tonga and so was called after him.

The people are reluctant to mention their names, and, if compelled to ask the name, will do so most politely. When asked his name a man will usually request a third party to tell it for him.

553 The father, mother, and grandfather decide upon the child's name. The naming is not accompanied by any ceremony, except of course for the Christian name which is given at baptism. If, however, a man wants to give his name to a child he brings gifts for the assigning of a name (*me i vakatoka ni vatha*).

ADULTS

461 577 A hard worker is described as a man who achieves things; a lazy man is unable to achieve food or goods. Such a man is liable to have it flung in his face at the first quarrel. Hard work is very much prized, and a man's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of 461
his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; 577
now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work.

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams 461
and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble 157
of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*.

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. 577
It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is 181
possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait.

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A 677
certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to 626
get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name.

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by 577
mandua. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, 157
shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest.

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in 157
themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current, 539
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, 311
and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However,
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 311
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula- 461

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing the thick jungles of the limestone islands. 24 461

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance. 423

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

461 Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu*, but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so*, to score in a game, and *levu*, big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia*, little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga*."

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi*."

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*masulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there [162] are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves from the stems, and attend to the boiling. 854 462

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat. 854

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not observe any child sucking his thumb. 853 862 [157]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

13 ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals
146 found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does
262 not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

13 The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and in-
262 genious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop
264 and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its popula-
462 tion, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of *ripe coconuts to make coconut* "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

13 When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally
264 ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the
462 household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.55%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 1947). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

[FULANGA I.]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.

[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former

[161] has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population

487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women

462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The

[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and

[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).

[320] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet

[285] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local

[287] consumption only.

295

241

[p. 16]

13 g. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Mothe. (S.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 5/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes; covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the north-west being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

312 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227
462 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
231 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
241 sweet potatoes.

[p. 31]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai,* are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau [4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622

In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Mari kei Natokalau* not *wei*, of; *wei* is never used in this expression.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

MEN'S CRAFTS

House Building

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished. 342

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food. 342 465 463

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering. [335]

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

While I was on Kambara four houses were under construction: two in Tokalau, one in Nggalinggali, and one in Undu. One house in Tokalau and the house in Undu had been started before I arrived and were completed before I left. When I visited Namuka and Mothe no houses were under construction. On Ongea one house and on Fulanga one house in Muanaithake and one in Naivindamu were being built. 342

Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* 322
barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* 411
spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *vai* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lawa ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found. [323]

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common 285
type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato* [171]
fili tasi in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local 287
paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. [463 428]
Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from 323
the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets 463
(kato mbolambola) by young women to the village. Black 317
sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, [482]
Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To
make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed
thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, 323
sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of [824]
makandre-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for 323
trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their 438
men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived 323
in the village for which they were making pots. The clay 463
was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi 438
near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried
it in baskets to the village where the women were working. [482]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was laid on its side on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423
enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578
and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands 423
has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy [161] and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423
the modern western economic system. He is economically 464
independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in [167] southern Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

461 Protection of the natives against competition with other racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

464 At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
177 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kambara tend to lose.[70] Kambara also loses through the in- 161
clination of her men for the sea. Southern Lauans make [464]
excellent sailors on trade and government cutters in Fiji, and
more young men ship as sailors from Kambara than from any
of the other islands studied. In regard to the sex ratio, all
the islands show a disproportionately large number of females [162]
to males except Mothe and Ongea, which show a fairly
balanced ratio (see Table 2). Tongan influence has been strong
on all the islands under consideration and hence fails to explain
the variation.

In seeking an explanation for the difference in rate of increase 161
we find, however, that Fulanga and Namuka have several 182
traits in common which are absent in the other three islands.
The people of these two islands are outstanding in southern
Lau for their zest for life, industriousness, and lack of self-pity.
Both islands have poor anchorages and are disturbed less than
the other islands by contact from the outside. Consequently
the natives of these two islands are relatively conservative and
maintain a stricter moral code. Finally, on these two islands,
according to their genealogies, there are no clans belonging
to the upper class. They are inhabited by clans belonging
to the lower class. Hence they are easily administered and
lack the intrigues and petty jealousies present among the
nobles of the upper class. The Ongea clans also apparently
belong to the lower class. However, at least two other im-
portant factors may have played a part in lowering the rate of
increase on Ongea. There has been more inbreeding on
Ongea, according to the genealogies, than on any of the other
islands studied. Moreover, Ongea has the best anchorage in
the group, and is visited not only by government cutters but
also occasionally by yachts and naval craft.

Compared to Fulanga and Namuka, Kambara and Mothe

[70] These facts are based on a comparison of clan genealogies which were recorded for every island studied. For further details see "Marriage" in L. Thompson, *Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography*, op. cit.

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles E.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 31', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable
361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner' house, where landing is good.

423 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who
245 lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no
464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained
312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc.
262 Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The
13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p.51]

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.

490 The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

423 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with cocoanut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 56. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a
361 homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh
245 water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc.,
312 might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island.
487 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.
161
464

The MALINA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E.
13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

464 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

MEN'S CRAFTS

House Building

DWELLING HOUSES

The principal house type is the sleeping or dwelling house (*vale ni mothe*) used by the household. Generally when a young man's marriage is arranged, a site is selected and plans are made for building a house. Occasionally the house is started or even completed before the wedding, so that the young couple may move into it on the wedding day. Usually, however, a year or more passes after the wedding before the house is finished. 342

The main problem in house building is payment for labor. The house site is clan property, for the use of which the individual pays nothing. Materials consist chiefly of wood from the bush which is free to all. But for the labor, in which the whole village assists, the house owner and his clan must pay in the form of a series of feasts for the workers, one feast for each working day. A worker suspends his own activities, normally the procuring and preparing of the evening meal. Hence housebuilding involves a reciprocal exchange of labor for food. 342 465 463

The carpenter, on the other hand, receives, besides the largest and best share of the daily feast, a gift of tapa, mats, and kava (called *kamunanga ni thakathaka*) in return for his skilled labor. These gifts may be classed as wages. After the work has been completed, these gifts are taken to the house of the carpenter by the owner and some members of his clan and are presented ceremonially to the carpenter.. The kava ceremony follows, if kava is part of the offering. [335]

On islands where food is not abundant, provision for the series of feasts necessary to complete even a small house requires initiative and forethought. The resources of the whole clan are utilized. Building an ordinary dwelling house requires a year to two and is a strain on the resources of the clan. Usually the owner must solicit from relatives in other villages, thus incurring further obligations. Hence, not many new houses are built. Unless his home is destroyed by a hurricane, a man usually builds only one house during his lifetime.

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Well-built houses last several decades, but the strong hardwood beams last much longer. The main supporting posts (*nduru*) made of greenheart,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

[THITHIA I.]

361 is the largest village, with 123 ~~[illegible]~~ residents and a Chinese
[161] store. Natheva is a small village on the S.E., with 40 natives, and
366 also has a little store. Natokalau, on the east side has 65 residents.
[177] Lomati, on the N.E., at the mouth of the large stream, is a prosperous
361 village with 113 residents and a large Chinese store. Mr. C.B.Crabbe,
361 coconut planter and postmaster, who lives here, also keeps a store,
[205] mainly for the convenience of his workmen. Two sections of the island, Tambuta
[245] on the west side and Vakindranu on the east, are privately owned by
[466] the Borron Estate, under the management of Mr. E.J.Brodnam, who is
423 interested in tropical agriculture and natural history. Here extensive
245 groves of coconuts have been set out and much copra is produced.

[p.61]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

working the soil. It tends, however, to discourage attempts to improve gardening technics and it also tends to keep the population at subsistence level. Instead of devising ways of acquiring a surplus of food, by means of production or trade, to be fermented and stored against drought or hurricane, the natives feel they need not bother since the government will come to their aid with rice and flour in case of hurricane or famine. Hence the chief administrative problem regarding the land in southern Lau is how to stimulate interest and initiative in cultivating the soil. This problem will be discussed in the next section and in Chapter VII.

In parts of Fiji desirable for settlement, the government policy of protection of native lands has made possible the development of a class of native landlords who live idly off the rents from their lands. It has also had a marked effect on the economic development of the colony, for many native owners of commercially valuable land refuse to lease any of their holdings, even though they actually use but a small part for their gardens or plantations. The difficulties of acquiring land for settlement have been so great that they have actually discouraged or prevented settlement.

The deadlock over land in Fiji has been the serious concern of the administration for many years. In an attempt to meet the problem the great council of chiefs, which met in 1936, passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this Council it is to the best interests of the native race that all lands (including leases) not required for the maintenance of the Fijian owners be opened for settlement; that to further this end a committee be appointed to inquire into and determine the amount of land needed for the proper development by the native owners; and that all land (including leases) not so required be handed over to the government to lease on behalf of the Fijians."[33]

The acceptance of this recommendation by the legislative

[33] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or
471 not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden
261 paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakalewenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*). 531

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens. [177]

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905): 531 476 575

The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money 476 575

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rils of coconut leaves.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

476 614 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe [177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 431 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [718] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), 262 *yaumitha* (*Malaisia scandens*), *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[260] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

226
796
[276]

meal taken and the people go to sleep for the night.

"And the next morning at sunrise more *Yaqona* is made, and some is poured out for the god, and then the people wade into the swamp. Now, you must know, sir, that the swamp has no clear water in it, but is a large lake of liquid mud, some forty fathoms in each direction, and in the middle it is very deep. And we are not able to swim in it (I myself was at the fishing last year), but have to take logs of light wood with us to keep us afloat.

[481]

"Then the priest on the bank says '*Ulia*,' and we take narrow staves and stir up the mud; and again he says '*Ulia*,' and once again we stir, and a third time he says '*Ulia*,' and at this the fish begin to jump. And as they leap all the people, men and women, on the banks call out '*Sa uru waqa ni Toga*' (the ship has come from Tonga), and they keep calling this out as the fish come leaping more and more to the surface. Then we catch them easily with small nets, or even with our hands, fine, big fish from two to three feet long; and having killed them we cast them on to the bank. But there is one thing we have always to remember. We may not kill them by biting at the back of their heads, as we kill all other fish, for this is *tabu sara* (strictly forbidden), and we must always twist their heads to kill them.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms [illegible]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

431
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[481]

series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

[624]

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanuu."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 574

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [12] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[12] The green heart tree, *vesi,* is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" *(vulai mbalolo lailai)* and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" *(vulai mbalolo levu)*.

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482 505]

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), 262 *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens), yangai, tarai,* important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu, mbau thana,* preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki,* and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia, Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tazilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

Vono. The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

Volavola. In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

Rarau. Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

Songo matana. At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *songo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

Mbekambeka. Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

Lawa vuevue. The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently three or more women walk along the beach at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [482] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. 264
Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers.

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough 262
food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor.

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or sub- 252
clan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been 264
introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth.

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of 252
food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground.

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each [482 313]
food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind.

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal
333 adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
[482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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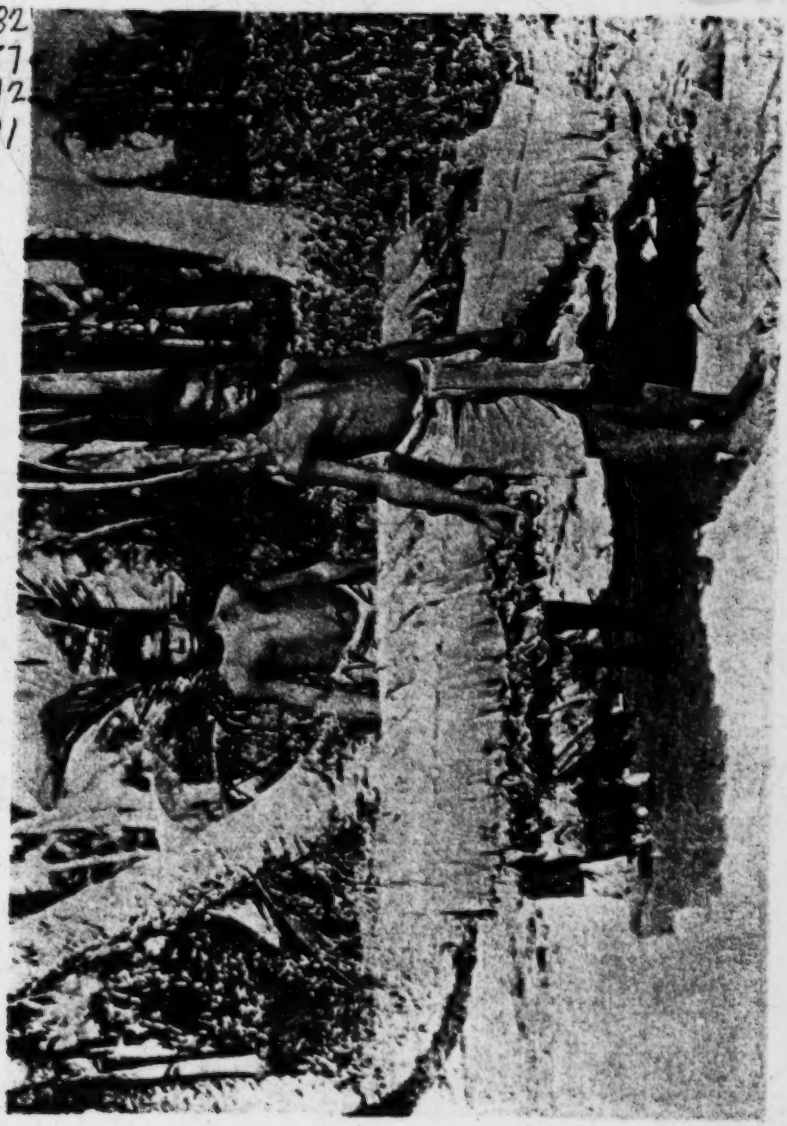

BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[facing p. 44]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu,* called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau,*
or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest
313 and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
[824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village
483 go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out
[412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax viticensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

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Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon.

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The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it.

[824]

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When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*solevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

484 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauzu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other 461 racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

13 S. NALAMBO is a very small, flat, sand and coral islet, about 150 by 250 feet, surrounded by a nearly square reef, less than a mile across. It is ten miles north of Ongea Levu and six miles east of Yangasa Levu, with two small patches of reef to the south and one small and one large reef to the north-west. (18° 57'30" S, 178° 22' W.) It is recorded as being 40 feet high, but is in reality scarcely 30 feet to the tops of the trees.

There is a narrow, winding passage thru the reef off the north end of the island, thru which row boats can enter at moderate or high tide. No anchorage.

[312] No water on the island.

The west side is bordered by a beach of sand and broken coral. The east side has a rocky beach covered with low herbs: Portulaca, Sesuvium and Boerhaavia. The central portion of the island is flat, more or less sandy, and covered with an open stand of stunted "buka" trees (Pisonia ?), 8 to 15 feet high, abruptly truncated on top by the wind and salt spray, and full of nesting boobies. A colony of frigate birds were nesting in the herbs on the south-east side.

The largest land animals besides the birds consisted of geckos, skinks and hermit crabs. Insects included red and black ants, several species of small flies, a robust Sarcophagid fly, small moths, a pale brown cricket, small beetle, mites, crustacia isopod, and spiders.

[223] [484] No sign of inhabitants, although the islet is occasionally visited by natives for birds. No coconut palms.

[p. 18]

13 4. The YANGASA CLUSTER (pronounced Yang'-a-saw) is made up of four small uninhabited limestone islands, within one lagoon 8 by 6 miles, protected by a subcircular barrier reef which has a two mile break on the north side. They lie about 12 miles north of Fulanga and Ongea Levu, the center of the lagoon being S.18° 56', 178° 29' W. [423] The group is said to belong to the people of Mothe, who gather the [245] copra from several small patches of coconut palms. [484]

YANGASA LEVU, the largest island of the cluster, is 1 2/3 by 1/2 mile, triangular in shape, with a central plateau, 390 feet high. The slopes and plateau are exceedingly rough and heavily wooded, but there is a comparatively level, smooth bench on the east side with a few coconut palms in addition to open woods. The west slope of the plateau rises percipitously from the water, but on the east the slope can be climbed in places. No beaches, but landing is possible on the west side of the south point, near which there is one small pool of nearly fresh water, surrounded by a grove of coconut palms.

NAVUTU-I-LOMA, the southern islet of the cluster, lies about 1 1/2 miles to the south-west of Yangasa Levu. It is irregularly oval in shape, 1/2 by nearly 1 mile. The surface is densely covered with lowland forest and for the most part exceedingly rough. On the N.E. side a ridge rises to a height of 210 feet. On the S.W. the land is low with deep bays choaked with mangrove swamps. The central portion is flat. A small bay with sandy beach offers good landing at the N.W. point. Opposite this bay the anchorage is good. There are other sand beaches and three small crescent shaped islets on the N.E. side.

YAVUTHA lies 1 1/2 miles to the N.W. of Navutu-i-loma. Though little more than a quarter mile in diameter it reaches an elevation of 240 feet in a sharp peak on the S.E. It is densely wooded with the usual lowland forest and has quite a grove of Casuarina trees on

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west end rises abrupt ly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of cocoanut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 161 313 487 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut into the interior.

[p.26]

13 9. OLOHUA is a small islet of volcanic material, 8 miles N.W. of Komo, surrounded by a semi-frigging reef. It is about 3/8 mile long by 1/4 mile wide, with three hills, the southern one of which rises 250 feet. The west side has so eroded as to disclose an interesting formation of bedded tuff, which slopes outward and downward from the center. The hills are covered with a very open stand of small trees, between which are areas of grass or bare ground strewn with weathered lava rocks.

Near the middle of the east side a depression or mineature valley, with a trickle of marky water, holds a patch of coconut palms. Another small grove is located directly across the low divide on the west side, and there are a few palms on the S.E. end.

Birds are numerous, including barn owls and ground doves. Lizards, hermit crabs and probably rats present. Insects and landshells very few.

245 [161] 484 There are no inhabitants, but copra is gathered, probably by the natives of Komo.

[p.32]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
● 484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in
241 addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p. 36]

13 12. **WANGAVA** island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetat-
[134] ion, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore
484 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach
312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W.
361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior
161 trees have been felled in places.
245
484

[p.37]

13 14. AIWA ISLANDS. Two small uninhabited islands of upraised coral limestone, about 12 miles S.E. of Lakemba. (18° 20' S., 178° 41' W.). They are each about a mile long by 600 yards wide, lying in nearly a straight line, with their ends close together and connected by a sunken reef. An elongate barrier reef extends out from each side for 3 or 4 miles, being continuous across the south side, but reduced to broken patches and coral heads on the north. The islands rise abruptly from the water in rough undercut cliffs to a height of 150 to 200 feet, but they are comparatively flat and even on the tops.

Anchorage may be had on the N. side of the western island, there being a broad clear entrance to the lagoon on the N.W. Landing is good in a small sandy bay at the east end of the western islet. It is more difficult, but possible, on the eastern islet, in places along both the N. and S. sides, the latter being better at low tide.

There are numerous caves in the limestone walls, and one large broken in cavern in the east central portion of the western islet, at the bottom of which there is a pool of brackish water. There is no [312] fresh water on the islands except immediately after rains, when a little rainwater collects in open depressions.

The interior flats are covered with the usual lowland vegetation, open and park-like. There is a patch of introduced weeds and a few coconut palms near the sand beach on the western islet. On the eastern islet there is a small area of reed or nasau grass, with Pandanus trees. There is no cultivation.

[423] A flock of goats was placed on the islets by the late owner, a native chief residing on Lakemba. There are the usual birds, lizards, crabs and 484 245 224 snakes. The islands are occasionally visited for copra and goat hunting.

[p. 40]

13 39. NUKUTOLU ISLETS are three in number, composed of sand and coral reef, and situated about 4 miles westward of Yathata.

The eastern islet is the largest, eliptical in outline, about 350 yards N.& S. by 250 to 300 yards wide, and covered with littoral trees and coconut palms, 100 feet to the top of the vegetation. It is surrounded by a fringing reef, ~~lying~~ reaching about 1/4 mile off shore.

The middle islet is somewhat smaller and lower, being about 80 feet to the top of the vegetation, with a few coconut palms on the S.W. side. The trees are here reduced to stunted scrub. The fringing reef lies about 1/4 mile offshore on the N.W., and closer on the east. On the south it makes a sharp elbow and extends westward to the western islet in a narrow arm. There is a small rock at the elbow.

The western islet is ~~[illegible]~~ the smallest, not over 40 or 50 feet high to the top of the bushes. It has a small flat, with an open covering of scrub and vines. To the south, a rocky shelf extends above water for about 100 yards.

We found fair anchorage on a shelf in the cove, west of the middle islet. The islets are uninhabited, but are occasionally visited by the natives of Yathata for coconuts and turtle.

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[p.86]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

487

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occa-
505 sionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about 4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --Analyst]

13 2. FULANGA Island is a nearly continuous ring of uplifted coral limestone, eight miles directly west of Ongea Levu and south of the Yangasa Cluster, (S.19° 08', 178° 36' W.). It is 5 miles long (W.N.W.- E.S.E.) and 3 to 3 1/2 miles wide. The main island, which extends around three-fourths of the circumference, is from 1/4 to 1 mile wide, and reaches an elevation of 260 feet at the north-west and from 200 to 240 feet on the south. The remaining forth consists of a curve of small islets, one of which is 150 feet high. The hills on the south form a nearly continuous ridge, but those on the north are more prominent because of their isolated abraptness. The enclosed lagoon contains several fair size islands and a quantity of small mushroom-shaped rocks (too small to be indicated on the map).

This ring of land is surrounded by a barrier reef which is fringing on the S.E. and S.W. Thru it there is one passage, available for small vessels, on the N.W. side. This passage is but 60 yards wide with a strong tidal current flowing thru it at about 3 knots, and causing riffles and overfalls dangerous to small vessels, which should not attempt the passage when tide and wind are opposite in direction. A patch of coral just inside the entrance should be carefully avoided, by running close up to a small rocky islet covered with native palms, keeping on its west side, and then turning abruptly south-west.

The lagoon furnishes shelter from all points of the compass. A good anchorage is available at about the middle of the south side, off [504] a small sandy bay where there are generally a number of native canoes [487] on the beach. From here a trail leads over the ridge to the two southern villages.

[p.15]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake [161] and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [291] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). [320] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only. 291

[p. 16]

13 5. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 250 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the
[487] ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (250') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a coconut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
245 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
241 but very little carving.
177
287
322
366

[p. 23]

[KARONI I.]

13 are low with deep indentations and mangrove thickets. The north-west and rises abrkptly from the water in a 120 foot hill, which also slopes steeply on the land side.

There is one small grove of cocoanut palms. Lizards, snakes and hermit crabs are present. White terns numerous in addition to the usual birds.

484 The island is uninhabited, but is occasionally visited by the
161 natives of Mothe, especially for timber, there being a trail cut
313 into the interior.
487

[p.26]

[KAMBARA I.]

361 [161] of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 130 residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the 487 241 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have 396 322 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 12. WANGAVA island is of rough upraised coral limestone formation, 3 miles N.E. of Kambara. It is shuttle-shaped, 3 1/2 miles long and 1 mile wide. The island is surrounded by a rough marginal limestone ridge, rising steeply from the sea to 350 feet, enclosing a basin, much of which is occupied by a brackish lake. This lake is much more extensive than shown on charts of the island, being over a mile long and filling the entire N.E. two-thirds of the interior. The S.W. end is an undulating wooded plateau, with a few patches of coconut palms and widl lemon trees. There is also an extensive grove of coconut palms at the N.E. end of the lake, and small patches along its shore.

The rough, "badlands" of the surrounding ridge are covered with the usual lowland forest. The sand beaches have the usual littoral vegetation, including Erythrina indica, not seen on every island. The interior [134] contains plenty of good soil for cultivation, none of which is in use.

Landing is favorable on the N. side, where there are several sand beaches and the surrounding barrier reef is broken up into patches of coral heads. Anchorage may also be obtained here with an off shore 487 (E. to S.W.) wind. A trail leads into the interior from a sand beach 312 at the N.W. end. No fresh water seen.

The island is uninhabited, but there are some huts on the N.W. 361 beach, used by natives from Kambara, collecting copra. In the interior 161 trees have been felled in places. 245 484

[p.37]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 [161] 312 262 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 241 extensive agriculture.

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a ~~bb~~ dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side
[366] has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo
177 is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117
[161] people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is
no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried
● 487 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the
13 limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic
material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than
181 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce
245 quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an
361 ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.
712

[p.56]

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yamuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with coconut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 The remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361] [291] [295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of coconut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

13 31. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmets, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
245 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 strong
13 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmets has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

13 32. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses,
[161] with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the
291 volcanic basin, and small groves of cocoanut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught
312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good
13 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto
487 the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave
764 containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.
172

[p. 76]

13 56. NAITAUMBA is a trapezium-shape volcanic and limestone island, lying 15 miles N.W. of Vanua Mbalavu and 18 miles S.W. of Wailangilala. It is surrounded by a barrier reef which lies from 1/4 to 3/4 mile off shore. On the west the reef is reduced to a line of coral heads and patches. Here small boats may enter. Vessels may anchor, with an off shore wind, on a narrow shelf off this west side.

The island is 2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles N.& S. A central basin is surrounded by limestone and volcanic hills, the highest, on the S.E., reaching an elevation of 610 feet in a flat-topped volcanic peak rising with steep slopes. The limestone portions, especially on the N.E. and N.W. are densely wooded; the volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass, scrub and pandanus; and the basin contains an extensive grove of coconut palms.

423 361 245 312 The island is privately owned by Mr.G.M.Henning, who resides at a homestead on the west side. Considerable copra is produced. Fresh water is abundant, and small quantities of produce, turkeys, etc., ~~which~~ might be obtainable at the homestead. Good trails traverse the island. 487 161 464 There is no native population other than the plantation workmen.

The MALIMA Islets, two small uninhabited islets lying 6 miles S.E. 13 of Naitaumba, were not visited. They are surrounded by a continuous circular barrier reef, about 2 miles in diameter, with a small boat passage on the north side. The larger islet reaches a height of 130 feet in a conspicuous lump on its S.W. end. The lagoon contains numerous rocks and coral heads.

[p.83]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of coconut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
13

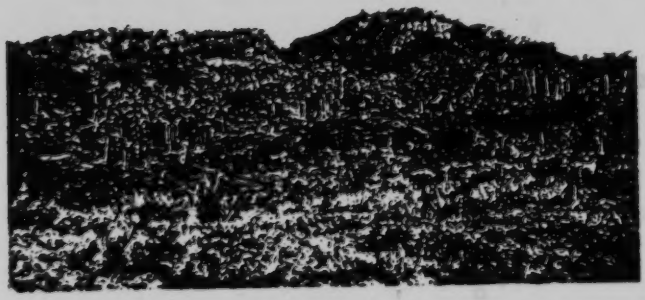
38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface ~~averaging~~ 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukulure, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with coconut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

137
487

37. All the villages on Vanua Mbalavu are connected by good paths. This is a typical section of one, north of Lomaloma.

133



38. Central basin of Thikombia-i-Lau, of mixed volcanic and limestone formation. Looking east from near the center.

[p. 105]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

361 491 133

Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

361 [161]

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promontory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country," Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D.*) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

361 134

Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
177 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
245 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p. 43]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] [576] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

13 25. MANGO is a moderately large limestone and volcanic island, 8 miles south of Kanathea, 20 miles W.N.W. of Tuvutha', and 17 miles N.N.E. of Thithia. (S.17° 27', 179° 09' W.). It is surrounded by a fringing reef, about 1/2 mile wide. On the north there is a wide gap in the reef, forming an excellent anchorage with the prevailing S. to E. winds. The island is nearly circular, 3 miles in diamtere, and reaches an elevation (Mt.Rider) on the south of 730 feet according to the owner (the Pilot Book, H.O.166, p.372, gives 670 feet). Two other high volcanic hills overlook the west coast, and there is one nearly as high in the north ridge.

This marginal ring of hills, partly volcanic and partly of upraised coral limestone, encloses a broad central basin which is at present 245 thickly planted to coconut palms. It was formally used for the [248] cultivation of sugar cane, and prior to that for raising cotton. The [249] old sugar mill still stands near the owners houses, toward the center 361 of the basin. From it a small tram line runs to the N.E.bay.

● 497 The island is owned by Mr. James Borron, and is managed by his son. There is no native population other than the workmen employed on the 423 plantation, which are mostly Indians. It is one of the most productive 464 and luxurient islands in Lau, and would be well worth an extended 162 biological survey. There is a dense forest among the limestone hills 13 on the N.E., hanging with tropical vines, and with lianas up to 15 inches in diameter. The volcanic hills are covered with the usual grass and scrub, and here and there are ~~patches~~ groves of Casuarina trees. A small lake, in the N.W.gap, supports a flock of wild ducks, and other bird life is abundant.

312 Water is abundant. A large stream drains the central basin, flowing N.E. to the nearly enclosed bay. There are also several small lakes and pools of fresh water.

245 At present about 500 tons of copra are produced annually. A herd

501

501 BOATS--types of water craft (e.g., rafts, skin and plank boats, bark and dug-out canoes, motor boats, sailing vessels, steamships); specialized craft (e.g., ferries, tugs, canal boats, tankers); mode of propulsion (e.g., poling, towing, paddling, rowing, sailing, power propulsion); rigging; machinery; gear (e.g., oars, paddles, rudders, anchors); seating, eating, and sleeping accommodations; etc. This category is designed for descriptive data only. See also:

Power	37	Water transport	605
Cordage	283	Boat names	662
Shipbuilding	396	Naval vessels	716

1:. Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 64.3

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis. 539

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakareva*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 523

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka: Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnant's Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be, Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501 ●

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, "*O oa*." If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [825] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets. The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

342 574 *i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea. Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa, A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa. Ure, ure wi urea. Laki kau mai a masi volavola. A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the black cloth, A rag for the sailor boys. Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the variegated tapa, A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai, Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back, Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

[431]

The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

501 574

501 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 202

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*. 248 287

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tokau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hard and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

342
284
501

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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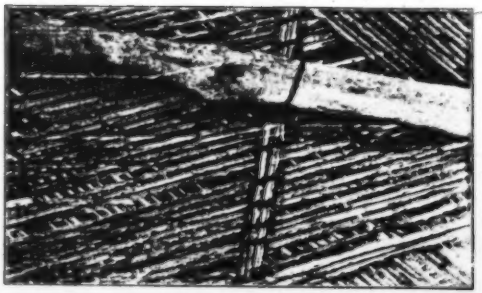
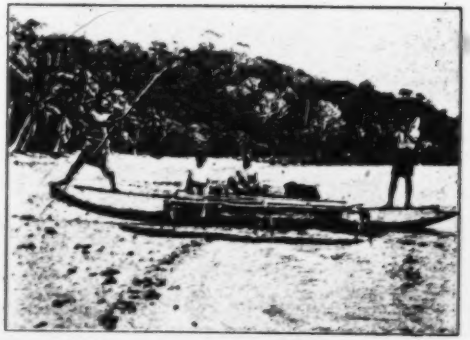
Lakemba

A



B

C



D

LAUAN HOUSES AND BOATS. *A*, TONGAN STYLE HOUSE. *B*, SECTION OF WALL OF HOUSE, LOTOA STYLE; *C*, KIAN SAILING CANOE; *D*, MOALAN PADDLING CANOE.

[End Plate 3]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A*, *B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 622] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 526 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi vi vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*vulevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga [illegible]	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki s[illegible]a ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
[354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *ervevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
[622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

504 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
tembete double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just
[731] before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Valona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ward to Mothe, where they awaited a good wind. The trip to Tonga took about three full days. Semitchi remained for two years in Tonga and then returned to Lau on the cutter *Nakau*.

WOODWORK

WOODEN BOWLS

The islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea produce most of the wooden bowls (*kumete*). They are made only by carpenters. The bowls are cut from a solid section of greenheart with metal-bladed adzes and are polished with the point of a boar's tusk (*i kari ni kumete*). The tusk is highly valued private property inherited from father to son.

There are several types of wooden bowls, and each type is made in several sizes.

FIGURE 9.—Types of *tanoa* rim profiles: a, *tanoa ntchina*; b, *sese ni tanoa* (type 1); c, *sese ni tanoa* (type 2).

The *tanoa ntchina* (fig. 10, *a*) is a round, gracefully curved bowl with inverted, shallow, dome-shaped body set on four strong, tapering legs. The rim is circular with convex upper surface. It forms an unbroken curve outward from the side walls (fig. 9, *a*). Between two legs is a perforated, V-shaped lug (*ndalingana*) by which the bowl is suspended with sennit. A section of a trunk of greenheart is split vertically down the center, each half furnishing material for one bowl. The surface where the split occurred is leveled with an adz. The carpenter, using two sticks as a gauge, traces with a sharp point an inner and an outer circle on the smooth surface to mark the edge of the rim and the cavity of the bowl. He then marks the position of the legs just inside the curve of the rim. He carves out the bowl with small adzes and polishes it with a boar's tusk. The *tanoa ntchina* is used as a kava bowl. The natives agree that it is an old Fijian type.

The *sese ni tanoa* is a round bowl with four legs and a V-shaped lug. It has a deeper cavity than the *tanoa ntchina* and differs from it in the curve of the rim. There are two types of *sese ni tanoa*. The rim of type 1 (fig. 9, *b*) in this study, is definitely bent outward. It forms an angle of almost ninety degrees with the side walls. The upper surface of the rim is flat. The rim of type 2 (fig. 9, *c*) in this study, extends upward to a straight edge (fig. 10, *b*). The legs of the *sese ni tanoa* are slightly more cylindrical and more

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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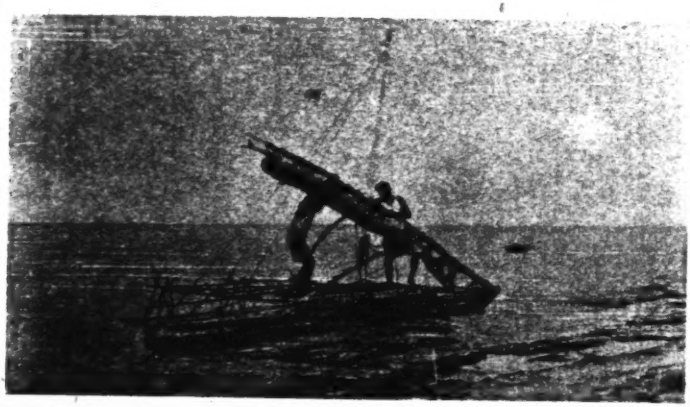

A

B

A, TWO BOYS FURLING THE MAT SAIL OF AN OUTRIGGER SAILING CANOE. B, SMALL CANOE UNDER SAIL IN ONGEA LAGOON (PHOTOGRAPH BY E. H. BRYAN, JR.).

[End Plate 5]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

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* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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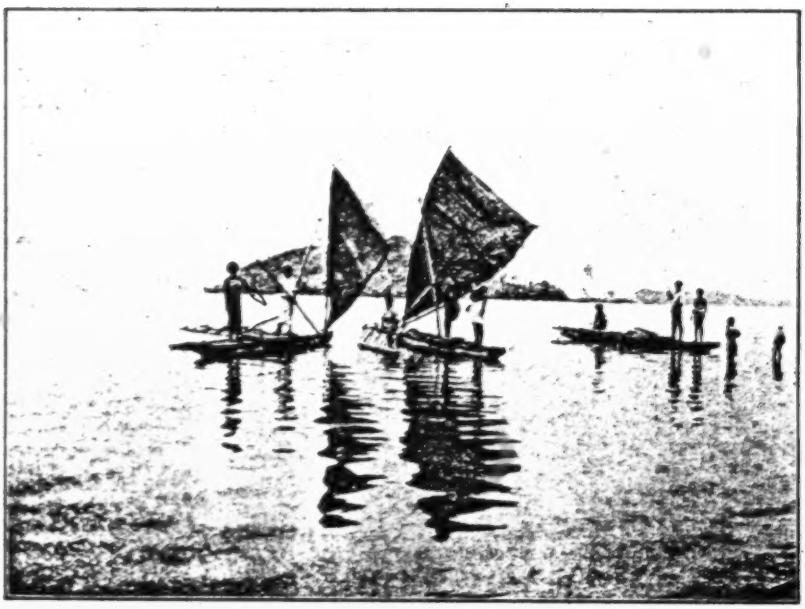

"They launched the canoes."

[facing p. 72]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

823 use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

502 821 The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Kaiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka: Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

821 The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

821 502 Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

[533 559]

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

501 Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [825] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets. The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail directly before the wind, because the outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198 787]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu,* called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 313 [824] **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau,* or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 313 483 [412] When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut. [824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax viticensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [712] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on ~~the~~ a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

964 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done.
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241

[p.88]

13 2. FULANGA Island is a nearly continuous ring of uplifted coral limestone, eight miles directly west of Ongea Levu and south of the Yangasa Cluster, (S.19° 08', 178° 36' W.). It is 5 miles long (W.N.W.- E.S.E.) and 3 to 3 1/2 miles wide. The main island, which extends around three-fourths of the circumference, is from 1/4 to 1 mile wide, and reaches an elevation of 260 feet at the north-west and from 200 to 240 feet on the south. The remaining forth consists of a curve of small islets, one of which is 150 feet high. The hills on the south form a nearly continuous ridge, but those on the north are more prominent because of their isolated abraptness. The enclosed lagoon contains several fair size islands and a quantity of small mushroom-shaped rocks (Too small to be indicated on the map).

This ring of land is surrounded by a barrier reef which is fringing on the S.E. and S.W. Thru it there is one passage, available for small vessels, on the N.W. side. This passage is but 60 yards wide with a strong tidal current flowing thru it at about 3 knots, and causing riffles and overfalls dangerous to small vessels, which should not attempt the passage when tide and wind are opposite in direction. A patch of coral just inside the entrance should be carefully avoided, by running close up to a small rocky islet covered with native palms, keeping on its west side, and then turning abruptly south-west.

The lagoon furnishes shelter from all points of the compass. A good anchorage is available at about the middle of the south side, off [504] a small sandy bay where there are generally a number of native canoes [487] on the beach. From here a trail leads over the ridge to the two southern villages.

[p.15]

13 26. **KANATHEA** is a circular island of volcanic material, 2 to 2 1/2 miles in diameter, lying 7 miles west of Vanua Mbalavu and 8 miles north of Mango. (S.17° 15', 179° 10' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef, and from the east side a loop of barrier reef extends about 6 miles to the N.E., enclosing a spacious lagoon. On the north [504] side there is an indentation in the shore reef within which small craft may anchor within a few hundred feet of a small wharf. The island is undulating and hilly, with several peaks of fair height, the highest (830') overlooking the N.W. shore. On the north-east rises a hill, on the S.E. side of which is a conspicuous thumb-like shaft of volcanic rock. The hills in several places rise in sheer cliffs of this material.

[312] Water is abundant, the interior being drained by several streams.

[245] The valley bottoms and more gradual slopes are thickly planted with coconut palms. The summits of the hills are partly wooded.

423 The island is privately owned and over 600 tons of copra are pro-
245 duced annually. 700 head of cattle are pastured and flocks of ~~sheep~~
233 turkeys roam the hills. In former times cotton and later sugar cane
136 were successfully grown. There is no native population, all the workmen
248 being Indians.
249
162 As bird life is carefully protected, insects are somewhat reduced in numbers. A strict quarentine is also maintained against weeds.

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[p.66]

13 51. MUNIA is a small volcanic island, 2 1/4 miles long by 1500 yards wide, lying 3 1/2 miles E.by S. of Susui and 15 miles E.by N. of Mango. A high ridge traverses the island, reaching a height of 950 feet near the center. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, which connects it with the south side of the barrier reef which surrounds the Exploring group. The island is entirely made up of volcanic material.

473 Munia is privately owned, by Mr. H.H. Steinmetz, an Englishman, who
162 produces copra. His homestead is located on the S.E.side at a place
295 where there is a small bight in the reef. Here a pier has been built
361 out nearly to deep water. Anchorage here is fair, except when the
504 wind is from the S.E.to N.E. A better anchorage may be found in the
13 lee of the island. Good paths traverse the island and its slopes are
487 thickly planted with coconut palms. Water is fairly abundant, there
312 being several wells.

Mr. Steinmetz has kept careful meteorological records for the
127 past 29 years (1924). A summary of his rainfall data is given in the introduction.

464 There is no native population on the island other than the workmen.
161 It formerly possessed native inhabitants, however, and bones and ethno-
[172] logical objects have been dug up about the homestead.

[p.75]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

GARDEN HOUSES

Garden produce and tools are stored in a small garden shack called *lololo*. 343
The two parallel wall plates are supported by forked stakes about 1 meter 284
high. Rough, pliable laths of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are planted in the ground at regular intervals just outside the wall plates. Each one is bent over the wall plates toward the middle of the shack and crossed with a corresponding lath from the other side. Two rough ridgepoles are inserted at the crossing of the laths, one above and resting upon the fork, the other below it. The two crossed laths and the two ridgepoles are tied together at the junction with a vine such as *yaumitha* or *tuva*. The laths are also tied to the wall plates. This framework is thatched from the ridgepole to the ground with plaited coconut leaves tied to the laths with vines.

TEMPORARY SHELTERS

Shelters, called *teisusu* or *yalavolau*, are used for temporary sleeping quar- 343
ters. They are found at camping grounds far from a village or on uninhabited islands where garden land is cultivated, and where travelers stop over night, or fishermen go for good fishing grounds. The shelters are erected quickly. Two parallel rows of pliable rods of *vetau, mboimboinda, sitchi,* or *uko* are staked at regular intervals in the ground. The rows are about 4 meters apart and 8 meters long. The stakes in one row are bent toward the stakes in the other row, crossed and tied together in pairs, under one and over the other ridgepole as in the garden house. The framework is reinforced by a rod tied to each stake between the ridgepole and the ground. It is covered with thatch made of plaited coconut leaves.

CANOE SHELTERS

Sometimes a shelter of coconut leaves is built over canoes in the process [504] ●
of construction. Unplaited leaves are thrown across two rods held up by four forked stakes.

CHICKEN COOPS

Chicken coops are found in Lau especially on Fulanga. They are built 343
with rectangular ground plan and average about 2 meters long, 1 meter wide, 235
and 1.20 meters high. In one type of chicken coop the walls are made of *walaki* reeds staked upright in the ground and supported from the inside by horizontal rods tied with sennit. Roosting perches and the roof of pandanus thatch rest on these horizontal rods. The roof is supported by pliable sticks curved over the walls and with one end inserted into the ground on each side of the house. In another type of chicken coop the walls are composed of vertical stakes reinforced from the inside by horizontals. They are thatched

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622] are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

● 504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held 526 upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa* 765] *ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482 505]

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The coil is boiled in the dye mixture for about 10 hours and then soaked in a container for about 12 hours. It is then left for about 24 hours in a container with soft black mud, washed in fresh water, and hung out in bundles to dry. When boiled the black dye fades slightly. Yellow sennit is made by boiling a coil with scraped *kura* roots for two hours. 283 386

Canoes

I witnessed the process of construction, of sailing, and of paddling canoes on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Ongea. Information concerning navigation was obtained on six interisland canoe trips in good and bad weather over a distance of 200 miles. Information concerning the double canoe was obtained from many old informants who had participated in their building and sailing. Much of it was furnished by Tatchini, the *lemaki* carpenter of Kambara. No complete double canoe is found in Lau today. But on Fulanga I examined parts of a small *sauthoko* constructed by Mathiu, the carpenter of Nasava, a chiefs' carpenter clan of Muanaithake, and on Levuka, Lakemba, a model *sauthoko* constructed by the same carpenter. 501

Two types of canoes, the single sailing canoe (*thamakathu*; pl. 5, *A*, *B*) and the paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*) are still made and in constant use in southern Lau. Both have single indirectly attached outriggers. The sailing canoe is a five-piece, completely decked canoe equipped with mast and lateen sail. The paddling canoe is either a simple dugout or a dugout with decked washstrakes. Only large sailing canoes are used outside the reef.

Informants say that formerly an outrigger canoe, called *ndavilai*, was also made. It resembled the *wangga vothe* but head and stern were of equal size and shape.

Two types of double canoes (*ndrua*), the *sauthoko* and the *tambetembete*, were formerly built in southern Lau. The *sauthoko* consisted of two built-up, decked canoes; the main canoe (*kata*), and the balancing canoe (*thama*), which served as outrigger. The *tambetembete* was a plank canoe with a keel said to have been introduced and built by the *lemaki* carpenters and the Tongan carpenters, who came to southern Lau for greenheart timber. Double canoes were used in interisland voyages in Fiji and between Fiji and Tonga.

Informants say that a raft (*ulatoka*), composed of logs lashed together with sennit, was formerly built to carry heavy loads. The *ulatoka* is mentioned by Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 76), and a model of an *ulatoka* in the Fiji Museum has been described by Hornell (16, p. 332). [505]

Canoe making is today, as in the past, the most important industry in southern Lau because hard greenheart timber, used for hulls of double and large single sailing canoes, grows abundantly only on the forested, limestone island of Kambara and to some extent on Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava. 396

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1. Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka
2. Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe
3. Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka
4. Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava
5. Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

36 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There
241 are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi I. (250') and Yanuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wanggganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati niovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven. But when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances; a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*).

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used. 123 514

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neighboring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter. 136 513

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the *kekeo*, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo*, the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered 136 713

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

132 Kambara is situated about 19 degrees south of the equator, and so has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. Most of the lively canoe traffic between the islands is carried on in these months. Although the temperature rarely falls below 70° the thin-blooded natives frequently shiver with cold, especially after the sun goes down. The remainder of the year is rainy and hot with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February and March. At this time few native crews venture in canoes beyond the protecting reefs, for a small black cloud on the horizon can suddenly develop into an ugly squall which rips a mat sail and tosses a canoe about like a toy boat on a mighty ocean.

There is a difference in climate between the west and the east sides of Kambara. The east side is cooler and less humid than the west on account of the southeast trades. This may in part account for the greater energy and productivity in craftsmanship shown by the people of Undu and Tanggu compared to those of Tokalau and Lomatchi. During the hot season in Tokalau the temperature in my native hut, which had a sheet iron roof, averaged 90° F. at seven in the morning and 102° at two in the afternoon.

123 In the heat of the day we frequently worked under a
514 pavilion roofed with plaited coconut leaves, near the beach,
[343] in the hope of catching whatever slight breeze might be playing along the shore. There was considerable amusement over selection of a site for this pavilion. During the first weeks in Tokalau I chose the coolest spot along the beach and requested that the pavilion be built there. Located some distance from the village, the place was sheltered by palms and brush. At this time I still had the naive notion that I could arrange a little privacy for interviews with informants who frequently hesitate to speak in the presence of others, and also for the few precious leisure hours I had to enjoy this "South

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neigh- 136
boring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are 513
very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara 136
had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the 773
kekeo, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo,* the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

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142 Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed 302 by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair 386 with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark [824] of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evuevu (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

[145] Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

302 "Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

● 515 The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

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Kambara

given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

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585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble [431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata,* the "eating together" feast.

● [515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

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252 not allowed to participate in the preparation of food for the earth oven. However, in households today, where there is a shortage of adult males, uncircumcized boys and occasionally even women help.

Usually the oldest active woman in each kitchen group directs the procuring and preparation of food to be boiled. When the group includes the mothers of both husband and wife, the husband's mother takes precedence. (As shown in table 1 and figure 3, K22, 23, 24 is supervised by 118.) When the group includes the wife and the husband's sister, the wife takes precedence if she is about the same age as the husband's sister, whereas the husband's sister takes precedence if she is older than the wife. (As shown in figure 3 and table 1, K19, 20 is supervised by 91, whereas K8, 9, 11 is supervised by 35.) The activities centering around the earth oven are directed by the oldest active man in each earth-oven group. I found no native term for the supervisor of the kitchen or of the earth oven.

264 The evening meal is usually eaten in the kitchen hut. An eating mat is laid on the ground, food placed on it, and the group sits around it. The highest ranking man sits at the head, the men and boys seated according to rank on his right side. The women sit on his left side, and the young girls serve.

Food from the earth oven is served on breadfruit or banana leaves or on [415] plates of plaited coconut leaf. Large fish are placed on a wooden fish platter (*i sovasova ni ika*) and divided into portions according to rank. The head of the fish, the center of mana, goes to the highest ranking man. Soup is served in cups (*mbilo*) of half coconut shells. Eating is done with the fingers. [515] After the meal a finger bowl of fresh water is passed first to the head of the group, then to the other members.

Fire Making

372 A native from the island of Kambara made fire in three minutes by the following method:

> He took a dry log of *yasiyasi*, one section (about 5 by 30 cm.) of which had been stripped of bark. He sat down and placed the log in front of him with the exposed surface on the upper side nearest him. He held a small, dry, pointed stick, 3.5 cm. in diameter and 35 cm. long, in his left hand as one holds a pencil, the right hand partly covering the left. He rubbed the pointed end along the exposed surface of the log until a groove formed in the log and wood dust collected at the end of the groove. When the wood dust began to smoke, he wound a piece of coconut reticulum into a coil and shook the smoking wood dust into the coil. He then took the coil in both hands and waved it to-and-fro until it caught fire.

For fire making *(nita)*, *waro* and *nawanawa (Cordia subcordata)* woods are preferred. Sticks are dried and stored on the beams in the lower end of the house. Fire is transported by lighting the split end of a coconut spathe and wrapping it in pandanus.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to 312 Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

● 515 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the 136 lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga*, chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga*, gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga*, an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest. [30]

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

[266]

OFFERINGS

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Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

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If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

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Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu e nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka vuuvra."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

FIRST FRUITS

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. [535] [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows: [293]

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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539

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [431] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Netting and Rope

FISHLINES

The process of making fishlines was witnessed only on the island of Fulanga. Fishlines are made only by women in Lau, but men occasionally help to procure from the bush *ronga* bark, from which the lines are made. The bark is stripped from the *ronga* branches in pieces from 2 to 3 meters long and rolled into coils (*pupu*), a process called *thimbini*. The next day the coils are unrolled and the outer bark is stripped off, a process called *kulina*. 283

Figure 19.—Fishline technique. First step in rolling shreds of *ronga* bark into two-ply twist: two strands of two shreds each are held, one end of each strand between thumb and first finger of the left hand, so that thumb separates strands.

The inner bark (*leuwe ni kulina*) is sunned for several days until it is dry and white, a process called *singani*, and then it is hung indoors until needed. Before shredding the inner bark it is placed in the lagoon and scraped with a *kuku* shell, a process called *kalui*. It is dried in the sun again and then softened and scraped into shreds with a *ndamba* shell. To roll the shred into a two-ply twist, a woman proceeds as follows:

She sits with knees straight and legs crossed left over right in front of her. She places a bundle of shreds in her lap, then takes two strands of two shreds each and holds one end of each strand between thrumb and first finger of the left hand, so that the thumb separates the strands (fig. 19). With the right hand she rolls each strand into a ply on the bare calf of her left leg. One movement away from the body usually suffices. With her right hand, she separates the two plies from her left thumb to the ends. Then she rolls the two plies on her calf into a two-ply twisted cord, with one movement away from her body and another toward it. This completes about 7 cm. of cord. She separates the two plies at the unfinished end of the line and repeats the process until one ply becomes short and thin. Then she adds another shred of bark from the pile in her lap by placing it beside the weak ply and holding the two between thumb and first finger. With her right hand she pulls the new shred toward the unfinished end of the cord until she holds it with her thumb about 3 cm. below the upper end. She turns this upper end down along the second ply (which has not been reinforced) and proceeds. [516]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A

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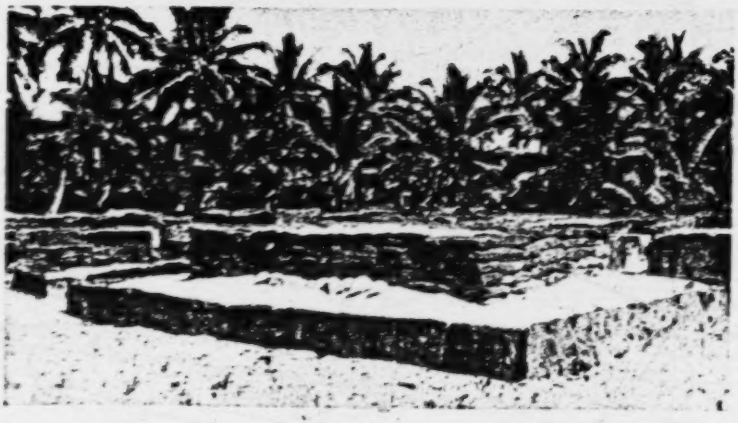

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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[252
415]

A

[516]

B

[287
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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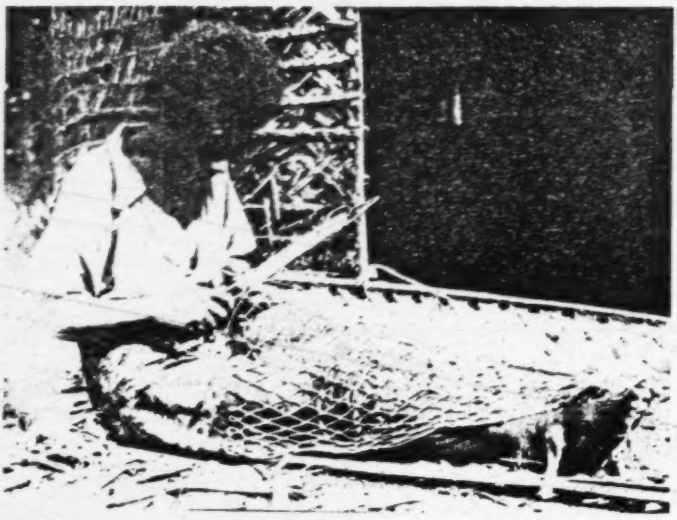
A



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B

A, UNMARRIED GIRL OF MUANAITHAKE VILLAGE, FULANGA, WEARING "VIRGIN LOCKS" OVER LEFT EAR. B, WOMAN OF NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA, MAKING A FISHNET.

[End Plate 3]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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516

A Fijian Fishergirl

She wears a bright red *lavalava* and in her hair a sprig of fragrant leaves. Around her neck, tangled in a garland of tiny flowers, hangs a pair of imported diving goggles.

[Facing p. 14]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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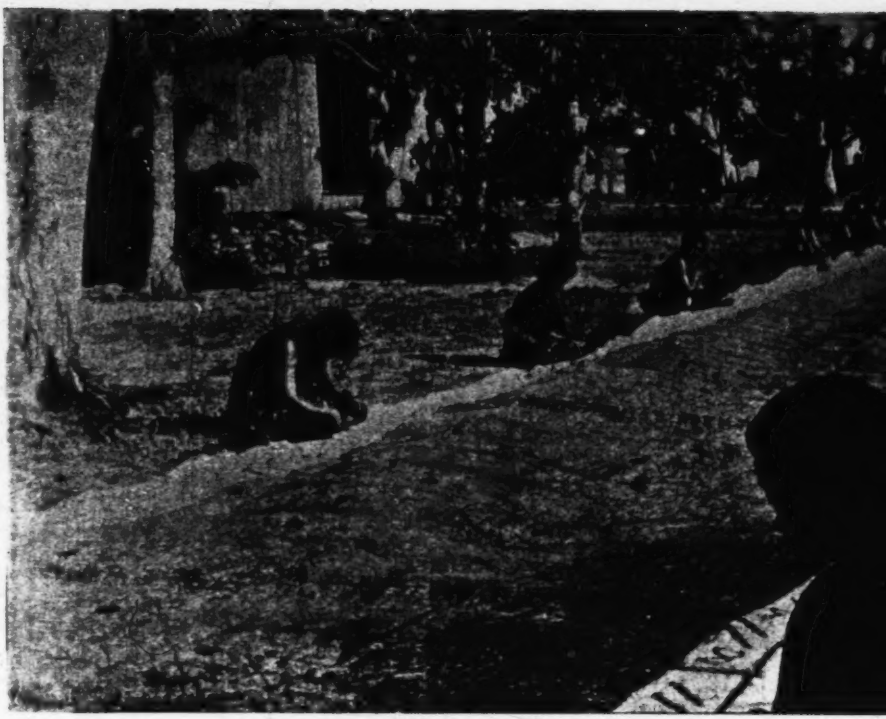
VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[Facing p. 58]



[facing p. 84]

DEATH OF THE HIGH CHIEF

The route of the funeral procession is carpeted with long strips of tribute bark
women of high rank.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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h and bordered by seated

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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*539 [516] "You must know, sir," he began, settling himself down on the mat and fixing his back comfortably against a post, "that in the days of our fathers there was often drought in the land of Ono, and we of Matokano town suffered terribly at times. But there was always the fertile Tuvana Island[1] for us to fall back upon in our distress; for Tuvana is near to the island of the gods, and shelters beneath their benevolence. And so it came about that one day there sailed a large canoe-load of people of Matokano town (both men and women) for Tuvana, to gather coco-nuts and other food. Now, when they reached the island at sunset—for it is distant a day's sail from Ono—they quickly gathered some food and cooked it, and then lay down to sleep in a rough shelter that stood there, at a place called 'Butoni,' for use on such occasions as these. And the next day when they awoke they perceived that a strong wind had arisen in the night, and they discussed the question of taking back the women with them or of leaving them there for a few days; for the matter of the food at Matokano was urgent, and the men, at all events, must needs take provisions back to Ono without delay.

"Now, one of them, Tui Liku by name, was of a roving spirit; a handsome man, and a great

[1] An uninhabited island twenty-five miles south of Ono, the last of the Fijis.

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

and walked along for some distance, the islanders joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horseman approached, splendidly upright, and making a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

On nearing the town our approach was sighted by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival. Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land." 173

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced. [276]

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those [516]

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

173 of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of
[516] Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was
[84C] very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 552 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Viti Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

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836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, *"Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!"* (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, *"Tingga, tingga, tingga."* 524

The others cry *"Mate, mate, mate"* (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

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Kambara

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

535
539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea,* in which, according to the natives, women
[242] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but
[177] is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

526 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272 is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276 water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291 waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304 The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197] tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522] jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173] not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

One 855 informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told [866] that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional 869 complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867 the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867 cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his 157 relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

REED THROWING

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

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The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, "*Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!*" (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, "*Tingga, tingga, tingga.*" 524

The others cry "*Mate, mate, mate*" (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

Lafo, Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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word for coin, money. A player at one end pitches his disc so that it slides as near as possible to the other end, which is slightly tilted; his opponent tries to get nearer or knock the first one off. When one side has thrown all its discs, the other side begins.

All the other games I have noted are played by children. Elderly people remark on the fact that white people, both young and old, play and are not ashamed of it.

CATCH AS CATCH CAN

The simple form of catch as catch can is called *vulimea* or *veimea*. The caught (*vulimena*) may not catch again the one who caught him, they are *veitumbuni* that is grandmother and grandchild according to Lauan dialect; grandfather and grandchild in the terminology of Viti Levu. The players provoke the one who is in by calling out *"Vulimenggu,"* "He is an idle fellow," "Good day," "So your canoe has come to anchor?" When the game is over they call out *"Timbi o"* [meaning unknown].

A more elaborate form is called *veimbuka*, in Mbauan *veimbithi*. Two teams draw a line in the sand and make a small mound in the middle called the eye. A boy, called the *mbithi*, runs out from one side and tries to run into the other; but the opposing team runs out to catch him; the one who succeeds in touching him becomes *mbithi* and makes for the enemy's line; and so it goes on until one succeeds in setting foot on the line belonging to the other side; then his side counts one point, or *kai*, literally shell; this point is marked by sticking the finger into one end of the mound; the other side score from the other end. A boy may jump over the mound at the start.

Pulling up sticks is played as follows. Ten sticks are planted at each end; half way between is a line made in the sand. The teams line up one on each side of the line; they keep stepping or jumping over the line, but retreat as soon as the enemy try to catch them, until one sees his opportunity and makes a dash for the opponents' sticks. If he is caught on the way he is "dead" and out of play; if he succeeds in touching a stick before he is caught, he pulls it out and walks back with any prisoner the enemy may have made, and plants the stick at his own end. If all the sticks at one end are pulled out that side is beaten.

PLENTY OF SOULS

The game "plenty of souls" (*e levu ni yalo*) is played as follows. A serpentine line is made in the sand, one end being the "foundation village" (*koro ni yavu*); the other is the "dwelling village" (*koro ni tiko*). One

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

boy is chosen as spirit; he stands at the "foundation village"; the others stand along the line half a circle removed from the spirit. Their leader asks the spirit, "The spirit from where?"—

He answers, "The spirit from Kendekende" or whoever it may be.

The man says: "What have you come to do?"

"I come to eat men."

"Can you eat my men?"

"I will eat at this end, eat at that end."

"Let us run in Naivindamu."

Then all the men run along the winding line, the spirit after them. When the spirit gets to the end of the first half circle he completes it, thus returning to his original position; then he can go ahead in pursuit along the line; thus the others have a start of three semicircles. If the spirit catches one before he reaches the dwelling village, that one becomes the spirit.

The "foundation village" is evidently an old village where the sacred ancestral foundation stands and which is therefore haunted by the spirit or god. Naivindamu is in Fulanga.

GAMES OF SKILL AND STRENGTH

Kitia is played by boys and girls. Two players, one from each of the two sides, squat down facing one another with arms hanging down, and sing:

Kitia, kitia, rara leka (short green)
Kitia Matailakemba.

When they have sung this rhyme once they begin to swing the arms and to hop, putting alternately one foot then the other forward, repeating the rhyme all the time. When one can do no more his place is taken by another, until all the players on one side are put through; that side is beaten. There are [illegible] rhymes:

Ndra ni ndovu ka sa lele.	A sugar cane leaf is hanging.
La ki mbutuka seitavare.	Seitavare (?) goes to tread on it.
Wasupai vuravura	The sergeant is arrived:
Ona i nase tawatha,	It flashes
Mate kethevia	The silver ring.
E veiyasana.	The governor is arrived;
Sa uru a satini;	He takes off his hat.
Sa tatimbi	
A mama silini.	
Sa uru a kovana;	
Sa thavuta a ona i sala.	

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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GUESSING GAMES

The word *vakasiri* means causing to fail. One player says, "Cause to fail (*bis*), the rainbow there."

The other asks, "What about the thing there?"

The first one says, "Flower of *mbithimbithi*, flower of *walai;* what is it you see? what is it I see?"

The second player will say, for instance, "What I see is a box of note books." But in the event the first player was thinking of a fly whisk, the second has failed; had he said "fly whisk" they would have been in agreement.

Vakatu or setting up is a rhyming game. The first player names a man, the other must give a woman's name that rhymes with the first, and so on till one fails. Thus, "Set up to Misilindi."—

"Miri."—

"Miri; Amini."

"Sikiti."—

"Senimili."

This is wrong because Senimili is a woman's name, it should be a man's, so the second player calls out, "Tukisolou." The same name may not be used twice.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[3] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[3] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and counting the laths. The lengths of thatch for the main section of roof, 342
exclusive of rounded ends, must be of uniform length so that three or four correspond to the length of the main part of the roof. Thatch for the rounded ends are of various lengths.

A piece of sennit is tied between the rafters from the suspended purlin (*i ndere*) to the upper ridgepole (*ndoka lailai*) to form the thatch cord (*wale*). A row of old, plaited coconut mats (*tambakau*), called *there*, is tied securely to the upper side of the suspended purlin.

The thatching begins at the lower edge of the roof of the middle section of the house and works upward by panels, each panel being equal to one length of thatch. The middle panel (*nggolutu*) is completed first. Then the panels (*i karua ni nggolutu*) on either side of the middle panel are completed; next, in a large house, panels (*i ravitchi ni kapakapa*) on either side of these (*i karua ni nggolutu*); and finally the end panels (*kapakapa*). The lengths of thatch, *mbatchi ni rau*, are fastened to the roof as follows:

A piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*) is tied to the thatch cord (*wale*) between the suspended purlin and the row of mats (*there*). The thatch (rod side up) is then placed outside and above the thatch cord (*wale*) and tied to it by means of the piece of sennit (*i thurithuri*). This is done by perforating the length of thatch below the rod from underneath by means of a hooked thatching needle (*i yatoyato*), pulling the sennit through the perforation with the thatching needle, and fastening it with a half hitch. [284] This process is continued up to the ridgepole, the length of thatch being from 4 to 5 cm. apart. Each panel overlaps the one completed before it by from 15 to 25 cm.

When the roof of the main section of the house has been completed, the roof of the rounded end is thatched. The panel method is not used on the rounded end sections. Thatching begins at the junction of the straight and the arched suspended purlins and proceeds along the arched purlin until the first row is complete. The rows are worked upward, to-and-fro, corresponding to the rows of thatch on the roof of the main section.

The last row of thatch (called *i vdka sevu*) on both sides of the roof meet above the upper ridgepole. Over the thatch junction are placed about four thicknesses of plaited coconut-leaf mats (*mbola*), and finally plaited coconut leaves (*i tevitchi*). They are pinned down with sharpened sticks (of *i sanggai*) inserted between the main and the upper ridgepole.

Thatchers work in pairs. One man stands inside the house on boards temporarily tied to the house posts and does the tying, while his partner stands outside and hands up the lengths of thatch by means of a forked stick (*i thimbathimba*). When the man inside calls, "nggolo tu", or "kama nggolo tu", the man outside must *thimba* (pass up a length of thatch).

When many men are working a competition is often held. Each pair works [524] ●
on one panel and the fastest pair wins. The slowest pair is ashamed when the others call, "He rau vuka", meaning that the two are inefficient and lazy.

The roof is repaired by reinforcing weak spots with fresh lengths of thatch. [356]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the mixed yang gradually breaks up, the little girl 857
turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 52

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed), [539]
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 52 171

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

Lafo, Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

Yam Growing

244 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[526]

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula*, *kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

[177]

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244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakataxa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,	Bring the black cloth,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.	A rag for the sailor boys.
Ure, ure wi urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.	Bring the variegated tapa,
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . . " was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

50 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara.

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539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea,* in which, according to the natives, women
[292] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but
[177] is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

● 526 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 526

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

[539]

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 52 171

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

526
[71]

This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

[868]

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622] are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held ●526 upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him. 539* 776

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food. [782] [526]

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe [763]

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

57 [72]

In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble."/Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, *"O, oa!"* set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au ṣa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, *"A, mangiti,"* dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, *"Amunduo,"* clapped again and said, *"Amunduo,"* then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *waru lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

●527

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

[648]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [177] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or
272 death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle
[372 usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco
276] rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to
527 both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served
[262 only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

[252 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men,
171] while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kaua utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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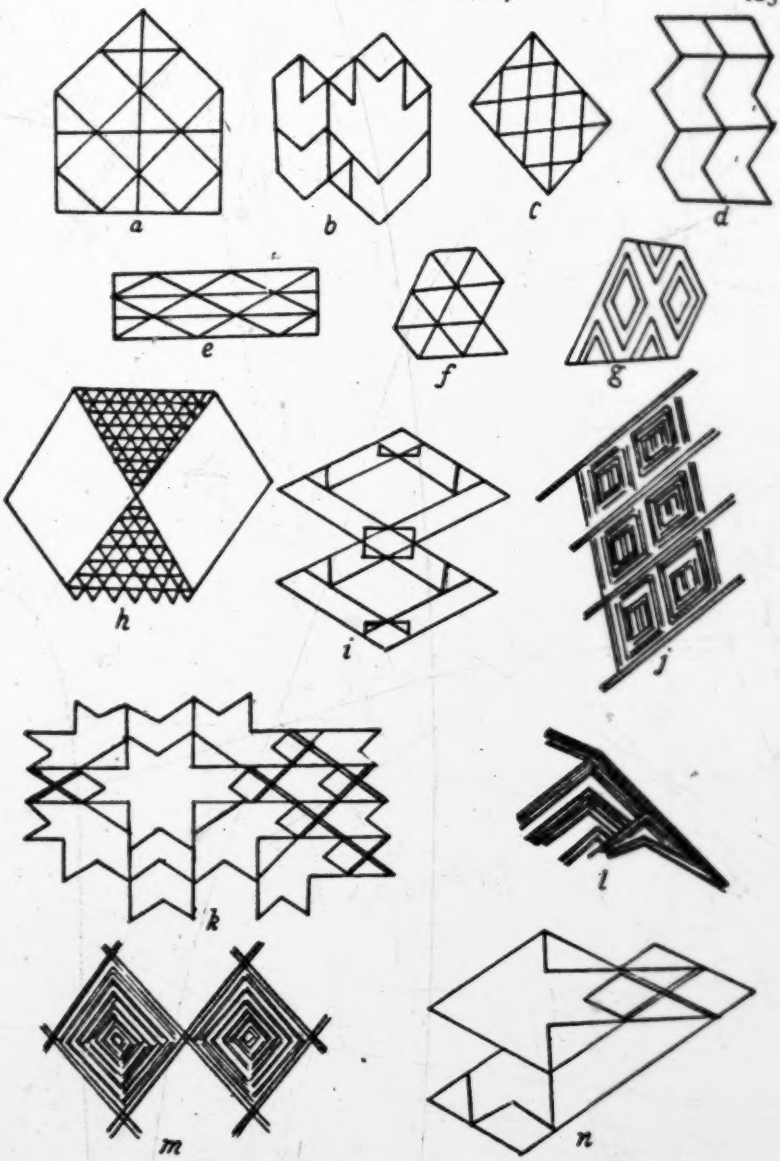

FIGURE 8.—Lashing designs: *a*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *b*, on main post; *c*, *fatuingalau*; *d*, *veikuku*; *e*, *manufekainaki* (side post); *f*, *manuluva* (extremity of the base of king post); *g*, *matanindavui*; *h*, *fufuikiu*, diagram from main post; *i*, from extremity of base of king post; *j*, *fatuingalau*, diagram of strands; *k*, from a wall plate; *l*, from a side post; *m*, from a main post; *n*, analysis of *k*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

257 of *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

531 Patterns consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kathu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

531 386 Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai ndina; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau*; by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

531 The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakalewenimbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*). 531

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens. [77]

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come, to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905): 531 476 575

The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money 476 575

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

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Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Ribs of coconut leaves.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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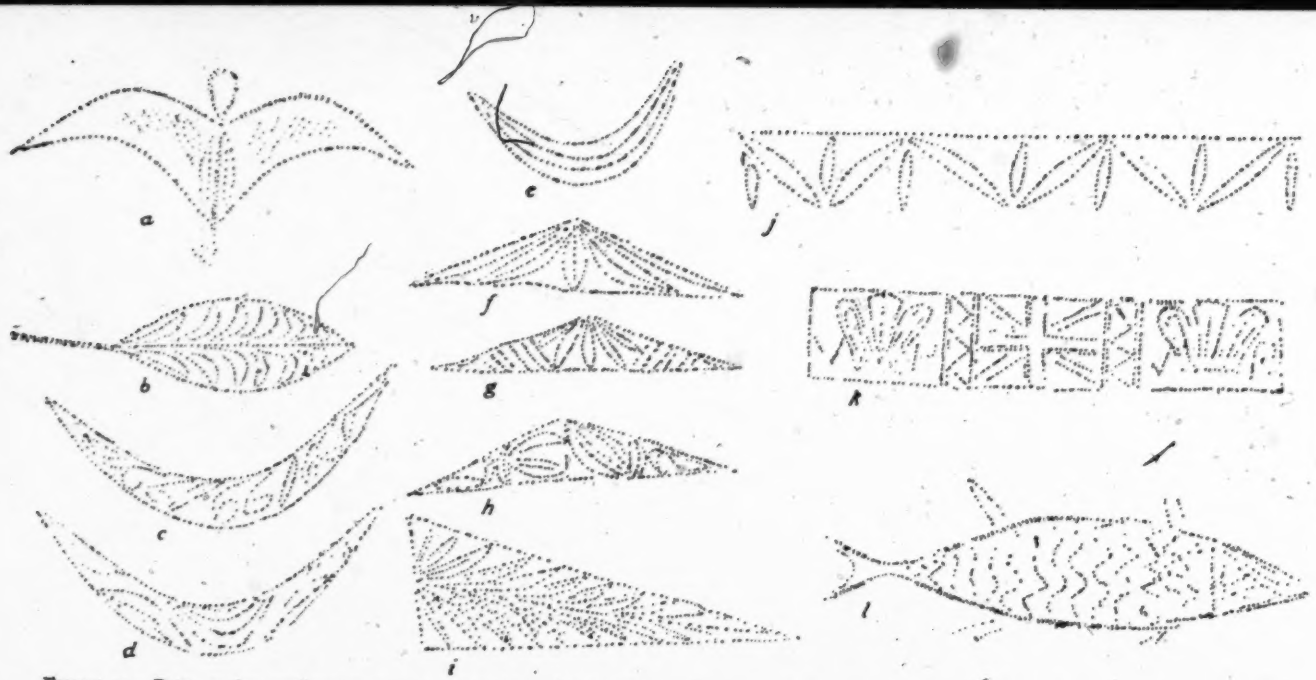

FIGURE 11.—Patterns for applique on tapas: *a*, bat (designed by Tongan woman); *b*, fan (*iri*, from Mbau); *c*, *d*, *e*, moon (*vula*, *c*, *e*, from Tonga); *f*, *mbua* leaves; *g*, *h*, *i*, name not learned; *j*, *mamba* leaves (Mbau); *k*, *sala ni Tui* (Mbau); *l*, fish (from Nasangalau). (Drawn from rubbings.)

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;*
531 pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form
[531] designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tumeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[589] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

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Lakemba

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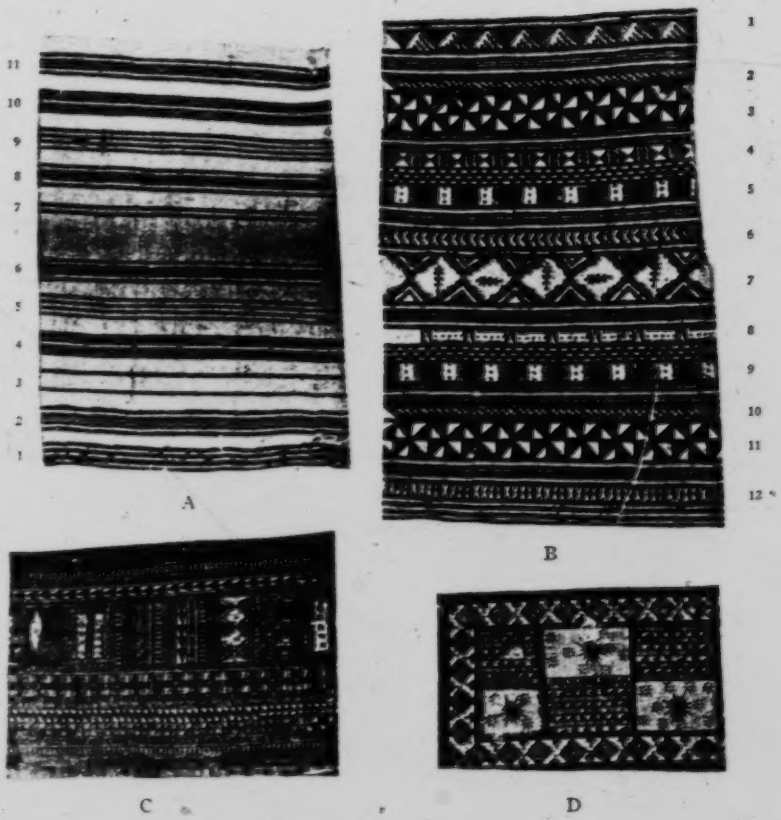

LAUAN BARK CLOTH DESIGNS: *A*, FRAMEWORK; 1, FRAME OF RED, FOUR LINES SO CALLED BECAUSE THE CENTRAL WHITE LINE IS FILLED IN WITH THAT COLOR; 2, FRAME OF MBIKA; 3, NAME UNKNOWN; 4, DRIPPING WATER, WAI KATIRI, PART, I BELIEVE, OF THE BROAD WHITE STRIP IS RED; 5, FRAME OF THE RED; 6, FRAME OF THE MBIKA; 7, WITH THE WIDE SPACE BELOW FORMS THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN; THE OTHER BARS ARE REPETITIONS OF THOSE BELOW; *B*, FRAMEWORK FILLED WITH DESIGNS, 1, VAKALINISEI, KALINESEI'S STYLE; 2, VEIMBALEYAKI, FALLING APART; 3, KAMIKI, FALLING APART; 4, KUMETE NDRUA, DOUBLE KAVA BOWL; 5, VAKATAITI, TAHITIAN STYLE; 6, VATHU NI TAURUKU, BROW OF THE CAVE; 7, VETAU (TONGAN, FETAU, NAME OF A TREE), IN CENTER A DESIGN SOMETIMES CALLED PAWPAW FLOWER, THE BLACK TRIANGLES BETWEEN THE TWO VETAU ALTERNATELY LEFT BLANK AND PAINTED RED; *C, D*, STENCILLED DESIGNS ON BARK CLOTH.

[End Plate 4]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. 304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggauw*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424] Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one 531 knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the [177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusivi vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622] are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thick-
531 nesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the
531 banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth
386 as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

(1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The
[824] inner bark of the *kesowai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also
[438] produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

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from small basins, one for every four or five women, and patted. The long damp piece was then shifted and the whole process repeated several times. The resulting sheet is called *katundrau*. 287

Two joined pieces are called *vesiku*. The next day the *katundrau* was spread on the village ceremonial ground to dry in the sun.

The design for Fijian sheet tapa is a formalized pattern made partly by stencil and partly by rubbing on tablets (p. 199). The surface of the sheet 287 531

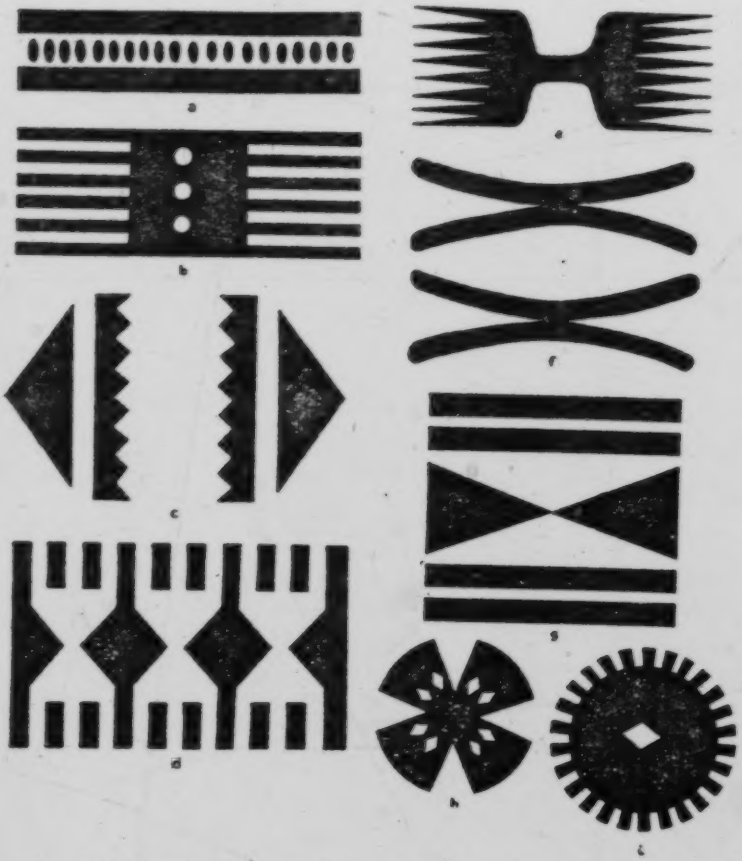

FIGURE 16.—Stencil designs used on tapa: **a**, *i wanggani* (cut from pandanus leaf); **b**, *veka taitchi* (banana leaf); **c**, *vetau* (pandanus leaf); **d**, **e**, *i-seru* (banana leaf); **f**, *ndraundrau nggivi* (banana leaf); **g**, *vetau nggangga* (banana leaf); **h**, **i**, *vutu* (*vutu* leaf).

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287 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along
531 one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth,
287 which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in
531 relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature
(fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration.
[439] They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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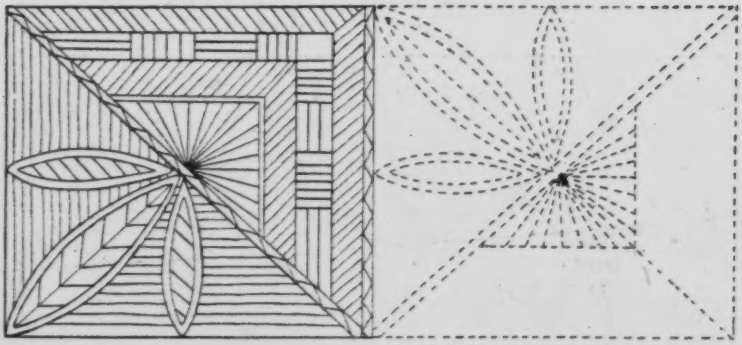

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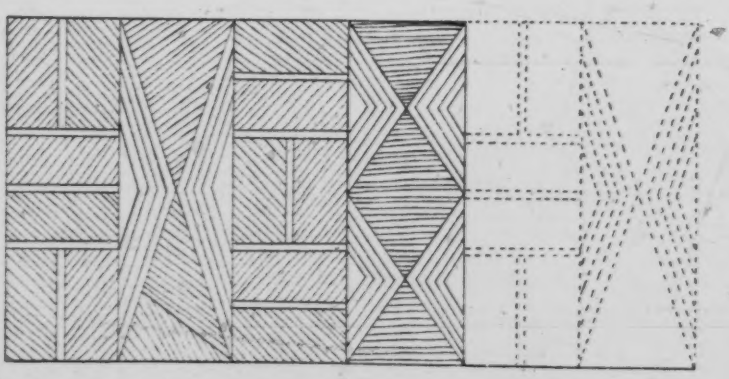

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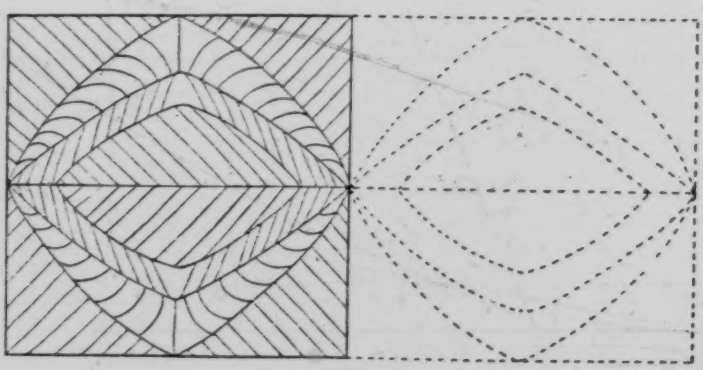

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FIGURE 17.—Tablet (*kupetchi*) designs used to make rubbings on tapa: **a**, twisted cord sewn with pandanus strips on banana leaf background, 50 cm. long, 23 cm. wide; **b**, **c**, midrib of coconut leaflet tied with hibiscus strip onto pandanus leaf, 48 cm. long, 24 cm. wide.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of
● 531 Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakataututu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

Mats

PANDANUS-LEAF MATS

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

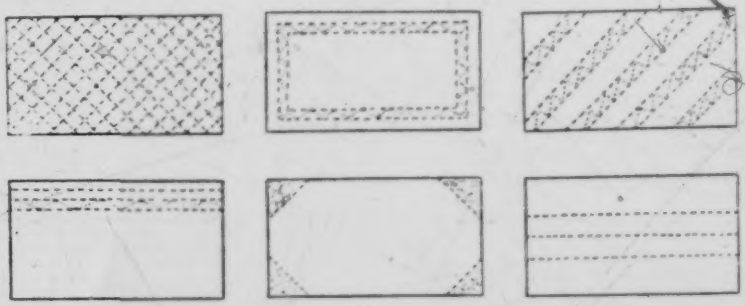

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[354] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

[292] Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central
[614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morindà citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting
[531] them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE POTTERY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.

By Laura Thompson, Ph.D.,
Honolulu.

114 This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

The description is based on a study of 467 potsherds from Kambara, Wangava, Fulanga, and Mothe, and one pot from Levuka, Lakemba, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

Type

323 No earthenware pots are made in the Lau islands to-day,
177 and only a few pots are seen, but potsherds are found in
172 large numbers in old hamlet—*(tokatoka)*, and fortified village—*(koro)* sites.

323 The pottery of Lau is a relatively rough type with
531 little or no ornamentation. It is reddish ware of coarse
172 texture, tempered with sand, and often incompletely fired. The sherds show that the walls of the pots varied in thickness from .3 centimetres (sherds from Nakorombalavu, fortified cave on Wangava) to 1.7 centimetres (sherds from Ndelaimakotu hill fort on Mothe). A few sherds show incised designs on the outer surface of the wall. The designs consist of roughly-executed, incised cross-hatched lines, zigzag lines, dotted lines, and faintly incised parallel grooves (Pl. A, fig. 1). Some of the sherds show impressions of mats with check-weave like those in use to-day. The rims of the sherds are upstanding or slightly bent, either inward or outward. Fragments of necks with slightly outward-bent edge are common. As a rule, the edges of the rims are decorated with incised straight, zigzag, or hatched lines, dotted lines, or raised dots. (Pl. A, fig. 2.) Some of the sherds are perforated, but none show spouts or lugs. No traces of varnish could be detected on the surface of the sherds, although informants in Levuka, Lakemba (where pots were formerly made) say that a varnish was used on certain types of pots.

[pp 1-108 not processed]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

323 463 438 The pots were made in a shed, according to the built-up, lump-technique of the Levukans. Two main types of pots were made: *ndolokoto* and *ndari*. The *ndolokoto* was a large cooking-pot, one to two metres high, and up to one and a half metres in diameter. The pot was rounded, so that it could not stand upright. It was ~~laid on its side~~ on two stones over the fire. The pot had two narrow mouths, one at each end. The *ndari* was a basin or bowl made in various [531] sizes and used for kava or for pudding. It was decorated with incised geometric designs around the rim. The Kambara women traded mats for Levuka pots. Occasionally the Kambara men obtained pots in Levuka.

The Kambara women were not pot-makers, but informants remember that one woman who made pots lived in Tokalau for many years. Her name was Tara Nevini from Nandurumbua sib, Nggalikarua village, Matuku. She left Kambara just before the measles epidemic in 1875.

[317] On Oneate the Levuka women made pots of red clay *(nggele ndamu)* found on the hills, mixed with black sand *(nuku loaloa)* from Sovilolo, a beach on the island. According to Tui Oneate (chief of Oneate), when the Levuka people were succeeded by Katumbalevu, they moved to Oneate, where they lived until they were recalled to Lakemba.*

Pots were imported into southern Lau from the island of Matuku. They were made in the village of Nggalikarua.

Pots from Kandavu were also traded in southern Lau. On Kambara they were exchanged for barkcloth *(ngatu)*, wooden kava-bowls *(kumete ni yanggona)*, food-bowls *(kumete ni kana manioke)*, perfumed oil *(waliwali)*, and [435] digging-sticks *(saupa)*. There was no standard of value, but the women say one large Kandavu pot was equivalent to about one wooden kava-bowl or to one sheet of barkcloth *(ngatu)* (about three by three metres) and one container *(fango)* of coconut-oil.

[439] Pots from fabrication centres in Tailevu on Viti Levu also found their way to Lau.

* For further information concerning the Levuka potters see Hocart, A.M., The Lau islands, Fiji, *Bishop Museum Bul.* 62, 1929, pp. 18-19.

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8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

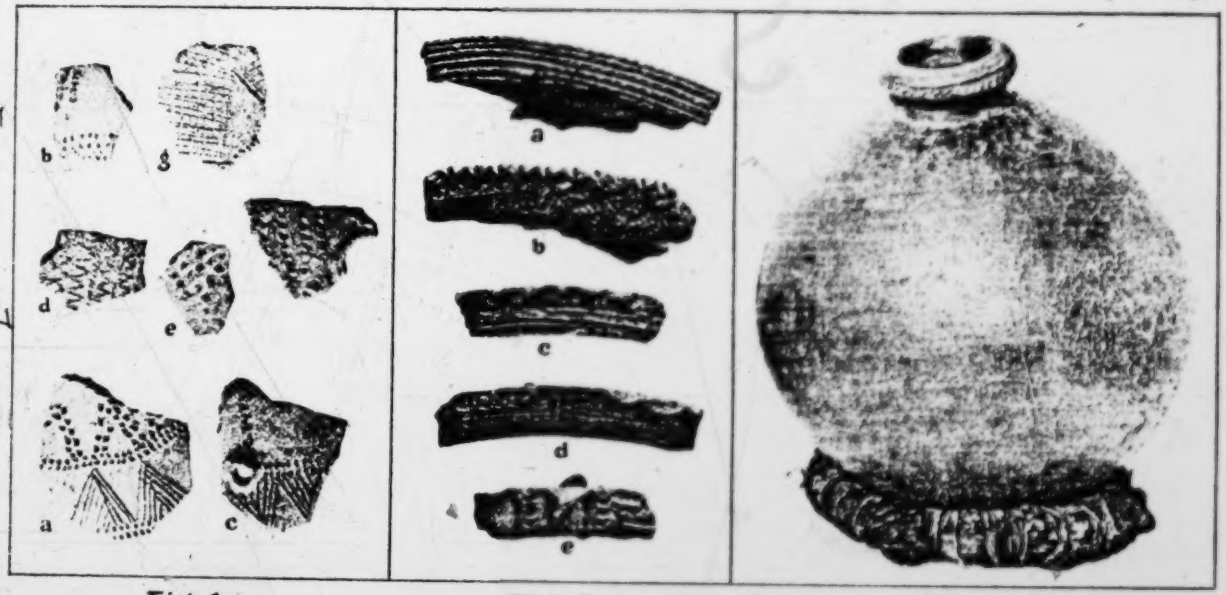

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3.

Plate A.

[facing p. 113]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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FIGURES.

(Courtesy of the Bishop Museum)

PLATE A.

Fig. 1. Potsherds with wall-surface decoration: a, b, c, (C7475) sherds apparently from one pot showing incised geometric designs in lines and dots; perforated wall; thickness .6—1 centimetre; found on the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe; d, (C7421) sherd with incised dotted lines, thickness .7 centimetre, found on the surface, Nakoro fortress-site, Kambara; e, (C7421) sherd with mat-impressed surface, thickness .7 centimetre, from the same site; f, (C7421) incised sherd with perforation, thickness 1.1 centimetres, from the same site; g, (C7475) sherd with incised cross-hatching, thickness .7 centimetre, from the surface, Ndelaimothe fortress-site, Mothe.

Fig. 2. Potsherds with incised rim-decoration: a, (C7417) thickness at edge 1.2 centimetres, found 1 metre below the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; b, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.6 centimetres, found on the surface, Nakorovusa fortress-site, Kambara; c, (C7419) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found on the surface at Naisevou fortress-site, Kambara; d, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.7 centimetres, found with b; e, (C7418) thickness at edge 1.5 centimetres, found with b and d.

Fig. 3. Clay water-jar (C1943). This type was formerly made at Levuka, Lakemba, where it is called *sangga*.

[pp 114- end, not processed]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau.OQ6

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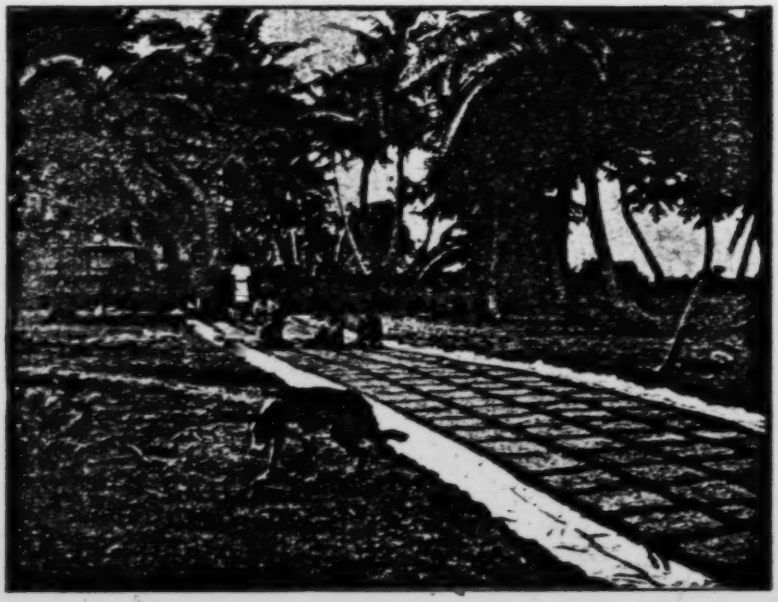

"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*."

[FACING p. 124]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

272 276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 533 276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi*. It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

272 533 539 276

Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali*.[a]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and, bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[b]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[a] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na na na vanua.*
[b] *Vakatanggara e na kali; vakatanggara = vakatatara.*

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.	The water of the offering bubbles and splashes.	272
Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	It is like the dropping of the rain.	533
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	It is like the dropping of the rain.	539
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,	The kava I went to pull up	276
Tara tu e ndua na matua.	An old man touches.[8]	
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;	"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[9]	
Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.	They go on to chew the dry kava.	
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,	Lift up the cold water,	
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.	Pour it on the side of the bowl.	
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,	An old man prays,	
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.	He mentions all the lands.	
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma	I drop the strainer.	
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.	They sit down, they clap gently.	
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.	The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;	
Me kua soti na vakasausa.	Let there not be any noise.	
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.	They clap and cease together.	
Lose[7] oti na yanggona ru thombota.	When the kava has been strained they clap.	
Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.	I throw the cup on the mat.	
Ra sa solota levu toka	They all dispute (?)	
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.	Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.	
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:	Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,	
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;	Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.	
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.	Senikumba carries the fresh water.	
Ondru there, ondru there malua	They rise, they rise slowly,	
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua	They raise it towards the other end of the house,	
Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.	Where sits the Chief of the Land.	
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.	When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.	
Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;	The kava of the land is clapped;	
Kena i ombo e malausausa,	The clapping is loud and fast,	
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.	The herald bids them stop.	

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Namata*, lose; *tarawui* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 6a).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

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[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tame* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua o—Sa ?—thombo*: to clap.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

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The Tonga dances performed in Tambou owe much of their splendor to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered. 535

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands. 535 533

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head 535

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resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning "*Suka koe*" were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, "*Malie, maile,*" which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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CLUB DANCE

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*tuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

[539]

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533 The rhythm is:

— ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ —
ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ ᴗ — ᴗ ᴗ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[534]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie	
A mbimbi a vesi;	The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e.	The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i.	The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

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use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka: Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group off stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo winggai*).

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854 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roafoa[10]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomona,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndrawu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*wiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[10] The word *roafoa* is not Lauan.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 796 272

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533 535]

The kava song follows: [539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka layeta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake.
431 When they arrived the *vetkendovaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

Meke

796
533 A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by
535 drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQo Lau OQo
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulua na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

766

Gifts of tapa and mats were brought by all the people on the island. The herald received them and wrapped the chief's body in them. The district headman of Kambara was in charge of the funeral. (Before British annexation, the chief of Tokalau, Matandravu subclan, Vuanitavola, was in charge.) The pall bearers belonged to the chief's clan and that of his herald.

The chief was buried in the village cemetery at Tokalau. A large, old whale's tooth was placed in the grave as a head rest. The grave was marked by a truncated pyramid earth mound with two stone-faced steps and a rectangular ground plan (pl. 1, *B*). Ten conch shells, blown between the death and burial, were placed on it. The village headman was in charge of the burial feast (*i mburua ni mate*), which was provided by the people of the whole island and divided by the chief of crops.

Informants said that the widow of the chief of Kambara was not strangled and that they had never heard of widow strangling in Lau.

The funeral rites for the chief of Fulanga are less elaborate than those for the chief of Kambara, who ranks far higher as an island chief. The following account of the death of Waisake, the former chief of Fulanga, was obtained from Kalo, the wife of the present chief.

[533]

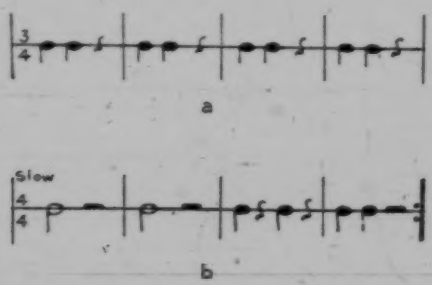

FIGURE 4.—Drum beats: **a**, beat to raise the death tabu, drummed on a tapa board; **b**, beat of the funeral march, drummed on pairs of large wooden slit-gongs.

When Waisake died no conch shells were blown, but the relatives of the deceased wailed: "Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au! Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!" (Alas, my chief! He has gone along the path and will never return!) Kava was provided by the chief's clan (now split into Vunikoro and Rasea) and served by middle-aged people in Tongan fashion for three or four days and nights. The *tonitoni*, composed of women from the village of Muanaithake, occupied the chief's house (*vale ni tangi*, house of wailing) and two or three other houses for ten nights. During this time they were fed by the chief's clan. Laughing and dancing in this house was tabu before dawn on the fourth day, when the sound of the *vakataratara*, beaten by many women of the village on a tapa board, lifted the tabu on silence in the usual way. The rhythm of the *vakataratara* is shown in figure 4, *a*.

The body was buried on the day of death. It was wrapped in mats and carried to the cemetery by men of Nasava and Vandravandra clans, who also dug the grave. The death feasts, provided by all the villages on the island were as follows: *i va kotokoto* for the mourners on the day of burial; *i mburua* for the island on the day after the burial; *vakataratara* for the mourners on the fourth day after the death when the tabu was lifted and the *tonitoni* went fishing; *i vaka mbongi tchini* for the island on the tenth day; and *i vaka mbongi ndrau* for the village on the hundredth day.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

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concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

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for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

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Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533 534]
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a lali ni mbakola*. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their 726 834
weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name.

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers.

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor.

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*.

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows:

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra tangi na turanga*; at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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Kambara

Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 769 618 [771 177] [182]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and a head piece—fitted together and tied with sennit. Usually this type of headrest is carefully made and highly polished. The natives say that formerly headrests of similar shape were made in one piece and called *sauthoko*. 352 322

The *hahapo* is a Tongan type of headrest (*fafapo* in Tonga) made of a single piece of *mbau* wood (fig. 15 *a*, *b*). It is distinguished by its fine long curves and delicate structure.

Roughly finished blocks of wood (*tchiki* or *tekitcki*) are frequently used as headrests (fig. 14, *a*).

A section of bamboo, about 35 cm. long, with two legs of greenheart attached by means of sennit, is called *kali nduzu*. This type of headrest is imported from Viti Levu, inasmuch as large bamboo does not grow in southern Lau.

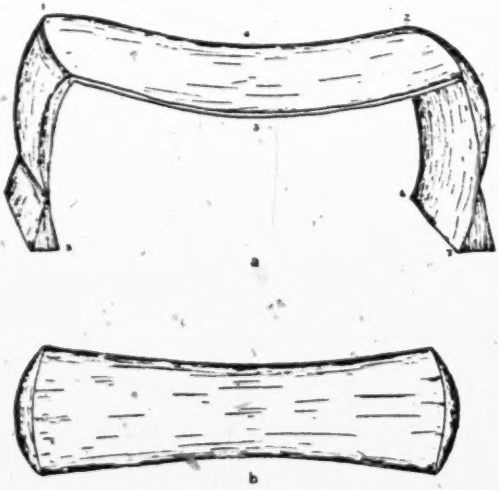

FIGURE 15.—Headrest, *hahapo* type. **a**, side view, 1-2, 30 cm.; 1-3, 9.5 cm.; 3-5, 12.5 cm.; 6-7, 10.5 cm.; 3-4, 7 cm. **b**, view from above.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

An important and very specialized craft in southern Lau is the making of large wooden slit-gongs (*lali*). They are made of a boat-shaped section of greenheart, hollowed out and with an open slot on one side. They are struck on the outside with a pair of wooden beaters. Slit-gongs are made and played in pairs, one large and one small. Two or more pairs are placed at intervals in the village. They are played by youths or men to mark village activities. Each ceremony—such as a funeral procession, the lifting of the 322 534

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

322 mourning tabu, or the call to service in the mission church—has its stylized
534 gong beat (fig. 4).

The natives are sensitive to the quality of gong tones, and full, round tones are much admired. A good gong maker is known throughout the group, and his gongs are recognized by their shape and sound. Namuka became the center of the gong industry in Christian times through the gong maker, Metui of Mbutolu clan. The natives believe that Metui came from Kambara. Slit-gongs from Namuka are in demand all over Lau and on Viti Levu. Today most of the men of Undu, Kambara, know how to make gongs, but only one or two men are really skillful.

Dance gongs (*lali ni meke*), also called *vakamalolo* gongs (*lali ni vakamalolo*), are also made on Namuka. This gong consists of a small canoe-shaped block of greenheart about 1 meter long, with a small rectangular opening on the flat or upper side. The true drum or membranaphone is absent in Lau.

The natives say that formerly panpipes (*nduvu soro*) were made on Kambara. They consisted of five or six pieces of bamboo of equal diameter and various lengths, tied together with hibiscus twist.

Nose flutes (*nduvu tavu*) were also made. They consisted of a length of bamboo about 35 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter with 4 holes cut in the bamboo. The flute was played through the nose.

KAVA CUP

322 The kava cup (*mbilo ni yanggona*) is made by men from the pointed end
415 of a ripe coconut. The shell is scraped thin from the point outward with a
272 shell or a piece of glass so that the point is emphasized and the striations are visible. It is polished inside and out and is rubbed with oil. Kava cups are occasionally made of greenheart.

WEAPONS

322 The most important weapons in Lau were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
411 (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Clubs were made by specialists, called *matai ni malungu*, mainly of *thau* (*Casuarina nodiflora*) wood, carved with designs which were accentuated with lime. Many different types of clubs were used. Those known to informants were: *totokia, kiekickavu, nggato, ndondonu, thulathula, malungu ni paki, linga ni marama*, and *manda*. There were also throwing clubs called *i kolo* and short clubs with thin handles and thick heads called *mbowai*, used for hand to hand conflict.

Spears were made by specialists, called *matai ni moto*. One-pointed spears were called *moto* and multi-pointed spears were called *saisai*. An effective

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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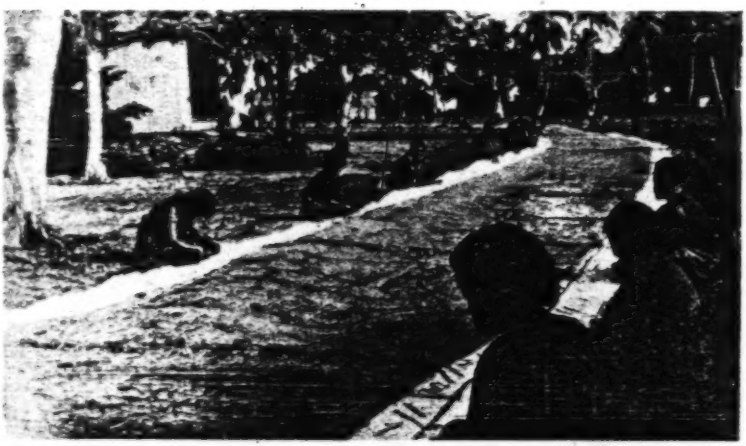

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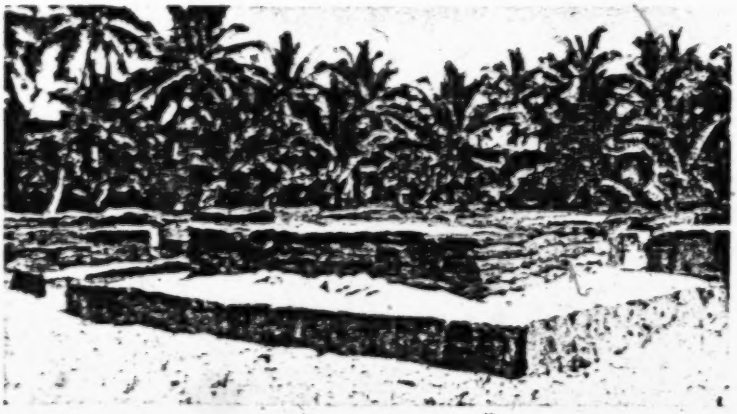

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

and walked along for some distance, the islanders joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horseman approached, splendidly upright, and making a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

On nearing the town our approach was sighted by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival. Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo*, after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[184] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo*, etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like countryfolk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono*. Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[184] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kavâ, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka,* which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

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The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

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The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Tongan dances performed in Tonga owe much of their inspiration 535
to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian 177
dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand 535
at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered.

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest 535
their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good 533
voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands.

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave 535
their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European. 535

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance. 535 431

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations. 535

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again. [17]

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi. [17] [293]

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous. [17]

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

CLUB DANCE

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krāmer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

[539]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda lakī tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, *"Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!"* (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, *"Tingga, tingga, tingga."* 524

The others cry *"Mate, mate, mate"* (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 796

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated. 272

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yarggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533 535]

The kava song follows: [539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakati,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

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Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo.	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruqso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows: [293]

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women
[242] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E*." The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase." 431 576

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*). 431 576 537 195

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good." 431 576

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo,* after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[18a] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo,* etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono.* Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[18a] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

A. M. Hocart

INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford. 114

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me. 126

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do. 005

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back. 538 173

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complète subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of 173

[p. 3]

Lingandua had told Tuiliku to get three *kura* fruits in Tuvana; he now said, "We shall be here three nights: the first day eat one *kura* fruit, the second eat another, and on the third day eat the third. Eat no Mburotu food, lest you die." At the end of three nights Lingandua told him they should go back to Tuvana. He took one coir coconut, one dwarf coconut, one red *Dracaena*, one king coconut, one red *sovisovi* plant: all these plants are now found in Tuvana. When they arrived in Tuvana the coconuts they planted there remained. Lingandua said, "I am going; go you to Ono. Don't go and tell of our journey; the day you tell you will find yourself in Mburotu." After a long time Tuiliku thought he would tell. He told his household to bring bark-cloth and mats and had them spread out. He then told them his journey to Mburotu. When the story was ended he died. So there were coconuts in Tuvana and from there they were brought to Ono. 539

The story of Tuiliku will be found in the Native Gazette (11, p. 164, 1894; p. 151, 1909).

NAIAU ISLAND

Many stories are told about the people of Naiau showing them to be simpletons (*uthe*). Foolishness seizes them at low tide. They fished in the woods; drove lizards, snakes, cockroaches into a cave which they then closed; they took spears, removed the stone, and speared the animals as they appeared: they saw water at the foot of a cliff and did not know what it was, so the men went to adorn themselves and came forward to leap. The people sang: 538 539

Ra tukutuku ndonga (bis);	They are making dye;
Ra ndrendre koto (bis);	They laugh as they lie;
Nda rika, nda rika.	Let us jump, let us jump.

Then one of the men jumped over the edge of the cliff and fell lying on his back, and exposing his teeth as he died; those above thought he was laughing. His whole body was red with blood which they took for dye. They did not know death; their minds were gone astray. 539

The descendants of Langone were granted by Taliai Tupou the privilege of eating turtle, because Langone warned Taliai that Ndranivia and his people were plotting to murder him. Langone was a descendant of Nggomo, who went to stay in Naiau. There was in Narothivo a chief called Tui Naiau; Nggomo wanted to transfer the title to Ndevo, but before he could do so he was killed. He had a wife in Lakemba of the Tumbou clan, who bore a son, Ndelailoa. The son conquered Naiau.

At Liku was a god called Sambasamba or Mami, a shark. His dwelling was in the shark cave on a promontory. Wanting to go sightseeing in Mbau, he embarked in the shape of a man. The Levuka people took him on board. They arrived in Mbau. The fishermen of Vutia near Rewa came to Mbau. He wanted to go with them to Rewa. He spent the night on shore; after dinner he said, "I want two boys to take me to the place where lives Tui Ndreketi's fisherman." Tui Ndreketi's fisherman was a big *ndambea* fish. "Why do you wish to go," they asked.

"Sightseeing," he said.

So two boys rowed him, one at the bow and one at the stern; Sambasamba sat in the middle. They rowed him to the place where the *ndambea* lived. Sambasamba put one leg into the water and it changed into a fin, then the other changed into a fin. He gave the boys some bark cloth called *tongo* as a return for their work. By that time his body had turned into a shark's up to the neck. He said, "You watch; when I fight the *ndambea*, if you see black blood it is the Westerner's blood; if it is red blood

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*tu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of 782] new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vunindavu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic ●538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are 539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)	
Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.
(Drum beats)	

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

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The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi.* It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

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Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[6]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[6]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[5] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na no na vanua.*
[6] *Vakatanggara e na kali; vakatanggara = vakatatava.*

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota malua.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[7] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni yanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes. 272
It is like the dropping of the rain. 533
It is like the dropping of the rain. 539
The kava I went to pull up 276
An old man touches.
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[9]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.
I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa*, *veanua* for *vanua*, *ravuosa* for *ravusa*; *thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct. 272 533 276

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[7] *Nomata*, lose; *tareuwi* and Levuka, *matha*.

[8] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[9] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms; 535

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*. 535 177

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms. 535

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line: 533

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

[539]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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533 The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

535 While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

[539]

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

535 522 The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie	
A mbimbi a vesi;	The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e.	The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i.	The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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823 use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

502 821 The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka; Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

821 The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

821 502 Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

[533 539]

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

501 Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

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for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 834]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

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225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [537] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauraw mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs: [539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is: [539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

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526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

● [539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,	Bring the black cloth,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.	A rag for the sailor boys.
Ure, ure wi urea.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.	Bring the variegated tapa,
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which
[431] are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes
501 574 ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . ." was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

501 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

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Sugar-cane was grated and squeezed onto grated coconut; the grated coconut was then squeezed and the juice was boiled for a long time and stirred the while. In the meantime manioc and bananas were cooked in breadfruit leaves, then pounded; the sauce was sprinkled on the mash with a brush consisting of the folioles of a coconut leaf cut short and tied together. Then the men made the mash into pellets after dipping their hands in the sauce. 252

Dry *sivaro* is so called because there is little sauce and that thick.

Grate coconut fine, shred, put into the pot; add sugar-cane and boil; add water and grated coconut with sugar until it is dry; mix pellets of taro mash with the sauce.

A dish, *waisu*, possibly a Tongan concoction, is made with large plantains slit and stuffed with grated coconut.

Pekepeke, or "dipping," classed among puddings, is simply sweet yam dipped in coconut cream with each bite; it is the pudding of the lowborn, a pudding of the bush. The term is also used of a proper pudding in depreciation when offering it to a gentleman.

Tongans do not make many puddings, only *waisu*, *hoho*, and *ngoua*, this last a kind of mollusc called *veata*, in Fiji.

There is a story that a Tongan came to Fiji and tasted some puddings in Mbau. The taste pleased him and he said, "I shall go and make this pudding in my village that I may eat of it with my people." When he came to Tonga he told his people to grate coconut and boil taro. So the Tongans boiled it as he instructed. 534

When it was cooked the Tongans said, "How is it to be made?" Then he said, "I stayed in the house and it was brought in."

So they could not proceed. Hence when a man undertakes to do a thing and after starting finds he does not know how, they use this proverb, "I stayed in the house, and it was brought in."

Fermenting

Fermented food, excepting Tahitian chestnuts, have disappeared from Lau, as it is no longer necessary to lay in stocks of food. 251

Bananas and taro in olden times were heaped up in pits lined with leaves and covered over. There food was fermented, giving out a smell unendurable to Europeans. The stuff was taken out when required, cooked, and eaten. The taste is slightly sour. Such food was called *mandrai* from *mandra*, decayed; the word is now used also of European bread.

Fermented Tahitian chestnut was called *sikiviro*. In Kandavu the grated nut is allowed to ferment for two or three days in a wooden trough; it is then pressed into balls, wrapped in breadfruit leaves, and boiled. 252 251

Yams are never fermented.

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844 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa[19]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomoua,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndravu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[19] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

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LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat."[a] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and follow-

[a] A kind of game?

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ing it reached Waggatalatha. She picked up some coconuts and tied them together and she embarked on them and drifted away westwards. Her only food was coconuts. So she went on and on and Lakemba was far away; then the lady lay down. A big bird came flying and obscured the sun. She thought rain was going to fall, but she looked up and saw that this great bird was coming. She stood up and the great bird swooped down to devour her. Then this lady got up among the feathers and clung fast to it. The bird flew up and strove to eat the lady but could not; then glided down again. When she was over Leleuvia near Mbau and Sinatelangi saw a large wood, she resolved to jump, no matter if she were wounded, her one thought was to escape. She let go and fell right in the midst of the trees, and the branches were as a fence over here as she stood on the ground. The bird again attempted to reach this lady but could not, so he left her. Then the lady perceived that the bird was gone so she walked about and came to the beach and bathed. 539

Now in those days Mbau was the village of the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka; as for the nobles of Mbau they had their village on the mainland at Kumbuna. An old man of Levuka went to fish; his son was still a child and wanted to eat broiled fish; so they went to the island of Tomberua. They landed there and saw the footprints on the sand. The old man followed them and went up into the wood and found Sinatelangi there. She was like a ripe orange in hue, but he was dark skinned. When he saw her he thought she was a spirit and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You stand there a spirit, we come as men).

The lady answered his words and said, "Tou vakanamboro, tou vakanasama" (You come as spirits, and I stand here human).

He said, "Whence do you come?"

"I come from Lakemba," she said.

Said the old man, "Where is Lakemba?"

Sinatelangi replied, "Towards the rising of the sun."

"Where is your canoe?" he asked.

"Coconuts were my canoe," she said, "I ran away in anger, and I went and tied coconuts together to embark upon. Then a *latui* came flying and perched on the coconuts which I was sailing on. I climbed on to the bird; it flew this away and came to perch here, and so I dropped off."

Then the old man said, "Let us go, eh!" So the father and the son conveyed her and went to Mbau. They resolved to hide her lest the nobles of Mbau should know and take her away. As they drew nigh to Mbau they lowered the sail and wrapped up the lady in it. It was dark. The old man admonished his son not to tell. He then carried the sail and took it into his house; he put it straight on the shelf. His wife asked, "Where is the fish basket?"

The old man said, "It is in the canoe."

"Why do you bring in the sail in such a hurry?"

"It's nothing," he said, "the rain is coming; it might get wet; go you and get the basket."

The old woman went to get the basket. The husband then climbed up to the shelf and untied the sail, so that the lady lay at ease in the sail; but he did not tell his wife about this lady. Then they ate, ate. When they had eaten he took what was left of the food and placed it on the shelf saying, "Here stands my cold food." The lady ate it. Thus he went on feeding her.

One day they caught a big fish in Mbau, a *sangga*, and ate it there and then. The children came and took the bones of the fish to make themselves bows. Then a woman of Levuka and her grandchild went to trade on the mainland at the village of Kumbuna; she was carrying a piece of that big fish by way of provisions. As they sat in the house of a nobleman the child cried with hunger, and the grandmother said, "What are you crying to eat?"

The child said, "Where is that fish of ours?"

The grandmother drew the fish from the basket and gave it to her child. As the

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539 child was eating the nobleman saw the flesh of the fish and said, "What is this? The flesh of a fish or what?" He said to the woman, "What is your child eating?"

"Fish, sir."

"That is a big fish you have eaten, eh?" The woman wished to conceal the fact but could not. "What is that your grandchild has made a bow of?" The fish and the rib of the fish were brought to the nobleman. Then the nobleman said, "Heigh! but this is a big fish indeed you have eaten." The mother and child withdrew and the nobles of Kumbuna gathered together. They discussed and discussed. Then the chief said. "Let the Levukans be fined."

The envoy to Levuka went to tell them they were fined. The elders of Levuka decided to go and get stuff to pay their fine. The old man went to ask the lady from Lakemba, "How is your country? Can we go there?"

She said, "Yes."

Then the old man gathered the men of Mbutoni and the men of Levuka together and said, "Repair your canoes." The cabin was divided into two: in one room was Sinatelangi; the old man put her there in the morning early, wrapping her up in bark cloth that no one might see her. This part he called the holy (*tambu*) place for their god (*kalou*) to dwell in. "Let no one enter here," he said, "this is the room of the god (*kalou*) who is to guide us." As they went on their way the old man went to lean against the post next to the sacred part to ask Sinatelangi the way they should go. He kept saying it was their god; not one of them knew that it was a human being that abode in that part of the canoe; only the father and the son knew. They sailed on and came to Levuka in Ovalau and wished to make pots there; but this old man who was hiding the lady on board said, "Let us go to Koro." They arrived in Koro, and the men of Mbutoni said, "Mbau is far away. Let us stay here."

Then the old man asked, "Is your land near, lady, or not?"

She answered, "No, Lakemba is far away to the east." So they hoisted sail again to proceed, but the men of Mbutoni remained behind in Koro. The Levukans alone went and came to Somosomo in Taveuni.

They said, "Let us stay here that we may make pots here."

But the old man said, "Let us go to Lauthala."

"Well this is a mad old man," they said, "who bids us go on afar to Lauthala." They came to Lauthala and the old man went up the hill. As he stood there he saw Naitaumbe and saw Yathata. He said again, "Let us go and see the island that appears yonder." They sailed and came to Naitaumbe; then they sailed straight to Kanathea. The old man went to lift the curtain of the place where the lady lay and asked, "Is that your land yonder?"

The lady said, "No, Tui Lakemba's land is Thithia."

"Where is Thithia?" he asked.

"It lies beyond on the other side," she said. Thithia came in sight.

The old man went to her and said, "There is land in sight."

"That is the beginning of my land," she said, "that is Thithia."

The old man said, "Straight to that land to anchor there." They anchored and the crews went ashore; there were only two left on board, the old man and the lady. The old man went to uncover the lady.

"Yes," she said, "this is the land of the High Chief (*sau*) of Lakemba."

"Get up," said he, "and dress." She put on her skirt and they both landed and went straight to the house of the chief of that village. The wife of the chief of that village asked, "This lady is like the lady Ndi Sinatelangi?"

The old man said, "Yes, it is she." The women wept and mourned over her (*saupututaka*). The crews were in the village; they said, "Ho! some one has died."

But the villagers said, "No, the lady you have brought is being wept for."

"No, we have not come with any lady," they answered.

The villagers said, "Nay, the lady you have brought is the lady that was missing in Lakemba."

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"Well, he is a secretive old man," said the Levukans.

Then the people bestirred themselves and prepared a change of clothes, consisting of a sheet of painted bark cloth a hundred fathoms long, and of coir string. Then they built a house and put the stuff inside to wait for the Levukans on their way back. The Levukans sailed on to Naiau; they prepared a change of clothes in Naiau and the stuff was shut up in a house. When they hoisted sail in Naiau the canoe on board which was Sinatelangi's went first. Now in their travels if a canoe anchored first in any island the men who manned it became the navigators (*ndau*) of that island. The canoe which had Sinatelangi on board anchored first in Lakemba, so the owners of the canoe are called Ndau ni Lakemba to the present day. They anchored in Navutoka. They resolved to go up to Kendekende. They blackened their faces and put on turbans. Now in Lakemba only the Sau could wear a turban by day, but common people[m] were allowed to wear a turban by night. As they were going up to Kendekende they passed some Lakembans who were tilling a taro field. "Who are these," they said, "that come with turbans on. Where are you gentlemen from?" 539

"From Mbau," they said.

"Where is Mbau?" said the Lakembans. They went up to Kendekende together. The father and mother of the young lady had been fasting all the time for sorrow. The Levukans said, "We have brought Sinatelangi," and the people of Kendekende rejoiced. This was reported to the Chief, and he looked up, and ate because his child was living. The people spread out a big sheet of painted cloth from the beach to Kendekende to be the path of Sinatelangi, that her feet should not touch the ground. The whole of Lakemba made a feast. "It is well," said Tui Lakemba, "Sinatelangi has been recovered; Sinatelangi is your wife, Levukans."

But the old man of Levuka said, "No she is not our wife, but she is our daughter. It is well if she marries that she should marry inside Lakemba."

"Yes, that is well." Then they sailed back to Mbau. They went to take on board the stuff in Naiau, went to take on board the stuff in Thithia. Then they sailed straight to Mbau; they brought this stuff as their fine. When they had paid their fine to Mbau they returned to Lakemba. They built their village in Navutoka and set up a temple called Navatanitawake after the temple in Mbau.

They heard there were islands to the windward and they went to Komo, Namuka, Fulanga, Ongea, and sailed right on to Vatoa, the furthest land known, for Ono was not then known. There they practiced a dance.

There was a hollow *enievu* tree in which dwelt two spirits (*levoro*,) the Matangi Women. The Levukans were practising their dance, and practising and practising. The two spirits peeped out to see. Every time they peeped out from the tree the dance went wrong, and they could not remember. Then the dancers said, "Sing, raise the song; tomorrow we shall go to Lakemba." They sang and the spirits peeped out, and it went wrong.

One old man was sitting at the door of their lodging plaiting coir string. As the shadow of the spirits came forth he saw them. When the old man saw them he got a rope and made it into a noose, and placed it beside the hollow bole, and said, "Go on, raise the song. If I say 'pull,' pull quickly." They raised the song, and the spirits peeped out. The old man said, "Pull," they pulled and noosed the spirits. The pair were bound fast. "Bring them and slay them," said the old man, "they made the dance go wrong."

The spirits entreated them, "Let us live." The Levukans said they would be spared if they became gods (*kalou*) of navigation to show them hidden lands. The spirits said they would ransom (*soro*) themselves by revealing Ono; so they were spared.

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[m]Unfortunately these words are translated in my notes. It is a good illustration of the importance of taking down in the vernacular: at that time I thought that *vanua*, land, simply meant the common people, and so translated it; if the original is here *vanua* it would be of great importance that the chief wears a turban by day, and the Tombou side by night.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

●539 They lay bound in the canoe with their feet towards the bow and their heads towards the stern. So they sailed towards Ono, sailed towards Ono. Ono used to lie close to Vatoa, but as they drew near to Ono the women kicked at the land and it moved further off and disappeared. A second time they kicked at the land and it removed further. The old man who had caught them in Vatoa noticed this and said, "We shall not get to Ono unless they are turned round. Turn them round towards the stern." They were turned round and the canoe came to Ono. They anchored in Ono and danced there in the village of Matokana: it was a spear dance (*wesi*): the leader had a cock's feather in his hair. As they danced, they dug a tunnel which ended underneath the Green. The singers went to sing in the middle of the Green, while the dancers went underground and came out in the midst of the Green. Then the people of Ono said, "Heigh! the spirits have come forth from underground." Some of the Onoans fled but some stayed.

The Levukans then asked, "Is there another land?"

The two spirits said, "Tuvana above and Tuvana below." So they sailed to Tuvana and landed in Tuvana. The elders went ashore and only the children remained on board. The spirits then said, "Release us that we may teach you a dance."

Some of the children who were mature (*vukayalo*) said "No, do not release them." But the spirits entreated and were released. They climbed up the mast and began to sing at the masthead the following song:

Tuvana i tholo, Tuvana i ra,	Tuvana above, Tuvana below;
Ko Nasali Ka thoka mbamba,	Nasali lies across;
Ko Mburotu ru vuni tu nga.	Mburotu they are hiding.
Ṭinamu, tamamu.	Your father, your mother.

Then they stamped and the ship sank, the children perished, and the spirits flew away. To this day the children keep crying at the place where the canoe sank; their souls (*yalondra*) cry. They are heard on a calm day. To this day when a Levuka child is impudent they say, "It is he who set free the goddesses." For the children of Levuka are impudent and it is no use talking to them. The rest of the Levukans returned to Lakemba where they live to the present day.

Some say Sinatelangi married into Levuka. The Levukans certainly exercised rights which resemble those of a sister's son.

The following account is given concerning the ancestors of the nobility:

Niumataiwalu, the ancestor of the present nobility, fell in love with Tarau, a captive girl in Totoya, so the chief of Totoya said, "Very well, climb a red coconut palm to wash away her Komoan nationality that she may become a Totoyan." So they brought a red coconut and washed her with the milk that she might be reckoned as the chief of Totoya's daughter. Then Niu married her.

Niumataiwalu was murdered in Ono at the instigation of the chief of Mbau who sent a whale's tooth made of stone to get the deed done. It was a cubit long and more precious than a real tooth. The whale's tooth and the club were presented to the Governor at the Great Council in 1880. As Niu was clubbed on the head his grandson was named The-broken-head, but as it is tapu to speak of the head of a nobleman, they altered it to The-forbidden-name.

When his eldest son was murdered his body was dragged to Navutoka and left there overnight. Next morning it was found covered with crabs of a kind called *lairo tui*. Since then no one in Katumbalevu is allowed to eat that kind. No spirit is embodied in it, but it is respected because it lay on Uluilakemba's body. Sharks are also tapu because they may have drunk his blood, but this tapu is not observed. There is a spring on that beach where it is tapu to bathe. Crafts passing the rock where he stood used to salute, "O, oa," and the women going by while fishing sang

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

"Ninggo." A woman of Naiau touched it as she swam past, and was eaten by a shark, for it was forbidden to touch it. 539

Niumataiwalu's son Rasolo lived sometime with the rest of the family in exile in Naiau, by a *rewa* tree, which is still pointed to at the present day. Hence they took the tribal name of Navuanirewa, the *rewa* fruit. Hence also such personal names as Vunirewa, Senirewa, Landuvunirewa. A spirit told them, "Instal a chief and call him Lord of Naiau." He was chosen in this way.

The nobles said, "It is well we should go and jump off at the place where stands the banyan tree. If one of us takes up the challenge he shall be our chief." Rasolo jumped and landed unhurt on a branch below. They let down a rope and hauled him up. Thus was Rasolo the first Lord of Naiau in Lakemba.

After Rasolo's death Uluilakemba's son Ndranivia snatched the chieftainship. He went to get the state basket (*katonitu*) in which the treasure (*iyau*) of the land was kept and entered Great House.

After the death of Rasolo the three sons of Rasolo discussed who should be High Chief. The third said to the second, "Be you High Chief, Soroanggali, since your mother is a woman of Lakemba; we are strangers here" [their mothers came from outside Lakemba].

But Soroanggali said, "No, I have plenty of kinsfolk here, and so am equal to the work. But if I am High Chief, you who have no kinsfolk here, cannot tell the people to do this or that, or they will say to you, 'You have no kinsfolk here.' But if you are High Chief and want anything I shall tell the people to do it." So the eldest of the three was made High Chief.

In the course of the civil wars once before an attack the nobles ate some fermented food, but did not give any to the people of Mothe as provisions of war. When hard pressed the nobles said to the men of Mothe, "Come here."

But the men of Mothe said, "Go on making fermented food with the livers of the Lakembans"; and would not fight.

The nobles moved from Tarukua to Mambula. The reason is as follows:

All the nobles were assembled once in Tarukua. They were building a house and about to set up a post. They waited for the chief of Mambula, Koli by name. They made some kava. As he did not come they decided to set up the post without him; so they poured kava at the foot of the post and prayed that Koli might die, for Koli was a man of valor, and slew men, and hung them up as a sign his coconuts were tapu. Koli then arrived bearing his club; he went to a rocky point and sat down with his club in his lap. He did not speak to them: some disease seized him and he went back to Mambula. Ratumaimbulu, a spirit (*tevoro*) was seated by the roadside, turning his back. As Koli went past, he jumped upon the spirit and, lifting his club, prepared to strike. Ratumaimbulu cried, "Let me live." Then Koli made a condition, "Let the pole on which the feast is carried be turned towards you and me," that is to say, "Let the nobles go to Mambula, leaving Tarukua." That is why the nobles moved to Tarukua. Koli's belly swelled up and by the time he reached Mambula the swelling extended to his neck and he died.

Once there was a great chief in Vatuvara called Tui Lau who had a house on the top of the hill. In the southeasterly monsoon he opened the south door to look out for canoes, and in the northwest season the north door.

KAMBARA ISLAND

The goddess of Nanggara was called Tapaso. If anyone fell ill and was taken to different gods in the hope of a cure she would say in Fijian with a Tongan accent, "*A tafa ka veikauyaki tu? Kau mai wiei me lili me su molu*" (Why is he carried about; bring him here to be cooked till he is tender). A dog is the god of Nanggara.

There is a god called Tui Vakano. Kambara and Thekena are kinsfolk.

Ra Matao was an ancestor (*vu*) in Kambara, but only a man. He was a clever man. When he died four men carried him to Nuku or Onemato to bury him there,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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539 but he spoke from the bier and said, "I am going to be buried in the Great Cave." When they arrived at the Great Cave they wanted to bury him on this side, but he said, "Carry me as far as Wainiyambia." So they took him there and buried him.

Oloi is the *tautu* of Kambara. Oloi is not far from Suva. If the Kambarans go to Suva they go and take food in Oloi; the part of the Oloi people is to abuse them. The ancestor (*tu*) of Kambara, Mberewalaki by name, went down to Oloi to beg for earth to bring to Kambara. The stick he used to carry the baskets with was a *vesi* tree which he wanted to plant in Kambara so that it might grow there. He made one journey and went back for more. On his return the people were baking the earth which he had brought the first time. He saw the smoke from the reef. He was very angry at this and in his anger hurled his burden anyhow at the land so that the earth was heaped up at one place, so they called the place Toka. Taro and horse taro grow there. That is why Oloi and Kambara are *tautu*.

Another version says the cock crowed while he was out by the reef so he threw away the earth; still another that he pulled up the top of Oloi and planted it in Kambara.

523 The hill in Kambara where lies the earth brought by Mberewalaki is called Ndelaioloi. It is the only planting ground in Kambara. When the people of Kambara dig in order to plant, the water in Oloi is troubled, seeing which the people of Oloi say, "Kambara is a land of low fellows, of cannibal's meat."

ONO ISLAND

Tuiliku is said to have been a man but it is supposed he was a spirit.
539 This was in the days when Matokana was chief in Ono.

Tui Ono sailed to Tuvana, and the women and Tuiliku went there. After staying in Tuvana they prepared to return to Ono. Tui Ono told the women to stay in Tuvana. Tuiliku hearing this ran away to the bush. When the chief of Matokana knew that Tuiliku had run away he took the women on board and went home. Tuiliku remained alone. Night came, and as he was lying down to sleep spirits came and rolled him in the mud and threw him up in the air. At daybreak the spirits went home; at sunset they came again. Tuiliku wondered what he should do, so he thought of burying himself in the sand. When he had done so the spirits took each a stick and prodded the sand, and prodded Tuiliku; they took him to the sea and ducked him and threw him about till daylight. Tuiliku bethought him what he should do to save his life. When night came he thought of a device to hide: he climbed a coconut palm. The spirits came and looked for him in the earth, in the mud, then in the trees, and found him, and brought him down. They rolled him again till daylight and then went back to the bush. Tuiliku again pondered on some means of safety when Lingandua, also called Tutumatua, came along and said to Tuiliku, "What are you doing?"

Tuiliku said, "Sir, I am a dead man; the spirits torment me. Where are you going?"

Lingandua said, "I am going to Mburotu; why do you ask?"

Tuiliku said, "What if we went together?"

"If you can, let us go," said Lingandua.

"I shall try," said Tuiliku, "I can't stay in Tuvana." They both set out for Mburotu.

They followed a path to a reef which is still to be seen. Lingandua said, "Let us watch the breakers: three will come, one will be black, one white; when the red one comes let us jump into it." They jumped into the red breaker and found themselves inside a house in Mburotu. That house was full of women taken there by Lingandua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lingandua had told Tuiliku to get three *kura* fruits in Tuvana; he now said, "We 539
shall be here three nights: the first day eat one *kura* fruit, the second eat another, and on the third day eat the third. Eat no Mburotu food, lest you die." At the end of three nights Lingandua told him they should go back to Tuvana. He took one coir coconut, one dwarf coconut, one red *Dracaena*, one king coconut, one red *sovisovi* plant: all these plants are now found in Tuvana. When they arrived in Tuvana the coconuts they planted there remained. Lingandua said, "I am going; go you to Ono. Don't go and tell of our journey; the day you tell you will find yourself in Mburotu." After a long time Tuiliku thought he would tell. He told his household to bring bark-cloth and mats and had them spread out. He then told them his journey to Mburotu. When the story was ended he died. So there were coconuts in Tuvana and from there they were brought to Ono.

The story of Tuiliku will be found in the Native Gazette (11, p. 164, 1894; p. 151, 1909).

NAIAU ISLAND

Many stories are told about the people of Naiau showing them to be 538
simpletons (*uthe*). Foolishness seizes them at low tide. They fished in the 539
woods; drove lizards, snakes, cockroaches into a cave which they then closed; they took spears, removed the stone, and speared the animals as they appeared: they saw water at the foot of a cliff and did not know what it was, so the men went to adorn themselves and came forward to leap. The people sang:

Ra tukutuku ndonga (bis);	They are making dye;
Ra ndrendre koto (bis);	They laugh as they lie;
Nda rika, nda rika.	Let us jump, let us jump.

Then one of the men jumped over the edge of the cliff and fell lying on his back, 539
and exposing his teeth as he died; those above thought he was laughing. His whole body was red with blood which they took for dye. They did not know death; their minds were gone astray.

The descendants of Langone were granted by Taliai Tupou the privilege of eating turtle, because Langone warned Taliai that Ndranivia and his people were plotting to murder him. Langone was a descendant of Nggomo, who went to stay in Naiau. There was in Narothivo a chief called Tui Naiau; Nggomo wanted to transfer the title to Ndevo, but before he could do so he was killed. He had a wife in Lakemba of the Tumbou clan, who bore a son, Ndelailoa. The son conquered Naiau.

At Liku was a god called Sambasamba or Mami, a shark. His dwelling was in the shark cave on a promontory. Wanting to go sightseeing in Mbau, he embarked in the shape of a man. The Levuka people took him on board. They arrived in Mbau. The fishermen of Vutia near Rewa came to Mbau. He wanted to go with them to Rewa. He spent the night on shore; after dinner he said, "I want two boys to take me to the place where lives Tui Ndreketi's fisherman." Tui Ndreketi's fisherman was a big *ndambea* fish. "Why do you wish to go," they asked.

"Sightseeing," he said.

So two boys rowed him, one at the bow and one at the stern; Sambasamba sat in the middle. They rowed him to the place where the *ndambea* lived. Sambasamba put one leg into the water and it changed into a fin, then the other changed into a fin. He gave the boys some bark cloth called *tongo* as a return for their work. By that time his body had turned into a shark's up to the neck. He said, "You watch; when I fight the *ndambea*, if you see black blood it is the Westerner's blood; if it is red blood

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

539 it is the Lauan's." He dived into the cave of Ratu's fisherman. They fought; the *ndambea* was killed and black blood came up.

They said, "Ratu's fiserman is dead." Sambasamba missed his way coming back, and it is not known where he went. There is now a *ndambea* belonging to Tui Ndreketi, the child of the one that was killed.

A woman of Naiau was plaiting mats in the middle of the day; she put behind her ear the shell with which she slit the leaves. While she was working the tide went down; she wanted to eat shellfish so she went down to the sea. She found a *vuvui*, but she had nothing to eat with it. She was standing then with water up to her thighs. "I wish a *mami* were brought to eat with it," she said. A *mami* is a kind of banana. Now there was a god in Naiau called Mami, an ancestor god who was a shark. When Mami heard, he was angry, and came and swallowed her up. The old woman remained alive without a wound in the shark's inside. She remembered the shell she had stuck behind her ear, and with it cut the throat of the shark. In pain he swam and entered the Rewa river and got stranded in Notho. A woman came down, it may be to draw water, and saw the shark and went and told the village to take the shark and eat it. When they came to cut it up the woman spoke, so they cut the body where the human body ended, and brought out the woman. The woman and the shark were taken to the village and the shark was eaten.

The Lord of Notho married the woman and she bore him a child named Vu. He was a small boy that would not grow. The children were playing together; it was his habit to make them cry; he played the bully and hit them; there was not a big boy he did not overcome. They all however outgrew him; several generations succeeded each other and still it was his part to torment them. When he made a child cry they abused him saying, "You are not a native of this place; you are the son of a woman from the body of a shark." These words vexed Vu and he asked his mother.

She replied, "It is true, a shark ate me." The boy went and importuned the Lord of Notho with tears to build him a canoe, a canoe for the high seas. He then prepared his journey towards his mother's land. He drew water and kept it in a leaf of horse-taro, and tied it to the boom-attachment sticks. He then hoisted sail and set out alone, holding the sheet of the sail. He could not drink his water for when he tried to drink he stepped on the outrigger and the boom was submerged, so he had to withdraw. After one night he came and made land in Naiau. The stretch of beach where he made land was called Tuvukei. His boat was beach. In anger he threw on the beach the water that hung on the outrigger; that water still exists and is used for bathing and drinking.

The women came down to fish. They took him to the village, and he told them who he was and who was his mother, and so they knew this woman was still living. Then he told them how she had become the wife of Tui Notho. Great was their joy over him, and they prepared stuff and shipped it to Tui Notho. This is the reason why Notho and Naiau are *tawtu*. The Naiau people are indeed lords in Notho. If there is fermented food and a Naiau man is present no Notho man may touch it. It is the same if Notho people come to Naiau.

Another version calls the boy Vuvu and represents him as shipwrecked on Thithia. He there cut himself a mangrove branch and used it to swim to Naiau. He landed in Lawaki and therefore there are mangroves there to the present day. He carried his water-bottle about and hung it on a tree between Narothivo and Salia in Tuvukei.

The Notho people say the woman was taken to the temple in Notho and was then married to the chief. When Vuvu was born she became known as Tinaivuvu. Vuvu in sailing to Naiau tied his water-bottle in a leaf of horse-taro on the sheet of the sail above the outrigger. He several times

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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tried to drink but could not. Since then the Notho people never drink 539
water at sea, or the sheet would break. This tapu held good till they became Christians. Of old they did not sail further than Kandavu and Nandronga. Vuvu poured out his water in Naiau: that is why there is plenty of horse-taro there.

VANUA VATU

There are many people in Vanua Vatu who trace their descent to Naiau. The following story is told:

The gods (*tevoro*) took counsel together to go and draw water for themselves; but the ancestor (*tupua*) of Naiau remained idle in this undertaking, and did not go to draw water. The ancestor of Vanua Vatu filled two bottles and hung them on a tree and went to dig a ditch for the water to stand in. As he was digging, the Naiau man went past. The Naiau man came and called, "Ah eh! let me have some water;" but the ancestor of Vanua Vatu did not hear as he was deaf, but bent over his digging. The Naiau man called again, "Eh! Let me have just a bottle." But again the man of Vanua Vatu did not hear. The Naiau man saw the ancestor of Vanua Vatu bending over his work, so he took both bottles and flew to Naiau. When the man of Vanua Vatu had finished digging and came to take the bottles to pour them out they were missing. He looked toward Naiau, and the ancestor of Naiau in his flight was halfway between Vanua Vatu and Naiau. He picked up a stone, and threw it and struck the bottles so that they broke, and some of the water dripped as far as Naiau. This is the reason why at the present day there are some small springs in Naiau. As for the stone it broke in two, and one half is in Naiau.

ONEATA ISLAND

In Maua is a cave called the Mosquito Cave, where lies a heap of conch shells. Of old, if a party of visitors came whose presence was not desired because food was short or for some other reason, the young men were sent to the cave to swing these conches; and as they swung them they said, "Let the mosquitoes come and bite the strangers." The visitors got bitten so that they fled.

Wakulikuli used the trees of Oneata to wipe himself after stool; for which reason all the trees in Oneata are crooked.

To the east of Oneata is an island called Loa and the top of a hill called Kendekende, which was formerly part of Oneata; but the god (*tupua*) of Oneata pulled them up to remove them. He was about to carry them away when the god of Mothe crowed like a cock; the god of Oneata thought day was dawning and dropped them. The spirit (*tevoro*) of Mothe saw what was going on, and wanted to stop it as he did not want Oneata to become big. Spirits do not work in the daytime. The places where the island and the hill top were pulled up are called Aithavuthavui Loa, and Aithavuthavui Kendekende (The-rooting-up-of-Loa; The-rooting-up-of-Kendekende).

Formerly there were no *lairo* crabs in Oneata. Those they now have come from Wainikeli in Tavenui. The people of Wainikeli waved them over to Oneata, and the women caught the crabs.

At one time it was tapu to drag a log along the beach across the frontier between Tarukua and Wathiwathi, for to do so would result in a fight.

The following legend is told about the island of Aiwa which formerly belonged to Tarukua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka,* or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[28]

WAITAMBU

776 539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[28] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaieta a tevoro*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were used for necklaces, the *vono*, the *uthi*, and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain. 776 539

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua*, or ancestor goddess, met the *vu*, or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala. 539

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall. 782

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*vu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 796

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated. 272

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533 535]

The kava song follows:

[539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakaii,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old
533 *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The
535 newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while
[522] older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

535 There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke*
721 *ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips
[292 of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies
302] are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

[539] A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum. 535 [292] [516]

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows: [539]

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. [293] The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

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539

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,	He fears being alone,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,	So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,
Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,	Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,	But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae,	. . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.	. . .

535 [242] Another dance type is the *scasea,* in which, according to the natives, women sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki,* possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi.*

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke,* which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi	On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,	We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,	We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.	The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava	Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,	*Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.	The foam breaking on both sides.

535 522 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele,	Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!	Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)	

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

52 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga,* formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of 526
earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high.

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property [525] was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows:

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed), [539]
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully [578]
through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other.

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy 526 171
wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away. 539

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode 173
of the dead (p. 116).

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings 776
(*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods.

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana 776
grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done 539
and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house.

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, 776
now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and 778 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they 618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana,* food; *kalou,* god). 769 778 618

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili,* and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118). [775]

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena. [174]

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group. 769

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs: 793

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at 769 793 539

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
● 539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *seruseru* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
346

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of 782] new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vunindavu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propi- [782] tiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic 538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are 539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)	
Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.
(Drum beats)	

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575

539

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current,
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo.	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina,* true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of 311
normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, 311
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 461
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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lighter, and less finished than sailing canoes. They are built quickly without ceremony unless the owner wishes to have a small race (*rova*) at the launching. 501

There are two types of paddling canoes in Lau, the *velovelo* and the *wangga vothe*. The single dugout type called *velovelo* is not often seen. It is more suited to river than to lagoon use. One at Undu, Kambara, consisted of a dugout of *makota* about 6 meters long cut according to the usual canoe hull pattern. It had low washstrakes resembling stringers, 3 primary and 2 secondary booms crossed by 4 stringers, and a short float joined to the booms by 6 pairs of stick connectives, 2 pairs to each primary boom. This type of canoe is used on the rivers of Viti Levu and called *takia*, according to Hornell (16, pp. 304-306). [171]

The built-up dugout type of paddling canoe, called *wangga vothe*, is common in Lau. One in use on Fulanga consisted of a dugout of *makota* 5.75 meters long, washstrakes 15 cm. high, 3 booms, 3 stringers, and a float joined as in the *velovelo*. This type of canoe is called *wangga vakatau* on Viti Levu, according to Hornell (16, pp. 306-307). [171]

DOUBLE CANOES

Sauthoko

The construction of a large, double canoe of the type called *sauthoko* took at least two years and involved elaborate feasts and ceremonies. Only a chief could command the resources and labor necessary to build one. When a Lauan high chief wanted a double canoe built he sent instructions and property to his carpenter on Kambara or another one of the timber islands in southern Lau. The carpenter had charge of the construction of the canoe, and he selected the timber and picked his assistants. A large trunk of greenheart was used for the large canoe, *mbau* for the small one. On the day of felling the tree a great feast called *mangitchi ni vaka mbale* was held in the bush. The series of feasts were *mangitchi ni vanua* (feasts of the land) provided as tribute to the chief by the people of the island. In construction the *sauthoko* resembled a very large *thamakathu* with a small canoe of the same type used instead of a float. The hull was shaped, turned, and hollowed as a sailing canoe is today, except that more labor was involved. The work was done with stone adzes. To hollow the hull first a heavy adz (*vula ono*) was used, then a short handled, thick adz (*i kotchi*), then a lighter adz (*valevatu*). The finishing was done with an adz which could be turned on the haft. 501 396 [412]

While hauling the hull to the shore the men sang rhythmically: [539]

Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!
E nggasi ki sa[illegible]na ko unga	Land crab crawls like an old man
Unga e! Unga e!	Land crab e! Land crab e!

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133
long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133
coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361
villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311]
designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487]
rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776]
the jungle and lagoon are r peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●539 THE COMING OF THE CANNIBALS

"Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!
Toko luvemu,
Toko luvemu!"

"The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Hide your children,
Hide your children!"
Ancient war cry from Kambara.

174 How long have these tiny islands been populated and whence came the inhabitants?[5] Fiji was discovered by Tasman in 1643, and records of early voyagers indicate that although there were then two or three times as many Fijians as there are today,[6] they were essentially the same racial type. The natives were fierce, warlike cannibals. Like the inhabitants of all the islands of the great Pacific east of the Malay archipelago, they were living in the stone age. Since they had no written language their traditions and memories of the past were transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. Hence we have only their lore, their way of life, and their archaeology on which to reconstruct their history.

The story of the peopling of these islands is a part of the story of the peopling of Oceania, which has not yet been completely unraveled. We do know, however, that the early inhabitants of the Pacific came from southeastern Asia and reached their island homes by sailing the open sea in large outrigger canoes. We also know that Polynesia was the last large area in the world to be settled, and that the earliest inhabitants must have reached the main Polynesian islands more than a thousand years ago.[7] Moreover, at least part of one

[5] For source material on this chapter see L. Thompson, "The Culture History of the Lau islands, Fiji," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 40, 1938, pp. 181-198.

[161] [6] There are 97,651 natives in Fiji, according to the 1936 census. (Census report, Fiji, 1936.)

[7] Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, New York, 1938, p. 64.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau QQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient fan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands.

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had no very formal system of education. Children learned by imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

539

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there [162] are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara.* He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 648 to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 178 success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka. 539

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576 of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626 learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262]
trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151]
a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

539 ●

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 ASIDE from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A.. ..munduo! 539

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared. 776

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air. 774

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vakasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding,
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

000 neither ruthlessly to break down the one nor hastily to force the other. By emphasizing the individual rather than the clan, it would gradually free the individual from his kinship or clan unit and emphasize his part as an individual in the territorial unit—the village, the district, the colony, and the nation. By increasing his social responsibilities to larger groups it would expand his social horizon and gradually resolve the conflict between the old and the new social order. Hence such an educational system would help to solve the most vital problem in native administration, namely the preservation and stimulation of that zest for life, that will to power, necessary to psychical and physical health.

539 THE NEW ADJUSTMENT

Me loma vinaka na kalou
A lutu manda na tokalau.

Let the gods be of a gracious mind
And send a wind from the east.[77]

178 I HAVE ATTEMPTED to describe the changes that have been taking
182 place in the native culture of Kambara since the introduction of western civilization. We have seen that in spite of contact with western civilization a great deal of the old native culture is still very much alive. The fundamental cultural drives, although finding new outlets, persist as strongly as they did in the past. This is due mainly to several factors. As a result of the land policy of the colonial government, the link between the native culture and the natural environment, here as in other parts of Fiji, has not been broken, and the natives have been able to retain not only their old basic type of subsistence but also their economic independence and contact with old sacred places, animals, and plants. This is significant, for when a culture retains its physical setting it may achieve a new balance more easily in spite of its changing content. Moreover,

[77] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 144.

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

131 THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The 134 southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of ex- 137 change. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil 539 grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

648 Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

114 [1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion. [2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also mbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka. [6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pp 1-151 not processed]

10: St. Johnston OQ6 Lau OQ6

539

/For the texts of various stories told in this source, see category 116, pp. 31-46, 48-54, 70-77, 80-94, 108-122, 125-127 and 129-131./

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witchcraft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

524 Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

526 177 Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

[541]

LAFO

524 *Lafo,* Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: "*To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia*." (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [851]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

288 country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 177 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

with Se (Flower), Ranji (Lady), are naturally women's names; but why Kunea (Found-it), Tangi (Weep), Lave (Lift) should be confined to women is hard to see. Perhaps this is merely a family tradition.

When a name is compounded of two words connected by a preposition, the short form is cut off after the preposition, thus Uluilakemba (Hill of Lakemba) is shortened not to Ulu, but to Ului (Hill-of). In the same way is Ndelai for Ndelvaivungalei (Hill-to-Vungalei), Vui for Vuiyanutha (God of Yanutha). The rule has exceptions; thus Volaivuna was always known as Vola, but then *vola* is not a noun that takes the suffixed possessive like *ulu, ndela, vu*.

As a rule, names run in families. The pedigrees show that usually a man is named after his grandfather, using that word in the native sense to cover the grandfather's brothers as well as the grandfather himself. A woman is oftenest called after her grandmother. There are many more cases than appear in the pedigrees, because frequently a man does not actually take his grandfather's name, but is called in remembrance of something that happened to his grandfather. Thus Saumbulinayau (Chief installed in Naiau) recalls the fact trat Rasolo was installed in Naiau; Umuumulovo (Baked in the oven) refers to Niumataiwalu the younger, who was killed and cooked.

This preponderance in favor of the grandfather is never stated by the natives themselves, who scarcely seem aware of it. One man, when it was pointed out to him, explained that children took the name of the grandfather in order that the descent might be known; a few men have been named after their great-grandfathers.

Next in order to the grandfather and grandmother come the father's brother and the mother's sister. Here again the fact may be disguised by the child being named after some event. I know only one child who has taken his father's name, obviously following European custom.

Some names from foreign parts are given because strangers come to Lakemba and give their names; thus Tuimereke (King of America) was given in honor of an American who lived in Lakemba; and Ratu Sikeli got his name Ralovo from the chief of Ndravo, where he was born. Names containing *rewa* belong to Navuanirewa, as Senirewa, Landuvunirewa (shortened to Landu). The various branches of Navuanirewa tend to have their special names; Nayathatambu, for instance, is found only in Naivi.

Very common are names for men beginning with Koroi (Town of), Seru (Comb), Wangga (Ship), and Thama (Outrigger), Lemba for women, *lemba* is a tree of which the fruit is used for necklaces, so *lemba* may be translated necklace. The second part of such names is the name of some person in whose honor the bearer of the name is called: Koroirathiki (Town-of-Rathika), Seruimalini (Comb-of-Malani), Wanggaituinayau

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

551 (Ship-of-Tui Naiau), Thamailawathi (Outrigger-of-Lawathi), Lembaikelekele (Necklace-of-Kelekele).

Koroi, Seru, Wangga are names given to one who has slain an enemy. Thama and Lemba are given on the grounds of kinship, and to inferiors. A man may call his younger brother's son Thama after his own son. Lawathi and Thamailawathi were both sons of Ndranivia, but by different mothers; the mothers, however, were sisters, and younger sister's son was called after the elder sister's son. Lemba is given to women in the same way; a *lemba* is an "after-eater" or younger sister. "If two brothers have daughters the daughter of the younger is *lemba* to the daughter of the elder. Lemba and Thama are used only for our inferiors."

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A man addresses his namesake as My Name, in Fijian this is *nonggu yatha*, whereas a man speaks of his own name as *yathanggu*, using the suffixed possessive. "If two men have the same name," says one informant, "they are related." Of course, it is generally because they are related that they have the same name, but a common name does seem to bring them closer together, and people sometimes speak as though having the same name were a close tie. I could, however, get nothing definite on the subject beyond the following example: Pasoni, a Tongan, is related according to Tongan custom to Repeka, because his father was born when her father, Leonaitasi Ngu, was in Tonga and so was called after him.

The people are reluctant to mention their names, and, if compelled to ask the name, will do so most politely. When asked his name a man will usually request a third party to tell it for him.

The father, mother, and grandfather decide upon the child's name. The naming is not accompanied by any ceremony, except of course for the Christian name which is given at baptism. If, however, a man wants to give his name to a child he brings gifts for the assigning of a name (*me i vakatoka ni vatha*).

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A hard worker is described as a man who achieves things; a lazy man is unable to achieve food or goods. Such a man is liable to have it flung in his face at the first quarrel. Hard work is very much prized, and a man's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

● 552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name. 501

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers. 534

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu,* or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor. 534 552

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral. 203

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi,* and bark cloth is also called *masi.* 248 251

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau.* The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows: 287

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua.* The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi.* Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the
778 clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they
618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members
[262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no
[552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726
539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 last longest and are used for more than one house. The tie beam plates (*kathu mbalavu*) and the lower tie beams (*i thoka*) also are reused. So far as the natives know, the oldest beams in the village of Tokalau (fig. 3, house no. 10) are 70 years old. The house itself has been rebuilt. The ages of some houses in the village are recorded in table 1.

The most perishable part of the house is the thatched roof and walls which are repaired or renewed every few years.

The most permanent and important part of the house is the earth mound (*yavu*) on which the house is erected. It is oval in shape, a few centimeters to 2 meters high, and it is faced by a stone wall. Small houses are placed on the ground and are surrounded by an oval ring of stones. A new house is usually built upon an old mound. Vacant mounds in a village resemble vacant lots. In recent years the height of the mound depended on the rank of the owner, but today it depends on his energy and resources. However, the house of a chief always is built on a high mound. In general there is a correlation between the size of the house and the height of the mound.

In old village sites the mounds are not large and high. They are rectangular in shape but usually without definite angles and corner plates. The natives say that in olden days the houses were smaller than they are today and were rectangular in ground plan.

[513 484] Many people had no houses at all but lived in caves. Moto of Undu says that when he was a child he lived with his family in a cave. Today the natives often sleep in caves when they stay over night on uninhabited islands, even when shelters are available.

342 The names and locations of the house sites of great ancestors have been handed down from generation to generation and are still known by the natives. ● 552 With the clan incarnations and titles they are regarded as part of the sacred property of the clan. Mbalavu, the house site of Ndaunisai, is said to be located in Korokoroilulu, a village site above Tokalau. Vatu Soro, the house site of Vuanikathu clan, is located on Ndelaioloi. Today each dwelling house is given a name by the owner or, at the request of the owner, by a visitor from another island. Often a place name is chosen.

Tongan house type

342 The Tongan type of dwelling house (pl. 4, *A*), called *vale vaka Tonga*, is the rule in Lau today. It is similar in important details of structure to the principal Tongan house type described by McKern (18). The framework is rectangular with rounded ends forming an oval ground plan. The gable roof [517] is curved into a gothic arch. The beauty of the house, in the eyes of the natives, lies in its long, curved roof and rounded ends. The most important style point is the roof. To obtain the desired curve the roof is hung from the ridgepole, bowed out by means of roof plates and tie beam plates, and weighed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 eight. The joints are then bound with sennit, and then the ornamental lashing (*lawa*) is executed. Next, the median plate (*yavu ni mbou*) is placed across the main tie beams. Today the median plate is a flat plank, but formerly it was rounded. The king posts (*mbou*), also plank shaped, are set upright on the median plate, one king post above each tie beam. The main ridgepole (*ndoka levu*) rests on and is lashed to the king posts. The rafters (*i sa*) are laths cut from the strong, outer part of the trunk of a coconut palm. They are hung from and lashed to the main ridgepole, bark surface outside. The two roof plates (*lewe ni vale*) are lashed to the rafters on the inside and pushed out, to give the roof the desired curve, by plank-shaped collar beams (*i thoka leka* or *soka*), one for every tie beam, which rest upon and are fitted to the roof plates. The collar beams are lashed to the roof plate. In large, well-built houses, diagonal struts (*i lenge*) connect the median plate with the roof plates. Next, the two straight wall-plates (*i nggasinggasi*) are lifted up and lashed near the lower ends of the rafters on the inside. With the roof plates they round out the long curve of the roof. Lastly, two suspended purlins (*i ndere*), consisting of coconut palm laths like the rafters, are lashed to the lower ends of the rafters on the outside.

342 284 ●552 Ornamental lashing with sennit is used mainly on the tie beam plates where they join the tie beams, and on the tie beams where they join the median plate and the king posts. There is considerable diversity in the designs. The four colors of sennit used are rust, white, black, and yellow. In most houses two or three simple designs in two or three colors are executed by a lashing expert. On Kambara there was one such expert, the *lemaki* carpenter.

Each lashing design has a name. The following designs are said to be old Lauan: *vakamatanindavui* (eye or face of the conch), *kalokalo* (star), *via, thumu, lawavakasaisai, ndrau ni kura* (*kura* leaf), and *kato musu* (*musu* basket). *Vakamatanindavui* is also used on the outrigger boom (*i kaso*). It is considered the easiest to execute and is the first design learned by a carpenter's apprentice. *Matai ndrau* is an old chiefly design used on houses. It has been sketched by Hocart (15, fig. 8, *g*, p. 123). Other designs are called *lawa vaka saisai, kuita, ndra ni mbota, tai sosoi, lalawa talitali, vatchiki ni vula,* and *lawa vakamalungu*. The natives claim that they have more patterns now than [177] they had in the past because new designs are being invented. They also say that in old Lauan houses dyed sennit was never used.

342 The next time the workers meet they erect the purlins (*i yapai*) consisting of laths of coconut palm like the rafters. They are lashed at regular intervals on the inside of and at right angles to the rafters. The upper ridgepole is lashed above the main ridgepole and the rafters.

End sections. After the work on the main frame has been completed, preparations proceed slowly for the next step, the erection of the rounded end

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 622] **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 526 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 765] known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

851 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name
553 and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the
602 mother and child are visited by relatives from both the
431 mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the
[554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a
[848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 422

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1. Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2. Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3. Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [622]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakolo Nanggalia Matanawai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see ch. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

554 A nephew is spoken of as *vasu,* which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu.* A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu,* or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

604 425 There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa sauni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sausau* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko,* "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*. 554

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. 591
Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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565 848 clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

565 554 The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in [264] Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

576 565 Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622

In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Masi kei Natokalau* not *mri*, of; *mri* is never used in this expression.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make requisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i. e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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all they would willingly give him in order to retain him. Joshua and his brothers were the hardest workers among the nobles; Joshua had the largest house next to Big House, and built for his brother Isoa the finest home for size and decoration combined; by hard work and forcefulness he had attained an importance quite out of proportion to his real rank. Nowhere have I found hard work to be so esteemed as in Fiji.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [B]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

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Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct. 621 618

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest. 554

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Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

High Chief

[554] 643 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[554] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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THE ISLAND CHIEF

620 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 545 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

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848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

[554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554 descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold 428] the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger 561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[682] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house. 554 576

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion. [516]

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls. 431 796

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern. 241 796

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held, and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island. [554]

Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

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342 **Wall thatch.** For thatching the walls of dwelling houses *ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds are preferred because of their durability, but on the limestone islands where *ngasau* reeds do not grow, wall thatch is made of coconut leaves. Coconut leaves for thatch and sticks of wood (*mbola vatu* or *langakali*) for thatch supports (*latu*) are gathered by the men of the village. The coconut leaves are placed in piles and left for three or four days to soften. On an appointed day the men of the village meet to erect the wall thatch. The old men plait the coconut leaves and the younger men remove the bark from the *latu* sticks and place them around the wall at regular intervals, about 60 cm. apart and 30 cm. in the ground. Their height is determined by the height of the wall plates.

The thatching starts on the right side of the front entrance, at one end of the house, just below the roof. It is done in pairs, one man standing inside the house does the tying, the other outside handles the thatch.

First, two thicknesses of thatch, placed with thick lower ends toward the doorway, are tied with a piece of sennit to a thatch support (*latu*) just below the roof. The same piece of sennit is carried downward along the thatch support (*latu*) and used to tie the thatch, which are placed one below and outside the other, about 8 cm. apart. To tie the thatch the man inside pokes a pointed wooden needle (*sau*), threaded with a piece of sennit, through the thatch just below the midrib and just on the other side of the thatch support. The man inside loops the sennit over the needle point and pulls through, making fast a half hitch. The process is repeated until the last thatch is fastened about 3 cm. above the ground. The leaves of the lowest thatch lie on the ground outside.

The thatching proceeds away from the main doorway. A second panel is placed and tied like the first. When the side door is reached one thatch (called *onaliku*) is placed vertically and tied in with the horizontal rows of thatch (which are thin at the upper ends) so that the left side of the doorway may be the same strength as the right side, which is formed by the thick lower ends of the coconut leaves.

The house usually has four entrances (p. 65).

[554 531] Occasionally a few cowry shells are tied with sennit to the wall outside a large house. These shells formerly were a symbol of rank used only on a chief's house or other property, but now they are used merely for decoration. On some houses an extension (called *loru*) of the upper ridgepole projects about a meter beyond the roof on both ends of the house. The natives say it is purely decorative. It frequently is a separate piece of carved wood and it usually curves upward into a thickened end. On a house in Muanaira, Fulanga, it consists of an old pineapple club.

Final Ceremony. When the mats have been laid, the *kanusiri vale* (spitting upon the house) ceremony is held. If the owner has plenty of food, this feast is attended by the whole village, otherwise by only a few close relatives. The guests sit in a kava circle in the house, and kava is served. After drinking, each man spits and tosses the dregs from the cup onto the floor at the side of the house, or against the wall. A feast is served after the kava ceremony.

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Kambara

373 ing it with *mbu* juice to the bottom of the coconut shell, or by inserting it into a coconut leaflet knotted in the form of a cross (called *lakamba*) at the bottom of the coconut shell. A small amount of boiled coconut oil, called *molia*, is poured into the shell and the wick is lighted. Sometimes the wick is inserted into the flesh of a half coconut or papaya and used in the same way. Boiled coconut oil used for lighting is made by grating ripe coconuts, straining the gratings after they have stood four nights, and boiling the oil. The natives say that oil lamps were not known before the Tongans came to Lau. According to Moto of Undu, little light was used at night in the olden days because the natives feared enemy raids.

Torches are made by splitting the upper ends of five or six coconut spathes (*mbarawa*) tied into a bundle or held together by hand. The split ends are lighted. Six or seven *ngasau* reeds bound together are sometimes used as a torch.

352 The floor space of the house, with the exception of the space under the couch (*vata*) and the hearth, is covered with coconut-leaf mats (*tambakau*), laid over coconut leaves or beach sand (*langere*) according to a definite pattern. The floor under the couch is covered with pebbles. In a house with four supporting posts the mats are arranged as follows: one central row of mats, placed end to end, extends down the middle of the floor from the main entrance to the *longgi*. On each side of the central row is another row of mats, placed side by side. One row of mats placed end to end, extends around the interior of the house (excluding the *longgi*) behind the supporting posts next to the wall.

Floor mats of pandanus are placed over the coconut-leaf mats. Properly, according to the natives, one large mat, called *i thoni* (*tevutevu* in the Mbauan dialect), should cover the central section and extend into the lower part of the house and one small mat, called *kotokoto*, should lie across the upper end of the house. The *i kotokoto* mat is used by the owner and people of high rank. This arrangement is, however, seldom seen today. Three floor mats usually cover the floor: a coarse mat at the lower end, a finer mat in the middle, and a fine mat at the upper end of the house. Every house contains a few large smooth stones or blocks of wood used as weights to hold the mats down when the wind blows.

A large, high couch, called *vata*, composed of a wooden frame covered with mats, occupies the uppermost end of many houses. The couch is from 70 cm. to 1.5 meters high. Its length is determined by the width of the house between the main supporting posts, and its width is about 1 meter less than the depth of the upper part of the house (*longgi*). In a few houses owned by [554] ranking men, the couch is screened from the rest of the house by a large piece of the highly valued Fijian tapa, hung from the tie beam with sennit. The natives say that formerly there was no couch and that the floor of the upper

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The process of making mats from pandanus leaves proceeds as follows: 285

The leaves are cut from the pandanus trees in the dry season. The spines are removed from the midrib of each leaf and the spiny edges of the leaves are cut off by means of a *kuku* shell. The leaves are spread on the ground in the sun (a process called *singa ni kie*) during the day and taken in at night until they lose their greenness (about one week). Each leaf is cleaned and flattened with a *walui* shell. Holding one end of the leaf in the left hand the mat maker scrapes the leaf away from the body with a shell held in the right hand. Twenty or more leaves are rolled into a large coil (*vakaveveu*) and tied with a piece of pandanus. The coils are rolled in a mat and stored until needed.

Before plaiting the dried leaves are flattened out with a *walui* shell. Then the mat maker, relying on her eye, splits the leaves with a *kuku* shell into the required widths for wefts. She begins splitting at about 30 cm. from the base of the leaf and works toward the pointed end, away from her body. Then she turns the leaf and, with the pointed end toward her body, splits about 20 cm. toward the base end, so that about 10 cm. are left unsplit.

The plaiting (*toli*) is commenced by crossing two butt strips. Plaiting techniques are simple. The basic technique is the diagonal check weave of single wefts which vary from 3 mm. to 4 cm. in width. One, two, and three twill weaves are used for ornamentation. The wefts in the border are usually narrower than those in the main body of the mat.

To make very fine, white mats the pandanus is prepared by a slightly different process. The green leaves, after having been stripped of their spines, are rolled into coils, tied, and boiled in fresh water for about half an hour. After the coils are untied and unrolled and the leaves are straightened by pulling, the leaves are dried in the sun for several days. The following types of pandanus mats are made in southern Lau:

Floor mats. *I tholo* is a large coarse floor mat used in the lower part of the house. *I thoni ni vale* is a fine floor mat used in the upper part of the house. *I tevutevu* is a floor mat with a wool border. Fine floor and sleeping mats are preferably fringed with imported yarn in bright colors. The value of mats is measured to a large extent by the number of rows of wool in the border. A mat completely bordered with wool is called *mbatchi wa vivi*. A mat with a wool border only on one side is called *mbatchi ndua*. 285 352

Sleeping mats (yambe ni mothe). *I kendre levu* or *i tonggitonggi* is a mat about 2 meters wide and 3 meters long made of rather narrow wefts. It is sometimes decorated with a border of wool and occasionally with black geometric designs. Sleeping mats are placed on the floor at night and rolled up in the morning. *Mbatchi mbara* is a large mat used to cover the couch (*vata*). The edge of the mat facing the lower part of the house is ornamented with several rows of wool. *I kendre lailai* is a mat used for infants (*yambe ni ngone*). It is soft and consists of fine wefts about 45 by 60 cm. *Tambu kai si* (forbidden to low ranking commoners) is made only on the island of Ono. The wefts are very narrow and of triple thickness. It is a rare, valuable mat. The only mat of the *tambu kai si* type I saw was in the house of the chief of Nggalinggali on Kambara. The mat was 2.7 meters long and 1.8 meters wide, [554]

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851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the [554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

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occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the 584
end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to 583
take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the 585
status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and 614
ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social 554
status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

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of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

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554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was called chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had
159 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created
558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was
622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,*
178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has
756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he
[774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world.
[187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows
554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing
622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such 648
aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house 692
building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which [625]
consists of over two hundred police officers divided into 696
twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in 554
southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

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696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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476 614 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe [177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 431 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family 158
of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. 554
Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree [262]
trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered [151]
a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD 539

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

BEFORE mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, 177
the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later 241
of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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439 neglected, and the natives began to buy food from the store.
245 The native culture began to break down. The trade cutter
178 almost completely replaced the sailing canoe, and during this period the large double war canoe disappeared. The art of pottery making by the Levuka women of Lakemba[38] fell into disuse as native clay pots were displaced by large imported metal ones. The technic of making fish hooks was lost, and imported paraphernalia such as lines, nets, and ropes were used instead of native products. Iron roofs appeared on the houses of the most prosperous natives, and even a few small metal tanks were used to catch the rain water from them.

[554] A factor of great significance in the decline of native material culture during this period was the social prestige attached to all imported articles. Everyone strove to buy as much as possible from the store, and the number of imported articles which a group possessed was limited only by its ability to pay the price in copra. Clothes, iron roofs, canned food, and metal tools all became the means by which a person might raise his status in the community.

At this time native labor was in great demand, especially
464 on copra plantations in many parts of Fiji, and large numbers
177 of young men from the southern islands left their villages under contract to work for periods of a year or more. While away the young men came under greater western influence than had penetrated to the isolated southern islands, and when they returned they brought not only new goods and money but also new ideas. The loss of the young men of the village not only cut the available supply of labor but also upset the balance of sexes in the villages. It led to the post-
[161] ponement of the marriage age of the young people. In spite of this factor the population of Lau began to increase.

439 As in many parts of the South Seas, the period of prosperity
245 in Fiji ended abruptly with the slump in the price of copra
435 after the world war. Largely because of overproduction and

[38] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," op. cit.

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539 OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Endua nomu wangga levu,
Endua nomu vusi levu.

If you have a great canoe
Great will be your labor too.[42]

000 ASIDE from the copra industry there is little likelihood that the islands of southern Lau will become important commercially. Hence sound economic development must lie along the lines of native economy: namely gardening, craftsmanship, and native trade.

431 554 As we have seen, the life of the native Lauan economic system lies in ceremonial gift exchange. Moreover, the *solevu* and kindred types of native exchange are the most significant channels through which the fundamental Lauan drive for prestige, formerly expressed in warfare, now may find an outlet. Any serious attempt to infuse new life into the culture must recognize the vital need of the Lauan for such expression. Stimulation of native exchange would infuse new life not only into the native economic system but also into the culture as a whole.

431 554 178 Economic policies in Fiji, however, tend to discourage ceremonial exchange. Large ceremonial exchanges and the native soliciting system have been suppressed, and the tribute demands a chief may make have been limited. Also the economic burdens of a clan have been lightened, especially during the traditional ceremonies. For instance, the time when the father of a new-born child is obliged to feed the group of female relatives who attend the mother, and when the relatives of the deceased are obliged to feed the group of mourners, has been restricted from ten to four days. Doubtless there was formerly a great deal of waste and abuse connected with the ceremonial exchange of property in Fiji, which these recent changes have tended to correct, but at the same time the corrections have been carried so far that the whole economic

[42] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

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structure and, consequently, the vitality of the culture have suffered seriously. 431 178 554

It is easy to understand how in a group of islands with limited natural resources and inadequate food supply the economic drain of large-scale exchanges would be considered devitalizing, but as a matter of fact the opposite reaction seems to result. Reasonably heavy demands apparently act as a stimulant in a group like the southern Lau islands where production is difficult. The necessity of production against odds and of competition with rival groups gives just that stimulus necessary to avoid self-pity because of the discriminations of nature, and to attain proficiency and even superiority of craftsmanship over groups situated in a more favorable environment.

This is characteristic of the native economic life of Melanesia. 000 In the barren Amphlett islands off the southeast coast of New Guinea, for instance, superior clay pots are made, even though the local clay is so poor that clay must be imported from Fergusson island in the D'Entrecasteaux, a day's journey by canoe. Amphlett pots are superior to any others in British New Guinea and are exported mainly in exchange for food to the Trobriands, the Marshall Bennetts, Murua, the northern islands of the Dobu people and Goodenough in the D'Entrecasteaux group, and to settlements on the mainland of New Guinea between Cape Vogel and East Cape.[43] The natives of the rocky islet of Toulon, Mailu, on the southeast coast of New Guinea are not only good potters and traders, but they are expert in the manufacture of *Conus* shell armbands, an important native trade article in the region. Not only do they collect their own supply of *Conus* shell as far east as the Louisiades, but they import armshell bands from the Massim, regrind them, and sell them along the coast to the west.[44] Further examples of the effect of unfavorable

[43] L. Tueting, "Native Trade in Southeast New Guinea," *Bishop Museum Occasional Papers*, Vol. 11, No. 15, 1935, pp. 14-15.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

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797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 177 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

sennit. This nice balance of labor between the sexes in Lau has been disturbed by the diminution in the production of women's crafts, due mainly to the government's prohibition of the *solevu*, the women being left with a considerable amount of time on their hands which they formerly used in creative activity. The men, on the other hand, tend to labor more than ever, trying to compensate for the diminished food supply. But since garden lands are insufficient in quantity and quality on most islands to cover the needs of the population without importing food, regardless of the amount of energy expended in gardening by native methods, food is scarcer than ever. It should be added that, although the supply of hardwoods, found only on the limestones, is limited, there seems to be little danger that the forests will be depleted by the small amount of timber cut for canoes and craft goods by means of native technology. Thus, instead of operating to prevent wastage of energy and resources, the prohibition of the *solevu* actually operates toward throwing out of line the nicely adjusted system of food production and distribution and the balanced sexual division of labor in the community, reducing the work and creativity of the women, increasing the work of the men, and engendering a food shortage on many of the islands.

The entire system of production and distribution described above, it should be noted, is basically accommodative and co-operative, and it is effected with a minimum of coercion, since rewards in the form of group prestige go automatically to the group (and incidentally also to the individual) who willingly gives or contributes most to the whole. Stinginess means loss of prestige. Within the system, however, rivalry between groups functions as a creative stimulus toward the goal of increased production of high quality products and more equitable distribution of these to the whole community. Apparently it is an indispensable ingredient contributing toward the self-maintenance and self-regulation of the system. Moreover, institutionalized, competitive group-giving prevents the development of an economic monopoly which might otherwise emerge in an area where the distribution of local resources is irregular and where rank and status are highly developed. Under it not even the chiefs may keep their tribute but rather, under penalty of losing face, must redistribute it to their followers. Thus, traditionally, the system prevents the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any one group or individual, and it insures that community resources will remain available to the whole group for immediate use according to need.

Before concluding we should note one more point which is vital to an understanding of the Lauan system of production and distribution described above. Despite its fine adjustment to the ecological setting and its basically self-perpetuating nature, this system could not operate effectively unless it were counterbalanced by a psychocultural arrangement which functioned to regulate and limit the size of the human population in relation to the resources of

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able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

554 501 824

* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

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342 A man may either select and cut the timber for his house himself, or
313 make arrangements to have it done by his own village or a related village. If he cuts it himself, he fells the first suitable timber he sees for any part of the house and leaves it until he can get help to haul it to the house site. To
[431] procure the help of a village he presents one or more whale's teeth or property such as mats and tapa to the ranking men of the village with his request. At the appointed time the necessary house posts are assigned to groups of men who select, fell, and transport them. The natives use imported metal ax blades, hafted like adzes, for felling timber. Long, heavy beams are carried on the shoulder. Hauling the timber takes two or more days, and during this time the owner provides the daily feast (*i nggaravi ni takathu ai vale*) for the workers.

342 The quantity of sennit needed for a house depends on the size of the
283 house and the amount of ornamental lashing to be executed, but for even a small house a large quantity is necessary. An industrious man on Fulanga who was building a house 3.5 fathoms long, 2 fathoms and 2 spans wide, and about 3 fathoms high, estimated that he needed 6,000 fathoms of sennit. This he made in his leisure time, mainly in the evening. To complete such a task takes from six months to one year of steady work. Well-executed ornamental
[555] lashing is very much admired by the natives and adds considerably to the owner's prestige. Frequently members of the owner's clan contribute sennit for the house.

342 After the timber has been hauled to the house site, it is shaped and smoothed (*sasau kathu*) by the owner or by the carpenter with metal bladed adzes of various sizes. Inasmuch as the Lauans take great pride in smooth, thick house posts this is slow, careful work.

When the parts of the main framework are ready to be erected, the sennit finished, and the harvest ripe, the day for erecting the main framework is set by the owner and the village headman, who announces it to the village. All the able-bodied men in the village help in the actual work. The old men, giving advice and telling stories, sit in a group under a temporary coconut-leaf thatched pavilion (*vakatu noloa*), near the house site. Properly, kava
[272] should be provided by the owner; but on islands where kava is not raised it is often omitted.

On this first day of the actual house building the largest feast of the series is held. It is provided and prepared by the owner and his relatives. The men work on the ovens, and the women fish and boil the food. The women take no part in the actual house building. A small feast (*i takitaki*) is served in the morning at nine or ten o'clock. The main feast (*mangitchi ni kali vaka vale*) is served at four or five in the afternoon. It is distributed by the old men under the direction of the chief of the ceremonial ground or the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [84] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

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cannot be classed as a medium of exchange or true money. They are "valuables." (See Tueting, 25, p. 36.) 422 556

Whales' teeth are used only ceremonially. They are the most important objects of ceremonial exchange. A request accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth cannot be refused without the loss of a great deal of prestige. Whales' teeth are acquired by chiefs and government officials as tribute from the people, hence the chiefs and the officials possess most of the whales' teeth in Fiji. 436

According to Mariner (19, p. 302), it formerly was dangerous for a man other than a chief to possess a whale's tooth. This is not true today. By amassing sufficient wealth a clan or an individual may acquire whales' teeth through ceremonial exchange. [177]

In general, ownership of moveable property is determined by labor. Manufactured goods such as mats, sennit, coconut oil, and woodwork, made mainly by one individual or household, belong to the maker and are considered the property of the household. By the *kerekere* system (p. 207), however, they may be solicited at any time by the clan to be used for tribute or ceremonial exchanges. Objects which are the result of communal labor (such as houses, canoes, and barkcloth) and are paid for by means of feasts, are considered to be the property of the individual who organized and paid for the labor. The clan has an interest in them, since clan resources were used to make the payments. Other objects of communal industry such as large fishnets, turtle nets, and goods for tribute (canoes, sails, woodwork, mats, and tapa), which are the result of the combined efforts of a whole village, are considered to be village property. Government houses, turtle nets or large fish nets, and boats, made by island or district labor are the property of the district or island. 422

Personal possessions such as kilts, dance skirts, ornaments, fans, cane knives, baskets, and sleeping mats are the property of the individual but are always liable to be solicited, unless they are tabu. Designs (*kupetchi*) for rubbing on barkcloth are owned by individual women. They are inherited from a woman by her daughter. A man's private property is inherited by his sons. If the sons are young, his older brother becomes their guardian unless they are adopted into their mother's clan, in which case their mother's father or older brother becomes the guardian. [424 428]

Incorporeal Property

Tales (*talanoa*) of clan traditions are owned by the clan and may be told only by the clan headman. The natives say this privilege is accorded to the headman out of respect. Medicines and spells are the property of the individual. They are usually kept secret and handed down from parent to child. I found no privately owned *meke*. 424

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Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni wai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

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431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 651 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the payment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

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476 614 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe [177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

● 556 431 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

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556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another.

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tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

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Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts; and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

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The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

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There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
613 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation. "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

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423 tend to remain within the subclan but if it dies out its lands revert to the clan. Every male born within it inherits a right to use part of the clan lands, which are not transferable. Usually he receives his share of land when he marries. However, a bachelor who has his own men's house has his own land. He contributes the produce from his gardens to the group with which he eats. Before receiving his own land a young man works his father's land under his father's supervision.

Often the male *veitathini* (brothers and parallel cousins) of one generation in a subclan work the land jointly under the supervision of the first-born. The land division between *veitathini* is not fixed, but each works a piece with the help of his sons.

423 Land ownership is further complicated by the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-
208). Unused plots are often borrowed. If a man wants more land he goes
427 either to the clan headman or to an individual who is not using all his land and solicits the use of it. If his request is granted he may be given it in usufruct for a definite or an indefinite length of time. In return he delivers a portion of
[177] the crop, called *i thava ni vanua,* as rent to the owner. The natives say that the payment of rent is recent and was introduced by the Tongans.

The only surviving male of the subclan Naitathini of Vuanikathu, Tokalau, is Tchitoko, aged about ten years. Before Tchitoko's father died he appointed Tchuta of Mbete subclan of the same clan as guardian to Tchitoko (*i solosolo i Tchitoko*). The guardian works Tchitoko's land and provides the boy with kilts. He has rented part of the land to Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, which presents to the boy part of each harvest as rent. Tchitoko will take over the use of the Naitathini land when he is old enough to work it.

423 To procure the use of land outside his clan, a man turns to his mother's clan. His *vasu* (sister's son) rights do not include appropriation of land without permission. To use a house site in the hamlet of his mother, for instance, a man makes his request to his mother's brother without the ceremonial presentation of property. His mother's brother says, "Please yourself. It's yours. Pick out what you want." If, however, his mother's clan has no suitable site, his mother's clan goes to the clan of his mother's mother for a house site. The natives say that a man may solicit land from a clan to which he is not *vasu* by presenting a whale's tooth with his request, but this is rarely done. In cases of matrilocal residence usufruct often develops into inheritance on the part of the children, who become members of their mother's clan.

Since the bush is free, a man may take timber for houses, canoes, or woodwork from any part of the island. Such timber is called *kathu ni lekutu.* A man does not clear land just anywhere in the bush, although he is allowed
[558] to do so. He goes to the bush land of his clan to make his clearing. Natives say that if he does not do so people will talk about him and he will lose face.

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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had 159 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created ●558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 648 to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 178 success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka. 539

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576 of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626 learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people. [554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554 descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold 428] the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger ●561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father), Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands
●561 and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by
[438] age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *niasi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman. [156]

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*leva*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thozithozi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

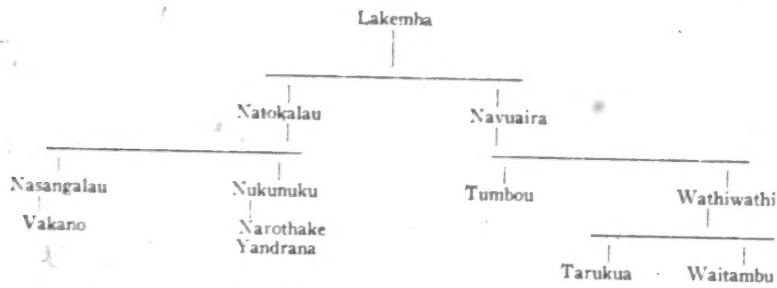
855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart. "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

There are usually in Lakemba a number of men from Viti Levu, chiefly the north coast, who have come as laborers or in the company of a Lauan whom they have met in Viti Levu. They make themselves useful to their hosts. Those who come from Nakorptumbu are considered to have some kinship with Lakemba since they took away Lakemban women a long time ago after the siege of Kendekende.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[18] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Taliai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[18] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W. portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

614 together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
(a) Matailakemba
(b) Vatuwangga
(c) Naivi
(d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
(e) Katumbalevu
(f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

614 565 The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu. Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful. 614 565

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group. 614

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households. [609]

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near. 6/4 177 578

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.) 6/4 565

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

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Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoro Nanggalia Matailwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

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The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

[641]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> 602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*). 614 565

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*. 614 622

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later. 636

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 621 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times: it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

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601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)."

Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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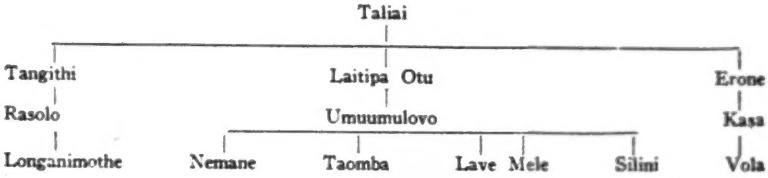
603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There
[604] is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakawundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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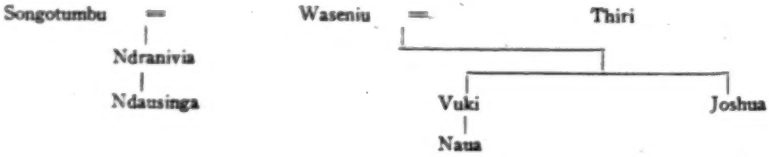
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. 593
The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his 565
father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and 604
obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him 603
sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the 593
other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga,*" I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[x4] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua,* old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. [565] Leading nobles are *mana,* that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

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RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

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565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga,* chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga,* gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga,* an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior. A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say "*tilou.*" This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest.

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The *vilan* made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatimiika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in
[264] Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landu-vunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship. 576 565

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people. 576 195

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua*, the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro*, and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali*. In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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565 Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina,* or "true *turanga.*" I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama.*

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

643 565 In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

643 The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau, in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau. 643

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant. 645

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position. 644 516

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565●

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vauvau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

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At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

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He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565● 276

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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui;* a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines.

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *wai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati*, to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last.

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono*, which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona*. In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena*, but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona*; in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away.

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava.

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

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arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

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others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana[14] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*lewa*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Taliai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[14] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [374]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [660]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [325] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets. The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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SERVING

264 [272] [415] Normally two meals a day are eaten; one out at work; the other on the return home. Now there is a tendency to begin the day with bread and tea sugared to a syrup. Modern dishes are much used at present, but for soup the coconut cup is retained, which differs from the kava cup in being shallow, roughly cut, and thinned down.

The family usually take meals in the kitchen, sitting in a ring. After the food is laid before all, grace is said. In the house of a noble on Sundays or when there is an honored guest, meals are eaten in the house with more ceremony; the principal personage sitting at the top; the women, as a rule, not joining. Yams and taro are brought and set before each guest; the women will sit before distinguished persons and fan the food. The fish or fowl is brought in a pot covered with a banana leaf, and set down near the door. A girl pours out a little soup in a cup and it is handed up; the guests bite their yam and sip their soup alternately, and when they want more soup they throw their cup forward to be filled again; when a guest has had enough soup he turns his cup upside down. Following the serving of the soup, the pot is emptied onto a flat wooden dish, and the fish and green, or boiled fowl is distributed. Sauce is put in coconut shells and each guest holds his with one hand and picks up his fish or yam with the other. There is little conversation; everyone is busy eating.

264 565 When a nobleman has finished eating, a basin of water is passed up to him: as soon as he washes his hands the lesser people and all the women, including the wife, clap (*thombo*) slowly. For the Tui Naiau everyone claps and Randi Naiau is always careful to start the clapping; a lady of high rank would clap for her husband, but probably not for her son. This custom is called *yara mbenu* (to drag away the rubbish) in other parts of Fiji; I do not know the name in Lau; it is never done for Europeans.

The Lauans say:

> Our meals are well served in European style, whereas in Tonga every one gobbles up what he can, and the late comer gets nothing; each man helps himself straight from the oven and sits down anywhere to eat; they eat the fish first, then drink the soup to dispose of the fish quickly so that if anyone comes they say, "Oh! we are only drinking soup." In Fiji they scrape the coconut shells and keep them; in Tonga they pick up any shell, in which fowls may have been pecking, blow in it, rub it with their hands, and after using it throw it away. In Fiji at meals it appears who is noble, whereas in Tonga they sit anyhow and do not clap. In Tonga they eat yams only; they do not often have a relish as in Fiji. Therefore the Tongans who come to Lau and see Fijian food and houses have some respect for the Lauans.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152
A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145
from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 841
they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576
out "*ninggo*," it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304
ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in 304
their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195
Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304
circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881
at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a 565
feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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288 country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more
177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Kelera, Clara; *Kemi, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary;* Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i valu na luvenggu. A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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763 most gloomy effect. If the deceased is a commoner the conch may not be
565 blown; they only wail, but not continuously.

The following information was received from various informants:

764 The wailing is a signal for the kinfolk to bring bundles of mats to prepare the
431 dead man's couch. When Isoa was dying two Tongan brothers brought theirs before he was dead, and laid him on their mats that he might die on them. After his death his widow, prepared another set of mats for the body to lie on. Inside the clan each individual, including the widow, provides one bundle, if he can; others only provide one for each family (*yavusa*). The widow may decide that her bundle of mats shall be her husband's couch. When the late Tui Naiau died the couch comprised three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*). Tongan fine mats (*kie ni Tonga*) are used as pillows. Ten to fifty sheets of Tongan bark cloth of the kind called *ngatu tasinga* are wrapped round the body under the armpits and covering the feet. The arms are extended alongside the body.

764 Each bundle consists of ten mats rolled up with a sheet of black bark cloth in-
431 side, for black bark cloth is used for a nobleman's funeral. Any one who brings a
565 Tongan fine mat wraps it up in a cloth; it is tapu to hold it unwrapped (*tawa wale noa*). If it is a noble funeral (*putu vakaturanga*) the Roko Sau will send a bundle, perhaps come himself; or if he does not the Randi Naiau will go and announce, "The bundle from Great House." Other nobles also send bundles. Bundles come from Tumbou proper and the various villages that are related to the deceased; only the deceased man's kinfolk come. The relationship may be roundabout; thus Tumbou once sent a bundle because the deceased wife's daughter's mother and Tui Tumbou's mother both came from the island of Matuku. The mats that are not to go to the grave are not placed under the body but put away near the couch at the end of the house.

764 These bundles are called kissing gifts (*i rovurengu*) because after putting down
431 the gifts the donors kiss the deceased. Inferiors kiss the hands or feet according to their rank; if higher still they kiss the face. If the deceased is a Tui Naiau they will kiss his hands or his feet, not his face. Only true kinsmen kiss. Only one will kiss from each group of gentlemen that comes; thus the Tui Tumbou will come with his people and kiss but his people will not kiss. Those who come for the kissing wrap an old tattered mat round their waists, or wear black, a sign of mourning worn as long as the mourning lasts. Whale's teeth are the kissing gifts of those who bring small gifts; the dead man's near kinsfolk cannot bring whale's teeth; they must bring bundles; these are the gifts proper to a death; a stranger in the village may bring kava. The whale's teeth are merely pushed forward towards the owner of the house; they are not offered up in the usual style. When mats are brought the "owners of the dead," as the family are called, say "Thanks for bringing the mats." There is no return made for kissing gifts; they are merely left as love tokens (*iloloma*) for the gentleman. Absent people bring their kissing gifts at their next visit to Lakemba.

764 Lying in state is described as "lying above" or "at the upper end" (*koto i thake*).
From the body down to the middle of the house they lay out one, two, three sheets of a hundred pieces (*lautefui*), but not spread out flat. This is a new custom; of old it was hung from both ends like a screen. It is called *kolo*, which is the Tongan for a fort or rampart. It is tapu to sit above the rampart or step over it; but one may lie underneath it to keep warm. For a small man there is only one rampart.

Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*linga tambu*) and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 565 562 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

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VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui. 631

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside. 621

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614 565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[8]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tavu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tavu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the 643

[8] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

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643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the
[194] k, rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly
565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are
556 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621
insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614
veve, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565
as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622
alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kinship Groups

THE PHRATRY

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

[565] The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradi-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai. 615 618

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors. [565]

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather. [776]

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndanu*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 754 for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

175 565 614 When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" (Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back there had existed a barely concealed rivalry between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a certain family in their tribe*, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters! 175 565 614 [793]

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his parents only known it) was one day stricken ill with some mysterious complaint, and told his relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*). 175 565 614 754 [766]

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! In the eyes of the people, according to ancient [763]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

754 175 565 614 [763]

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

175 754

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons [illegible]lap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ong[illegible] on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

2: Thompson.E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the
593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month,
843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small
571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843

Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571
in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843
marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's
clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386]
with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302]
present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do
not know why it is done. Four days later the women go
fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast
for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much
joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first
100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community,
a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she
must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the
fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look
upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783]
any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before
being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She
may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse,
nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut
her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she [302]
usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman
is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called
kunekune. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast.
Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the
communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by
the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman
is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These
ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first preg-
nancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth,
both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of
pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which
have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara*. He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

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was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.

Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataiuluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 454 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati. 602

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives. 574 608

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry. 602

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57). 565

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere). 609

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the stone was replaced by a wooden mortar, and a short iron bar as pestle. This method, ascribed to some Solomon Islanders, spread from Viti Levu. It was not nearly so picturesque, but more convenient.

The strainer consists of long shreds of the inner bark of the *vau* and is therefore called *i vawau*.

Tongan Kava Ceremony in Lau

At night the people go round calling, frequently taking with them a parcel of kava, which is placed before the host. The host says in Tongan, "Thanks for the kava" (*fakafeta i mau kawa*). Sometimes Fijian tobacco is brought as "that which is divided with the kava" (*i wase ni yanggona*). The kava brought by the visitor, or some of the host's own, is passed to a young person, usually a girl or young woman, sitting near the lower door, who proceeds to pound it, pausing now and again to listen to the conversation. The elderly people sit in a semicircle in the middle and on the sides, in no particular order, but the chief person is usually at the top facing the door. They sit tailor fashion, and being not so strict as in Tonga, occasionally reverse the position of their legs. The young women make cigarettes with shreds of tobacco leaf, dried against a lantern and rolled within a piece of dried banana leaf, the kind called *pata* being preferred. After taking a few puffs, they bring them to the people in the ring. As spitoons, empty meat tins with a flower or two inside, are distributed. If one of the herald clan is present, he will act as master of ceremonies; if not, one of the lesser noblemen present will do the honors. When the kava has been pounded it is placed in the bowl, behind which a girl sits with her back to the door, while another sits on one side facing the bowl. The bowl is then tilted forward to show to the master of ceremonies with the words, "The kava has been pounded" (*koe kawa nae tuki*). The whole ceremonial is Tongan. The master of ceremonies orders, "knead" (*palu*). The kava is pressed together with the hands sloping forward. The girl who sits on one side pours water on the kava, and the kava maker begins to knead the kava by rolling it backwards and forwards, with the hands sloping forward. Then the strainer is brought, dipped in the water, lifted up and squeezed so that the master of ceremonies may judge whether there is enough water.

He says, "water" (*wai*); or "stop" (*tuku*). The strainer is then placed in a semicircle round the further end of the bowl, drawn towards the operator, like a net, folded, and passed round the edge of the bowl so as to keep the whole surface wet, then wrung over the bowl. When all the water has been squeezed out, the strainer is held in the middle, shaken, and combed with the fingers over a piece of cloth. The strainer is then dipped again and the operation is repeated till the kava is clear. Then the bowl

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is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565 276

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[13] The green heart tree, *vesi,* is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, "*O, oa!*" set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, "*A, mangiti,*" dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, "*Amunduo,*" clapped again and said, "*Amunduo,*" then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *wawa lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

527

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

[648]

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

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●574 The Yandrana people claim that if the nobles came for a feast to their village, the Yandrana folk, as "teeth" (*mbati*) took no part in carrying the share of the feast of the land to Tumbou; it formerly was forbidden to call upon them to do so, for this was the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, but now they may not refuse because of the law of disobedience instituted by the British government.

574 462 252 Feasts, like all food cooked in hot stones, are prepared by the men. Guests are often honored by a breakfast of boiled food prepared, like all boiled food, by the women. The women come in single file to the guest's house, each bearing on her arm a tray of plaited coconut leaf called *i lalakai* and perhaps a gipsy pot containing fish boiled in coconut cream. The women enter the house and lay the food before the guests. This custom is called *takitaki* (carrying trays).

FESTIVALS OR POTLATCHES

Lauan Style

431 574 The word festival is a convenient translation of the word *solevu,* but it does not express its essence, which is a ceremonial exchange of presents between two groups with the accompaniment of feasts, often dances, and sometimes cricket. Perhaps the American word potlatch best renders its essential character of a competition between two teams. The word apparently is composed of *so,* to score in a game, and *levu,* big; it is therefore a "great competition," and in fact a competitive spirit dominates these festivals. The side that gives most is said to be victorious (*nggangga*); the other is beaten (*ndruka*).

The following account has been obtained:

The visitors present their stuff, first piling it up in the open. Then one of their nobles, holding up a whale's tooth, or teeth, speaks: "*Ia,* little tooth."

The other party, the hosts, then exclaim, "*Woi! woi!*"

He begins again: "A little tooth."

The others cry out "*A woi! woi!* great whale's tooth, *oi!*" (Some people go wrong here and shout this after the first time.) If the potlatch is on the occasion of disregarding mourning (*vakataraisulu*) the visitor proceeds, "The towel (*ka ni solo*) to make things right for so and so at his death. We who are forbidden [ordinary] clothes, we come and take off our clothes to you that we may love one another. My speech is long, etc." A nobleman from the other side stands up and takes the whale's teeth, and cries out, "*kamunganga.*"

The hosts answer "*oi, oi, oi.*"

The visitor continues (*kamunganga*), and makes a short speech. He then hands the teeth over to his heralds, who receives them sitting, kisses them, and prays over them (*mamulaki*). The people who are going out of mourning have wrapped themselves round with good new bark cloth; which they now remove and lay down before their hosts. This is a common custom at potlatches and is described as "taking off one's clothes to So-and-so." It would be disrespectful for a herald to present the

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whale's teeth in the manner of other offerings, for this would imply that the nobleman did not know how to speak. If only the herald speaks on the side of the givers, only the herald will speak on the other side also.

When the visitors are about to take leave, the hosts hold a send-off festival (*solevu ni talatalathi*). Should the people of Tumbou be sending off Tongans, they bring a feast which is piled up (*kele*) for the Tongans, who divide it. The time is then set for bringing manufactured articles, when they bring hardware (*i yau kaukaua*) in the following order: coir rope, kava bowls, head rests, on the top of which they place bales of Fijian sheets of bark cloth (*ngatu*). These are called the presents of the feast (*i yau ni mangiti*). The hosts then go to clothe themselves, and returning sit facing the Tongans. One man stands up before the gentlemen and opening his speech in the manner described above, continues:

A small tooth and a few bits of wood [wooden wares] that lie here, and a few thatch leaves [meaning mats] there, and a few towels that lie about, the send-off for you, our kinsmen who have come from Tonga. If it is little, bear with it. I know that the times have changed; moreover the present time is a time when all wares (*i yau*) are exhausted; at the present time there are other lords that rule the land, Great Britain; they restrain our hand; we do not know the plaiting of mats. But you bear with it; we are kinsmen; let us love one another, etc. My speech is lengthy, etc.

The guests answer "*e*," and one of their noblemen stands up, receives the whale's teeth as described above and says, "The gifts (*kamunanga*) brought from you, gentlemen, gifts of concord" and so on, then he choses for the winding-up some remark such as, "Let the path to Tonga be clear." Then the Tongans bring a coconut (*vono ni kamunanga*) which is prayed over in the usual way.[13] Both guests and hosts then stand up and shake hands. The Tumbou people pile their shirts on the top of the goods and retire.

In December, 1911, I witnessed a ceremonial exchange between Tumbou and Ale.

The chief of Ale in Kandavu, who had been appointed by the government head of the province of Kandavu, had married the elder sister of the present High Chief's mother. His wife and Ratu Finau were therefore first cousins according to European reckoning, brother and sister according to Fijian custom. Ratu Finau's daughter was called after this lady, and when this child died the chief of Ale and his wife proposed to come and hold a potlatch in Lakemba.

The festival was none too popular in Lakemba because there never had been a potlatch between Lakemba and Kandavu; they are not related; it was purely a personal affair of Ratu Finau, who passed it on to the ladies to be their festival. They provided the stuff and received the stuff from the Kandavu people. Ratu Finau did not do it by way of command, but by way of kinship.

A long time ahead the ladies were busy preparing sheets (*ngatu*) and oil. At last on December the 10th a small party from Kandavu came. They were lodged in Vatuwangga, Ratu Finau's large house. On their arrival they offered as earnest or first fruit (*i sevusevu*) a huge kava root which stood as high as a man's chest.

[13] This must be a mistake: At the festival I witnessed the coconut was presented by the givers. The ending of the prayer would also be more appropriate to the other side.

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Next morning about half-past ten the ladies assembled between Yangasa and Vunisavisavi with provisions laid on trays and covered with banana or breadfruit leaves. Headed by Samuela, the herald, they advanced in single file and as they entered Ratu Finau's compound sang out *ninggo,* entered his house by the west door and set down the provisions. Ratu Finau and the gentlemen of Lakemba were not present. The herald offered up (*vakathambo*) the food in the usual style. A Kandavu man touched it, gave a peculiar and prolonged clapping and chanted: "Feast; kava as relish."

Then the Kandavu people said, "Good, good," and the Lakemban party dispersed.

The ladies of Tumbou then dressed in red or in blue gowns, and wrapping themselves round the waist with sheets of Tongan cloth (*ngatu*), drew up in two files on the south side of the compound, the red on the left, the blue on the right, Salesi's wife leading one of the files. Then they entered the compound and as they passed the gate they again sang out, *ninggo,* and wheeled—the red to the left, the blue to the right—and going round joined into a single rank, and sat down facing the guests, who were sitting in a line with their backs against plinth of the house.

One lady said, "Let us call to them" (*tou kathi manda yani*) and the whole line bent forwards and with clasped hands outstretched said:

"The green heart tree has floated hither" (*e thiri mai a vesi*).

The ladies sat up, and again bent forward as before and said, *"e."* They all arose, took off their bark cloth, and piled it up before the guests. A Kandavu man brought a large kava root and offered it up, and the herald touched it. A Kandavu man then sat down by the pile of bark cloth and chanted *"kamunanga,"* while another man sat down on the other side; both clapped, and removed the cloth. The ladies retired.

This is the ceremony of "wading" or "calling" as performed for a lady. Properly, a woman from among the heralds should have led the calling, but the woman of Narewandamu did not know how to speak. It was not considered right to do it for the Kandavu lady, as she is not a lady of the land.

Later in the day notables of Lakemba came and sat down in a row in front of the District Chief's house. The Kandavu people filed in with raw mulberry bark for making bark cloth. They were greeted with cries of "Thanks for the mulberry bark! A land great in planting mulberry. *Uru uru uru.*" The Kandavu people retired.

A pause ensued during which the elders of Lakemba occasionally exclaimed, "Good, good."

Presently the Kandavu people, assisted by some of the chief's household, reappeared with mats which they set down to the cries of, "Thanks for the plaiting. Well done, Lady Kelera, lady . . .," and so forth. They came

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back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me." 431 574

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo,* after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[18a] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo,* etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like country-folk. 431 574 537

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono.* Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited. 431 574 535

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients. 431 574

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[18a] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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drove were the visitors he would have taken part; but this festival he had passed on to the ladies.

Next day was the "send off" (*italathi*). The pig, taro, puddings, and kava were collected outside Yangasa and taken over to Great House. As they entered the gate the men said, *"O, oa."* The taro was set down and transferred from the usual rough basket (*kato*), plaited for the occasion, into big round ones. Then the Lakembans sat down and clapped, and Semi of Tumbou went to sit before the Kandavu people to offer it up. The Kandavu people kept interjecting, "Tambu, Tambu." Their herald then came to sit beside the pig, laid hands upon it, sat up, gave a prolonged clapping, and bending forward sang out, "A little feast, pig and kava to go with it." Then the Tumbou people withdrew, leaving the Kandavu party to cut up the pig.

Throughout no one on the Lakemban side thought of coming to talk with the Kandavu people or making friends with them; and the Kandavu people kept very much together, remaining inside the compound of Great House, because they were not related to the Lakemba people.

Late in the day the ladies began to collect bottles of oil at Salesi's house. The cowhide drum was beaten for the third time, and ladies filed into Roko Sau's enclosure with a *ninggo,* and laid the bottles in a row at the foot of the plinth. The Kandavu party sat on the top of the plinth, singing snatches of their dance. The High Chief was looking on from inside. The sheets of bark cloth were brought in. A pause was punctuated by the Kandavu people with "Good, good."

Then a small sheet was brought in; a nobleman of Naivi stood up with whale's teeth in his hand; two ladies wrapped the sheet round his waist and he presented the teeth with words to this effect, "Now the times have changed. This is a small land. This is a path that we may visit one another hereafter. We are related to the lady. This is to clear the path, etc."

A man of Kandavu received the teeth, saying, "I touch this small tooth . . . and let the church grow." His herald clapped a prolonged clap and sang out *"kamunanga."* The Naivi nobleman left his bark cloth behind; Kandavu men came up, clapped, and removed it.

The dancers assembled at the east end of the Green. The dance was over at half-past six. At the end of it the men and the women presented their girdles of bark cloth or other ornaments to the Kandavu people. A few tied handkerchiefs round their necks. The Kandavu party left next day.

One New Year a ceremonial exchange was held between the young folk of Tai and of Tumbou. The young folk of Tai so warmed up to it that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again. 431 574

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*veikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything. 431 574 177

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching. 533 535

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but 535 177

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [825] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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[226] The fish presently come forth to escape the poison, but being already in-
[279] toxicated they move slowly. Thus they are easily speared.

Men sometimes go out with torches at low tide and hack the fish they find sleeping in the shallow waters. It is believed that a shark missed by a spear cannot be caught as he grows angry and his body becomes so hard that the spear rebounds no matter how sharp it be.

Crab Hunting

The land crab (*lairo*) is very common. It is caught and eaten whenever found, but at one time of the year it is hunted and drawn out of the holes. The crabs found in the village are not eaten because they feed on rubbish.

The coconut crab is common about Tarukua. Prawns are caught with nets by the women.

Bagging Palolo

The palolo (*mbalolo*) is a worm that lives in the sea but makes its appearance usually only once a year, sometimes twice a year, in November or December before dawn. When it does appear it swarms in such quantities in the passages that it can be scooped out with tins and mugs. This lasts an hour or so, then they disappear.

The following is compiled from information received from several individuals:

In Lakemba the coming of the palolo is confined to the passages off Tumbou. It is also bagged in Naiau and some of the Southern Islands.

In olden days people knew the time of swarming by watching the sun: if it set half way up the hill of Vanua Vatu it was the time for bagging palolo. A few palolo appear the morning before the great day, and are called "the head of the palolo." It used to be the duty of Katumbalevu proper to go and watch for it. When they had caught some they brought it to the Tui Naiau, who then had it proclaimed in the village, "The head of the palolo is drifting." Then they all prepared nets like tennis rackets.

The night of the palolo there is always a squall known as the procrastinator of the palolo because the foolish think it will be cold out fishing, and so lie down and sleep; but the wise sit up and when they go out before the dawn the sky is clear, without a single black cloud. They go out in crowds and set to work as soon as the palolo begins to swarm, for there is no time to lose. As soon as the sun rises the swarm dissolves. The people go home and immediately make an oven. Till that time the weather has remained fine, but the moment the oven is buried clouds gather and it
[431] pours. This rain is called "the extinguisher of the embers." As soon as the oven is cooked they carry some off to the country villages; each man goes to his kinsmen in the country.

"It is the feast that we make for the country folk."

● 574 In return the country folk make a feast to take to those who bring the palolo; they make the feast in good style, using their biggest taro; this is the only occasion that will draw from the Yandrana people the large taro which they call Won't-go-to-Tumbou, because they never send it in feasts to Tumbou.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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names of patterns are Tongan;[19] nevertheless the people of the east coast of Viti Levu are said to be very skilled in this art, and they do fine work with fine coir string on the handles of clubs. This is not done in Lau. 284

Latu says, "The base (*vuna*) of all coir work is *veikuku*, or interlocking like two hooks. Some people say that coir work is a fraud (*ndaindai*, eye-wash), and that it is really easy, that there is only one principle to it with ramifications. But if done to deceive (*lasulasu*) it is wrong." It is true that all the patterns resolve themselves into spiral windings backwards and forwards round the beam, thus forming diamonds, nevertheless as Latu points out, the last stage is very different from the first. When he first began he made designs which seemed very fine until they were complete, and then they turned out poorly.

I have copied various patterns to the best of my ability (fig. 8). The word *manu* (bird) enters into the names of a good many patterns; it is a term for things that cross or are quartered (*veilatai*); *manu fekainaki* means to eat this side and that, and is used of a design which penetrates on first one side and then another. Different patterns are suitable for different parts: for the tie beams *palataha* (one-sided), and *ndra ni mbota*; for the center of tie-beams, any pattern.

STAGES AND CEREMONIALS OF HOUSEBUILDING

Home-building in the Fijian style is expensive, if properly done. Feasts are made for workers at each stage of the building. The carpenter is well fed all the time he works, a bowl of kava is always close at hand. The first stage is called digging the house (*kelivaki vale*): digging pits for the main posts, setting up the posts, the wall plate of the center part, the tie beams and the ridge beams, and binding them with coir string. A huge feast is made on that day. Every man who comes to work brings coir rope and gets a share of the feast. In the evening another little feast was made consisting of yams and pudding. The feast of the second day is comparatively small as only some of the people stay over. On the third day it is a very small feast because all except the owner and the carpenter are gone. 342 574

The putting on of the rafters (*vakasani*) was accompanied by a collation (*takitaki*) brought on trays by the ladies about one o'clock. Thatching (*timbitimbi*) is a very big affair. Word goes forth to pick the leaves, which are pinned together. A day is appointed to put on the thatching. A big feast is made because it finishes the house; a "big souled" gentleman will kill an ox. In Fiji proper, upon finishing a nobleman's house gifts

[19] Specimens of coir work were prepared for me by Latu, the Tongan, and are now in the Pitt-Rivers and Cambridge Ethnological Museums.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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342 574 (*i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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346 struction of a canoe seen at Soso in Kandavu. The hull is made of Fijian *kauri* or of greenheart. The lower end of the masthead is levelled and lashed to the mast; two stays called *tu ruarua* (I use the Kandavu terms) are fastened to the joint; the other end of one is lashed to the outmost spar, the end of the other to the lee side; one single stout stay called *tu ruarua* runs from the blocks (*i sandali*) on the masthead to the central outrigger boom and the outer float sticks. Two stays also run from the base of the masthead to the further blocks on the weather side of the canoe

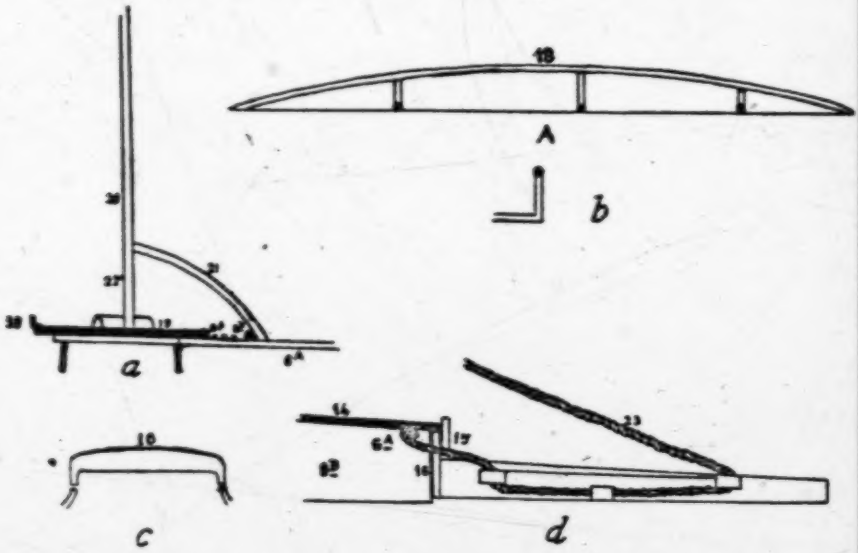

FIGURE 10.—The Kandavu canoe: *a*, mast; *b*, railing and detailed section; *c*, section of the fore deck; *d*, longitudinal view of the fore deck.

fore and aft, then back through two more blocks to the outer outrigger booms. The spaces (*ndungundungu*) under the fore and aft decks are almost completely partitioned off from the main hold (*ndreke*). The hold is partly covered by a platform on which a small hut may be erected. In larger canoes these become regular deck cabins which have flat roofs known as the sail shelf.

396 574 Large double canoes are spoken of as sacred canoes (*wangga tambu*). Any one can cut a dug-out paddling canoe and without ceremony, but large canoes are put into hands of carpenters, this entails feasts at various stages of the construction.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way." 396 431 574

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed; 396 784

No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*). 396 574

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakatawa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea. Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa, A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa. Ure, ure wi urea. Laki kau mai a masi volavola. A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.	Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the black cloth, A rag for the sailor boys. Shake, shake the plum tree, shake. Bring the variegated tapa, A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai, Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.	Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back, Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew; these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . ." was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

50 Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

"Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[3] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[3] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [43] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

464 As a matter of fact the natives do not tend to congregate in large numbers in commercial centers such as Suva and Levuka. [484] They like to travel about the Fiji group and visit their relatives. [574] Many of the young men leave their villages on labor contracts on copra plantations in Taveuni or other parts of Fiji for several years, but in time nearly all of them return to their own villages to settle and cultivate their lands. The majority of Fijians are peasant farmers who possess their own land, and cultivate only enough to provide for their food and a small surplus of copra or bananas to exchange for trade articles such as cloth, soap, tobacco, and kerosene which have become necessities. They can, through their own efforts, raise enough produce to cover their personal needs and taxes, usually about £2 a year, and practically nowhere is it necessary for a native to hire himself out by contract. When this is done it is usually to cover expenses which the community has incurred for the sake of increasing its social prestige or improving its resources —such as building a cutter or new water supply. In fact, in at least 50 per cent of the villages visited in Lau, practically all the young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty were away for a year on labor contracts, earning money to pay a debt incurred by the district. A few young men from southern Lau are employed as sailors aboard trade or government cutters. Their families live either in their home villages or in Suva.

Protection of the natives against competition with other 461 racial groups in the modern economic system has its dangers as 178 well as its advantages. Just as the elimination of warfare has tended to sap vitality from the culture, so also shielding the people from the economic struggle, which would otherwise destroy them, has tended to weaken them. The natives are inclined to become lazy and self-pitying. In the Lau islands, for instance, there is a definite distaste for work on the land, especially among the nobles. This is due partly to a traditional prejudice, and partly also to the very real difficulties of

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A NIGHT SCENE ON NAYAU ISLAND.

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One of the experiences that has remained most vivid in my mind, and which created a lasting impression, was a torchlight ceremony that took place when I was once visiting the island of Nayau, in company with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was on a special mission from the Governor. We had just landed from the government yacht, after a quick run across the twenty miles or so of open sea from Lakeba Island, when the "Buli," or local chief of the island, came up to me and asked permission to hold this ceremony that same evening, in honour of the *Talai*, or deputy of the Governor.

He said that although it was getting dark they had arranged to carry it on by torchlight, and that they wished to receive us in the real manner that in ancient days had been the custom in Nayau.

Proceeding in single file along the narrow track through the bush, the land crabs scuttling away at our approach, we passed on to a broader turf road lit by the red rays of the fast setting sun,

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123 and walked along for some distance, the islanders
574 joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horse-
123 man approached, splendidly upright, and making
574 a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully
492 combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome
[576] features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

123 On nearing the town our approach was sighted
574 by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of
[534] brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival.
[516] Passing along the main street of the town, bor-
[576]

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

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[48]

series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

[624]

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

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in front of us, and then waited while the leading *matapuli* of the Nayau people came forward, and, sitting down, laid his hands on the nuts and made a little speech to us, asking that the great chief should excuse any faults he might see, and deal mercifully with the people and protect them as always. 123 574 431

Our *matapuli* then touched the offerings as usual, and spoke a few words in reply, saying that we accepted the offering and that we hoped the land would flourish and the people increase and prosper. This presentation of the nuts on their branch is always called *Ai Fono ni nona cudra*[1] or "the dam against his wrath"; in other words, a propitiatory gift.

The Nayau *matapuli* then came along, crouching, and bringing a number of ivory whales' teeth or *tabua*, heavy curved yellow tusks, each about nine inches long and supported from the two ends by a loop of dyed and twisted coco-nut fibre sinnet. These were offered with a few deprecatory sentences, speaking of "these insignificant teeth" in true Oriental style, though they are actually in this part of the Pacific the greatest gift it is possible to offer, and have an importance far above their intrinsic value. [In the old days the offer (and acceptance) of a *tabua* to a chief meant that any request accompanying it could [237] [435]

[1] "Bono" in Fijian.

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123 not well be refused, and might mean the cementing
● 574 of an alliance, or the request for a wife, or the
431 sacking of a rival town. Nowadays the presentation of them is purely a matter of ceremony. This part of the performance was called the *Qalovi*, and should properly have taken place while we were still on the water, the islanders swimming out to us carrying the *tabua*, but this is now seldom done.] Our *matapuli* took them up in token of acceptance and gazed at them for a moment in deep admiration, as etiquette demanded, and then made another short set speech, repeating his (or, rather, our) wishes that all should be well with the land.

After this two men staggered in bearing an enormous multi-branching root of green *Yaqona*[1] which they placed at our feet. Our *matapuli*
[201] here did the *vaka cobo*, or clapping of the hollowed hands cross-ways, as is always done where *Yaqona*
123 is concerned, and told the men to prepare a bowl
574 of the drink from it.

272 At this point the torches were extinguished, lanterns suspended from the trees, and the parallel lines of men automatically grouped themselves in a half-circle facing us, while an enormous round polished bowl, made of a single section of the *Vesi* tree, and decorated with hanging clusters

[1] Known as Kava or Hava in other parts of the Pacific; and with the drinking of which all important ceremonies must inevitably be connected.

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.

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hardly know the meaning of. After a little while, the mixture having attained a sufficiently fluid state, the old leader of the *méké* called out "*Livi wai se?*" (Shall water continue to be poured or not?); but, apparently, no answer was expected, this being a set phrase signifying that there was enough. *Mai lose* (the wringer), then took up his duties with a thick hank of lace-like, but strong, *vau* bark fibres; and, sweeping the liquid with circular movements, gathered up in the meshwork the solid particles of *Yaqona*, leaving the turbid brown fluid comparatively clear. This sweeping process was gone through many times, the *vau* being wrung out until the last drop of fluid had been expressed from it, and the fibres twisted until the muscles of the man's arms looked ready to crack, the dry residue being shaken out over a mat at the side. When at last even this expert was satisfied he called out, "It is clear," and our *matapuli* responded, "*Tu mai*,"[1] at which two young men, decorated with coloured leaves round their arms and legs, started to carry round the drink in polished half-coco-nut shells.

The *Talai* drank his off and then sent back the empty cup along the mats in a spinning fashion, as is the custom, and I did the same; deep-toned words of "*Maca, ah, maca*,"[2] fol-

[1] "Let them arise and approach."
[2] "It is empty" (he has drunk).

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lowed by a measured clapping of hands, greeting this action.

So also when any of the other higher chiefs subsequently drank, the same *maca* and hand clapping followed. The order of precedence was very strictly observed, and he who had poured the water called out, with a peculiar wailing cry, as each cup was filled, "*Kava kuo heka*,"[1] at which the *matapuli* called out the name of some one present. That individual thereupon clapped his hands once, to draw the attention of the cup-bearer to him, and the cup was presented. In Lau they have now adopted the Fijian order of precedence, and the biggest chief takes the first drink. But in Tonga the chief drinks third, his *matapuli* and one other drinking before him, possibly to safeguard against poison.

And so ended this very impressive ceremony, a relic of Lau in the olden days, and but seldom performed now. And never before or since, in the many years I have spent in the Lau Islands, have I seen it performed among the fantastic shadows and flickering lights from a living lane of torch-bearers.

[1] Literally, "The Kava is lifted"; in other words, "Who is to have this?"

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173 "The men of Lakeba—so they say—were very anxious to get the 'Tui Nayau' to go and live at Lakeba. So they made a great *volau*[1] to Nayau, bringing with them many goods, carved wooden bowls, and yams, and fine mats from Ono. And in return, at the sharing out, they took away much *gatu*[2] and dried fish, and *wali wali*[3] from Nayau; but two brothers, Qilaiso and another whose name I know not, would take nothing. And these two went to the Tui Nayau and asked him to go with them to Lakeba and be their chief, and that that alone should be their share of the *volau*. But Tui Nayau would not listen to them, but said that they should take a basketful of the soil of Nayau instead, as a sign for the Tui Nayau.

So they agreed to this, and returning to Lakeba they landed at Navutoka and there hid this *qele tabu*.[4] And then they built a temple over the spot, and after that went up to the town and spread the tale that they had captured the 'Tui Nayau,' but that he would not show himself to the people, being too sacred, but would reside only in this temple.

"But this, sir, is of course but a tale of the men of Nayau. All know that the Tui Nayau henceforth came to live at Lakeba and his sons are here to this day."

[574]

[1] Ceremonial visitation with interchange of gifts.
[2] Native cloth. [3] Coco-nut oil. [4] Sacred earth.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

1-31
425

It is rare that a request is refused. Excuses have to be invented. Property, in consequence, changes hands very rapidly, especially if it is anything novel. The stuff a man receives at a ceremonial exchange or festival is sometimes begged off him when he gets home. Prizes are not much of a reward, as they may not remain in the winner's hands more than a day.

575

The government discourages begging and an anti-begging league was founded in 1905. The custom found a champion in the Native Gazette (11, July, 1905):

> This Fijian custom is not wholly bad; it is well merely to correct it. What is Fijian begging? Begging is the requisition (*lala*) of the common folk. See, the commons in Fiji cannot make reguisitions; for requisitions are the chief's part. But what are requisitions? Requisitions are begging on a very big scale; they have not ceased, but are allowed by the law. Well, the commoner has begging as his only requisition. It is plain as day moreover that there is not much begging without return. If you come and beg my lamp because you are hard up, presently when I am hard up for clothes I shall beg some of you: so my lamp will be paid for. According to Fijian custom it is hard to refuse, because it represents paying, or trading, or the mutual aid of kinsmen. It is plain also that there are men who are humbugs (i.e. who don't play the game, but abuse the custom), because that is the way of the world. That is the end of the argument, now turn to the evil of forbidding people wholesale to beg, as you are doing; the chiefs, they are free to go on putting levies upon us but then we are undone by it since we are forbidden to beg. Who is the commoner to approach you nobles and say, "Please pay me, Sir, for what I have done, or for the food I have brought," or whatever it be? Impossible. If your requisitions cease, your calls on us (*mata*) your proclamations, your pomp (*vakaturanga*), then will begging cease.
>
> There are two forms of begging in Fiji. One is begging without return after the fashion of chiefs, that is bad and should be given up. But there is also a begging when in want which is payment for work and other things, and it is right and expedient to preserve it. But it looks as though you were prohibiting both, that we commoners may die twice in consequence we shall be made to work and it will be forbidden to us to beg in return. The ancient times were better than now. The carpenters built canoes; they worked without pay inasmuch as it was a requisition on them; they were fed while it went on, and they delivered the canoe. The feast of the workers (*otho*) was finished, but there was still to come some reward. Wait till you see some stuff in the possession of the chief; they will go and beg for it.

The Fijian is shrewd. Under an appearance of lavishness he counts the cost of everything, and if, at a ceremonial exchange for instance, he does not receive the full value of what he gave, he will take the balance in prestige and admiration. If a man cannot make a full return in kind for what he has begged, he will be under an obligation and have to do all kinds of services for his neighbor. The critics of Fijian begging all reason *a priori*. The facts are there to prove that the practice does not work as they think it should. As a matter of fact, the hard worker is always better off for his rank than the lazy man, and more influential, unless he is a man of no personality who does all the work of the clan and does not exact

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

(p. 134). I have never seen it in stencilled pieces which are complete in themselves and not forming a sheet (*ngatu*). In these single pieces is usually a border, inside which are patterns longitudinally from end to end or disposed in checks; there is usually a fringe of red hatching called *vakaleweninbisi* (like the flesh of a *mbisi*). 531

The style I have described is that of Lakemba; it is short, whereas in Thakaundrove and Matuku "it is made long." In effect the whole work in Lakemba is done by laying short stencils one beside the other, whereas in Thankaundrove long lines are painted.

In Lakemba stencilling is almost, if not entirely, confined to Wathiwathi. All my specimens come from there, except one from Ono, and all my information comes from those two places. In Tumbou a few know how to stencil, but they do it only on large sheets in Fijian style, not on single pieces.

In Tumbou the work is almost entirely in the Tongan style, on large sheets made up of many pieces and covered with red brown designs produced by rubbing. These sheets are called *ngatu* and are used for such things as blankets, dancing dresses, screens. [77]

Formerly if a woman wanted to paint bark cloth (*kesakesa*) her friends would without invitation come to help her. A feast would be made for them, each one getting a basket of food. Now they have guilds called *kauta* (from the Tongan *kautaha*, or else *kampani*, company) and each guild has a workshop. At present there are two in Tumbou: the Big Company (*kampani levu*) or Nandawa in Tai, Muritu, or the Second, in Tumbou quarter; one in Levuka. Formerly there was a third one, called Torotoromalua, in Tumbou. The guilds are called together by the beating of a hide drum, and hold councils to discuss the work, for instance to make a sheet for the child of one of the members, another time for another member. They have a president, a secretary, and sundry officials. The Native Gazette states (11, p. 136, 1905): 531 476 575

The President will say, "Tomorrow let all the members of the guild beat out bark cloth to the number of ten or twenty score." Before dawn the sound of the drum is heard and each one strives to achieve the amount set by their President. On the evening of that day the drum is again beaten to summon them to their President, and they are asked if they have each completed the allotted task or not. After that the President again decides what shall be done on the morrow, whether to cut copra, make sheets, or any other work. The money they earn from time to time by cutting copra is not divided up; it is brought and placed in the public chest (*kato ni tu*) to be kept. When the President sees there is enough bark cloth beaten out, she decides thus, "Tomorrow let us make a sheet for Lady So-ond-so." In this way the Lady So-and-so is not in the least burdened with a workers' feast (*otho*). The workers' feast is entirely in the hands of the President. They will be fed out of the company's funds kept in the public chest. The Secretary will withdraw the amount of money 476 575

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[10] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[10] Rils of coconut leaves.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

775 inhabitants or the immigrants in Lau. Similar concepts are found, however, in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.

The Kambara people say that Mburotu is an island situated between Ono and Matuku. In olden days it was above the water but now it is submerged. The trees, like everything else on this island, are red so it is called Mburotu Kula (Red Mburotu). The island is inhabited by beautiful women so it is called *vanua ni alewa* (land of women). They are clean and light skinned like Tongans and Samoans. The women are spirits who never die. Many men have tried in vain to find Mburotu. In olden days Kumbunavanua, a chief, lived on the island. He had two canoes. He went to Totoya in one while his two sons went in the other to Moala. When Kumbunavanua left Mburotu the island disappeared.

The land people believed in a local abode of the soul after death. According to Moto of Undu, when a man of the Kambaran lower class died his soul went with a hissing sound to Nggara Levu (Big Cave), a burial cave located near the *ngingia* tree. Nggara Levu is the abode of the souls of the early inhabitants. The following tale is told:

> When Ramatau, a man of the lower class who lived near Lomatchi, died he said, "Take me to Nggara Levu." The people took him to the beach and decided to bury him there, but he said from beneath his cover, "This is not Nggara Levu." So they took him to Vatoa because Nggara Levu was far from Lomatchi. At Vatoa he said again, "This is not Nggara Levu." So finally they took him to Nggara Levu.

Moto says he has heard that the souls of the land people went from Nggara Levu to the highest rock on the reef, which is shaped like the roof of a house. He has not heard whether or not the souls of the land people go to Mburotu, but he says that this rock faces Mburotu and is connected with it by means of a submarine coral formation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Nanga

575 Moto says that the commoners of Kambara formerly had a secret society called Nanga, which was "very, very old" and had ceased to exist before his time. All Moto knew about it was that it was secret and that it existed before the migration from Viti Levu to Lau. No other information regarding the Nanga in Lau was obtained.

A secret society called Nanga was formerly found in a limited area in central and western Viti Levu. According to Fison (7, pp. 14-30) the Nanga was a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was induction of the grown men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular stone enclosure and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed. 575

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.) 349

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it. 557 648

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils." 778 776 575

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They 575 785

jump, dance, and club one another.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 782] named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propi- [782] tiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic 538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are 539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata.	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575 539

Takiva na ika ni wai ndrondro,	They catch the fish in the current,
Kithoka na ika somi lolo,	They spear the fish at high tide,
Ndua a theva urea mo.	A southeast wind begins to blow.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.	When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
Raunama nongguo	The fishermen turn homeward.
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorongo,	The sea becomes still,
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndrondro.	Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.	So I go home and the storm abates.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.	I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following 575
types: *seasea, vakamalolo, meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately.

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the south- 311
ern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand.

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the 241
second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, 311
and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to 241
supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, 311
several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the 461
nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula-

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

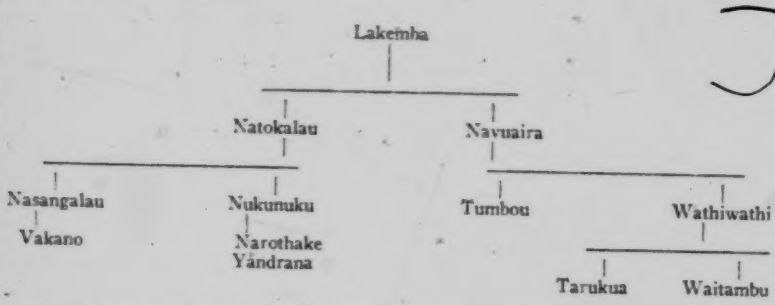
Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows:



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau.

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition.

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side.

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition.

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

621 602 614

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Namolutu Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

[624 202] [602]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

[624]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

631 276 565

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba: some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not: a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

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565 home and hearing what the people of quality said, whereas her "little sister" was always gadding about, and so was ignorant. Malani was said to know little because the people of Narewandamu brought him up, and he did not come among the nobility until late in life.

The lowborn are supposed to be less honorable in their dealings. The term *kaisi* is used much in the sense of "cad"; the adjective *vakaisi* denotes ungentlemanly, low conduct; and the verb *vakaisini* means to cheat, defraud, to fool. On the other hand the adjective *vaka turanga* indicates a lofty, generous disposition; it is most frequently used, however, in the sense of official, ceremonial, public, as: *ivalavala vakaturanga,* chief-like ways, public function, official ceremony, etiquette; *i songgo vakaturanga,* gathering of nobles, official function, *yanggona vakaturanga,* an official kava ceremony, as opposed to a private kava party.

Some of the gentry of old lived like nobles (*tiko vakaturanga*); they did not work in the fields; now all work, whether gentle or lowborn.

565 576 [516] When coming to interview a superior, a man will sit down with legs crossed. If his presence is not noticed he will cough until he is asked what he wants; then he begins, "It is I, Sir." Pause. "I have come to you, Sir." Pause. "There is one thing I want to talk about with you, Sir," and so on gradually coming to the point, encouraged by an occasional "ump" from his superior. Now, writing is coming very much into use as a medium of petitions to a superior.[1] A servant may send a boy to beg for some paper, pen and ink for him, with which he will write a request to his master to give him some tobacco.

On receiving a present or an order from a great man it is customary to clap slowly with hands crossed; sometimes a man would clap his thighs, but I think that is old fashioned. When the senior nobleman in the house washes his hand, after a meal, all present including his wife, clap hands. For instance Melaia would clap hands when Ratu Isoa her husband washed his hands, but she would not do it for her son. Although this is done by noblemen for noblemen, it is never done for Europeans. Upon meeting a great man after a long absence a man would kiss, or rather smell, the hand of the nobleman, or if a very big man, his foot. Familiars touch noses.

The head of a nobleman is never touched if it can be avoided; if inferiors touch his head, or pass behind his back, or take anything hanging above his head they say *"tilou."* This custom was observed towards any respectable person, not only towards nobles. Only the near relatives of the High Chief's eldest son could cut his hair. His nephew could get only one woman in Tumbou to cut his hair, and she did it under protest. [36]

If a noble falls down, an inferior will fall down to keep him company (*mbale muri*). The nobleman looking up will say, "Your canoe is in such and such a place," which means "You may have that canoe." If a man

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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [293]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [291]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakanamuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

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The Thakaundrove title of Ratu, having been adopted by government, is now tending to displace Roko. The practice is often to use Ratu before the Christian name, and Roko before the Fijian name, as Ratu Tevita, alias Roko Ului. I have never heard the title Roko or Andi used before a person's full name, when there was a shortened form, thus Roko Ului, Roko Thovu, Andi La, but Uluilakemba, Thovutimambula, Landu or Landu-vunirewa. Nobles and commoners alike put Ratu before the name of the High Chief Finau, also before his nephew's, and I have never heard the name of the High Chief's sister without the Andi. Ratu Finau's children are always spoken of as Ratu Te, Ratu Nai, and Andi Ethe. The late High Chief was always called Ratu. As for the rest, it depended upon their degrees, relationship, and acquaintanceship. 576 565

These titles were not limited to the nobility proper. A woman of the herald clan of Natokatoka was frequently called Andi Rua; but she had noble blood. Finau of Tanggalevu, the wife of Kasa of Vatuwangga, was sometimes termed Andi. I have heard the prefix Ratu applied to the name of the Lord of Tumbou; he was noble in Matuku.

From *roko* comes the verb *vakarokoroko* (to say *roko*)—a term which covers all forms of politeness. There is a polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) used in addressing people of quality; it consists in using metaphors instead of the proper words for parts of the body, relationships and common actions of noblemen. Many of these expressions are no longer heard and many are unknown to the young people. 576 195

English	Fijian Expression	Literal Meaning
Body	kuli ni tambua	ivory skin
Head	vanua i thake	place above
Hand	i thaka	instrument
Leg	i turatura	stand
Eye	i serau	brightness
Ear	tamba ni manumanu	bird's wing
Nose	i rengu	thing to kiss with
Mouth	ndraka ni kula, tembe ni kula,	parrot's throat, lip
Back	ndaku ni vesi	back of green heart
Throat	ndomo ni vonu	throat of the turtle
Old man	turanga ndina	true gentleman
Father	i tumbutumbu	origin
Father	ona turanga	his lord
Father and son	turanga veivakasikavi	nobles who visit one another in sickness
Mother and son	turanga veivakarikati	nobles who jump on one another (possibly refers to the mother jumping the child on her lap)
Wife	i solonga	
House	loma ni koro	center of the town
Come and eat	mai tauri	come and take

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To go	lea ka	
To sit	wiri	
To say	vakatambuna	to make sacred
To die	siri	to go wrong
To die	mbale	to fall
To die	mothe	to sleep[8]
To sleep	vakathethengu vakarerengge, tavo	to rest to take care of
To awake	lave lave	to lift up
To bathe	tumbutumbu	
To be angry	toka wale	to sit doing nothing
Please give me	vakandrakai mai	take trouble to give
Yes	ia saka, ie	

The commonest respectful terms are the use of the second person plural, and the particle *saka*. The second person plural is in common use between people who are not intimate. The word *saka* is probably the root of *saka-saka* (awkward) and is therefore a self-depreciating particle. It has been identified by Europeans as a vocative equivalent to "Sir," and is now prefixed to letters. But as the analogy of other dialects proves, it occupies in the sentence the position not of the vocative, but of an adverb. In Mualevu, where the Thakaundrove speech dialect is spoken, *vakatha* (badly) is used. The word *lea* is also used by elderly polite persons very much like *saka*, only more extensively. It can be used between the possessive and the noun as: *a omundou lea thakathaka;* also it is used as a verb instead of "go."

No hard and fast rule can be laid down for the use of polite language. There is not a man who will not use the particle *saka* in speaking to the High Chief, or who will omit to call his leg a stand, "because he is the lord of our land; his title is Tui Naiau." The people of Tumbou and Levuka will call a great nobleman's leg a leg; but the countryfolk and the people of Lau will call his leg a stand. Some small men even in Tumbou will speak of the Lord of Tumbou's leg as a stand. All these words, however, are now more or less abandoned except for the Lord of Naiau.

The ordinary greeting is "awake." For a great person there is special salutation called *tama* which is sung out on first meeting him or passing his house in the morning. The men say *"o oa"* in a deep voice, dropping about a tone on the *a*. The women sing out *"ninggo"* rising about a tone on the *nggo* and drawing it out. The great man does not answer the *tama*. When once the sun has reached the zenith this salutation is forbidden, and "It is night, Sir," is used. The great man answers, "It is night." The *tama* is

[8] A writer in the Native Gazette (12), probably a man from Mbau, says that a nobleman who dies naturally is said to sleep; if he is murdered it is said that he fell.

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of great importance, much care being exercised in its use. It is never accorded to Europeans, except to the Governor and Native Commissioner. All salute the Lord of Naiau in this way, except Salesi, who never uses the *tama* to any one. All Tumbou, including Tuimereke and Roko Malani, but excluding Naivi, use the *tama* in addressing the chief's elder sister's son; and all do so in addressing the chief's elder sister. All country folk address it to Tuimereke. If they meet the great man on the road they put down any burden they are carrying and either standing or squatting, sing the *tama*. None but countryfolk will use the *tama* to the Lord of Tumbou. 576 195

In speaking respectfully to a person the natives speak more slowly, emphasize the stress, pitch and accent, and drag out the last accented syllable. A small man always sits down when speaking to a great man; all do so in presence of the Lord of Naiau.

THE TURANGA

The word *turanga* is usually translated "chief," which is misleading, for it also has other meanings. In the singular, it may refer to "the Chief"; in Lakemba, to the High Chief, the Tui Naiau. It may also be used in referring to some particular noble or merely have the force of "gentleman." The minor chiefs are referred to as *turanga ni vanua* or *turanga ndina ni vanua,* the chiefs of the land, or true chiefs of the land. A village headman is *turanga ni koro,* and the chief of a clan is *turanga ni matanggali.* In the plural, *turanga* usually refers to a group of nobles. If a member of one of the four clans Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu is asked to what clan he belongs, he will probably say "the nobles" (*ko ira na turanga*). The word is here used in the sense, as it were, of "the Royal Family," who are not chiefs, but gentle-folk, descendants of Niumataiwalu, and therefore known also as "Children of the High Chief" (Luve ni Sau). This meaning is the commonest in Lakemba, where it is used also of the whole of Tai, as opposed to Tumbou, or the Land. In speaking of *turanga* the villagers may refer either to the nobility proper, or to the whole of Tumbou. To many Fijians *turanga* merely means "those at the head of affairs"—the chief, the leading members of the nobility, and the chief's elders. I translate the word as chief or noble, gentleman or gentry, whichever the context seems to call for, though this introduces a definiteness which may not be involved in the original. 565 554

The term *ngone turanga* means literally noble youth, but is used of people of mature age. It applies to the whole family of the High Chief, old or young, even a bastard. In the Southern Islands it would be used of the High Chief's father's younger brother, who is eighty. The term is never applied to minor chiefs, and is, therefore, essentially confined to the nobility and might be rendered "prince." I once heard it used of "the sons of the 565

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

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OFFERINGS

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Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge.[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambiova a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka tunuva."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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He draws out the last syllable but one, and then pushes forward the offering. All present say, "*E.*" The recipient's herald claps hands, touches the offering and says, "I touch the [article] that has jumped from you, the gentlemen of So-and-so; so let us be in health and concord, and let the work of the Church and the Government increase." 431 576

He quickens his pace and raises his voice to a shout over the last sentence. Then all exclaim, "Mana, e indina, amunduo, munduo, nduo" (Be it effective, let it be true).[12] The people having thus exclaimed clap hands slowly, as always in ceremonial.

The speech of presentation is always long. While the theme is always the same—we are poor, we are offering the best we have, so do not be angry—the details are left to the speaker. Thus I once heard the Lord of Tumbou say, "It is known that our land consists of small islands, and the surf beats the top of the hills; there are only small plants; there are no big plants." The reason why kava and all "noble" (*vakaturanga*) things are offered up ceremonially is that the chief may not be angry if anything goes wrong. It is the custom to depreciate what is offered, thus a large cloth is called shreds (*mandra ni ngatu*); a towel, a thing to rub (*ka ni solo*); a good cloth is a rag (*i suai*); a mat becomes thatch (*ndra ni timbi*); and a whale's tooth, a small tooth; puddings are described as food with sauce (*i pekepeke*). 431 576 537 195

The acknowledgment is short. While no part of it is fixed, nowadays, it usually contains a reference to the Church and State, if there is no more particular object, otherwise it contains a prayer on behalf of the donors' intentions as "may the object for which you have come be attained," or "may our discussion succeed," or "let the wind be fair to Oneata." Before a Provincial Council, the Lord of Tumbou acknowledged a presentation to the High Chief thus: "Let the decisions and the dispersal be clean, and let the health of our chief be good." 431 576

Manufactured articles presented on great occasions (*solevu*) are called *kamunanga* when acknowledged; the herald who receives it on touching it calls out *kamunaaanga*, then he utters the prayer, "The *kamunanga* brought by you, etc." Kava is acknowledged as *i sevusevu* (first fruits).

Whale's teeth when offered up are not placed on the ground, the one who presents them holding them by the cord, supporting them from underneath with his other hand. After offering they are handed to the receiving chief who takes them by the cord and passes them to his herald, who holding them in the same manner as the giver, touches them with his nose.

Offerings are described by various terms according to their purpose; the

[12] I do not know the meaning of *amunduo*, but it is a common ceremonial exclamation throughout Fiji.

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term is almost invariably an instrumental noun formed with the prefix *i*, such as *i soro:* entirely gift, offering made to avert the anger of a god or nobleman, or to beg for peace; *i vakamamatha:* a change of clothes, a present to a traveller on his arrival; *i sere ni ndali*: loosener of the rope, a present made in return for a turtle.

There are four kinds of *soro,* or entreaty: entreaty plain and simple; the spearpoint or arrow head; finger cutting; giving a woman in marriage to a nobleman.

Simple entreaty consists in whale's teeth or a hundred fathom sheet of bark cloth (*katundrau*). If, for instance, a village were to kill the Chief's pigs or treat his sons badly they would beg for mercy through the Land Chief or the Lord of Tumbou. If those two enter the house and the Chief looks their way they offer up the entreaty gift; if those chieftains do not attend it cannot be acceptable. They hold four or five whale's teeth and say, "This is a little tooth I am holding here; graciously grant that our men may live. We have found a thing to bring to you; have pity on me, who am the elder of our clan, that I, your man, may live. My speech is lengthy, etc." The chief will speak and say why he is angry, but that he will be well disposed. If he does not speak, it is not approved (*ndonu*).

The spear point is more serious. The arrow head (*mata ni ngasau*) appears to be interchangeable with the spear point. All witnesses agree that they are equally serious. In this entreaty the people besides whale's teeth, bring a spear, or a reed, or an arrow. The people sit at the back and the herald, Lord of Tumbou, Vaka, or Envoy to Mbau, lays down the spear or arrow. If the chief will not accept it he says, "No," when they attempt to pick it up; if he will accept it, he does not speak. The spear is not offered up with the usual words (*vakathambori*) but the herald puts the whale's teeth on the mat and shouldering the spear with the point towards the chief, walks up on his knees saying, *"O oa."* He then lays the spear down; the chief takes it and speaks. This method of entreaty appears not to have been very common as the witnesses, even the heralds, appear to have been vague about it; I have given just the substance.

One informant says the cutting off of fingers is graver than the spear point. Should a chieftain offend (*siri*), the little finger of his child, grandchild, or younger brother, is cut off and stuck on a reed. "Then it is right."

If the spear point fails, a woman is brought. Sometimes a nobleman is angry with an ulterior motive, and rejects their entreaties in order that they may bring the girl he desires. Only a lady of the country that entreats can be brought as a propitiatory gift. Her son may become Sau. Tuimereke is the son of a lady of Oneata who was so brought to Taliai, and Tuimereke should have been Sau.

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Informants are not agreed as to the scale of gravity of these various forms of entreaty. Smearing the body with ashes to entreat is practised in Mbau, not in Lau.

Cutting soil (*ta nggele*) is the propitiatory gift (*i soro*) of war. The soil is presented that the land may be given to the victorious land.

There is also a form of individual entreaty. A man will kiss, or rather sniff, a nobleman's foot; after kissing he claps hands. The nobleman asks, "What?"

The man says, "It is I, sir, your servant; be gracious, sir, and let me live. The grievous things I have done are very many; so they are condemned. Be gracious and help me in this." Even for a minor offense for which the man has no fear of being killed, he uses this form of speaking.

When Tui Naiau returns to Lakemba after a journey, his people go on board and make an offering called weighing the anchor (*thavu i kelekele*). Tui Tumbou presents some whale's teeth saying, "A little tooth to pull up the anchor; be gracious, lords, and come ashore, and come and change your clothes here. My speech is lengthy, etc."

When the visitors come ashore, the elders assemble at Great House for the wading ashore ceremony (*nggalonggalovi*). All sit as for a kava ceremony. First two men, kneeling and bending forward, bear a long cadjan on their fore arms. After saying, "*Ō ōā*," they advance simultaneously on their knees, swaying right and left. They deposit the mat before the person honored and retire backwards on their knees. This offering is called *taki tambakau* (*taki*, to carry a tray) and the mat in this connection is called *ndraundrau ni vanua* (tray of the land). This custom is peculiar to Lau. Next a man loads a bunch of coconuts on his back and advances on his knees, stopping three or four times to say "*O oa*." Depositing the bunch before the visitor, he offers it up in the usual manner. This is called *thavu niu* (pulling up the coconuts); the bunch is ceremoniously called *vono*. The recipient's herald touches the nuts and calls out "*Vono!*" A custom also peculiar to Lau. A large ball of coir string is then presented, followed by whales' teeth, some of which are called *i nggalonggalovi;* others *i vakamamatha*.

In offering the wading gift to the Governor of Fiji, Tui Tumbou would say: "A little tooth, our wading gift to you, the Lord Governor; be good enough to cherish us, the people of your province of Lau; for our land is poor and there are few yams. My speech, etc." Then comes the change of clothes: "Hm. A little tooth, Lord Governor, your change of clothes. Be gracious. The change of clothes is small; still what we could get, we have bought, etc." Whales' teeth called "the presentation for hauling down the pennant" (*i lava ni tawake*) are offered; I do not know whether on

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board or at Great House. Lastly, comes a large root of kava, which is presented by a herald in the usual way.

The term "calling on one another" is sometimes used in the sense of a wading ceremony, but it is a distinct part of the reception. According to a Totoya man, it has only recently been given up. The herald would say, "Let us call to them," then begin a speech expressing pleasure at the nobleman's presence, ending "*ē*." The nobleman would call out,"

"Seven times," and his herald add,

"Eight."

When all the presentations have been made, a state kava is served in Fijian style. Then comes a feast. If Roko Sau is returning from abroad, it is called the waiting feast (*i wawa*). I was present at one such feast.

The people of Natokalau came upon the Green, first led by the Tui Ra of Yandrana; each man carried a yam and laid it down; the chief of Naiau, the Chief of Ono, and the Government chief of Fulanga sat together to receive the yams. When this was finished, the Chief of Naiau turned to Roko Sau and said, "By your leave, I will touch it," and then called out "Mangiitii (Feast). The High Chief told Tui Tumbou to tell the three chiefs (who were close enough to hear) to dispose of the feast as it was theirs. The Natokalau people then performed a Fijian club dance, which was followed by a Tongan dance by Navuaira.

When the High Chief visits one of the Southern Islands, for the wading ceremony a bunch of coconuts is presented; to the smaller nobles and to their own chiefs on their return home, the islanders present only one mature, unhusked nut. The base of the nut is turned towards the chief's herald, whose part it is to turn it towards his chief. Then came the "calling on one another." One of the elders calls to the chiefs,

"You are welcome, sirs, the gentlemen that have come by the sea." Adding, "I have come to hear news."

The herald on the other side then describes the journey; at each sentence the elder remarks, "Good." At the close of the account the elder makes answer, which, on the occasion I am describing, I did not hear, but which doubtless corresponds to the formula of "steering the report," which is used in Viti Levu. The herald of the travellers presents kava to the elders of the place saying, for instance,

"The first fruit offering. The first fruit offering of the Lord of Namuka, to you elders, the elders who stayed at home. Let us live in mutual love, let us live in harmony. My speech, etc." The elder answers in this manner:

"I touch your first fruit offering, Lord of Namuka; let Heaven be pro-

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pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey." 431 576

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither],"[13] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*). 574

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*). [576] [262]

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place. [482]

[13] The green heart tree, *vesi,* is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152
A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukauâ*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145
from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 841
they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576
out *"ninggo,"* it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304
ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in 304
their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195
Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304
circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881
at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a 565
feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the [194] *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila*.

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly 565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are 556 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *toma* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite form of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. [601] [579]

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 606 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's 618 brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the
[177] mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *falu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether
[867] related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
558] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged
643 with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
198 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All
[689] chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house, a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [43] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily 157 stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian 171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as far north as old Japan the same sign was used; [576] while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses

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with woven mat-flooring might with few differences be found in parts of Malay to-day. The out-rigger canoe may seem fairly obvious, yet it was not used among western nations. Mariner, in his immortal book on Tonga, mentioned the veiling of women at a very ancient marriage ceremony which he witnessed there in the early days of the nineteenth century; and there are scores of little things like this that the Polynesian must have unconsciously retained despite his centuries of wandering and separation from his ancestral home. The language question is significant in itself; modes of thought and expression are very much the same, and there are more than a few root words to be found that are purely Malayan.

But enough of such theories, fascinating as they may be to the casual observer. Such things may safely be left in the hands of professional ethnologists. I have merely endeavoured to set down in this book some of the old legends and fairy stories of a people whom, with all their faults, I dearly love, and among whom I have lived and carried on my work for nearly ten years as Commissioner of their District. I take no credit for these tales, which are exactly as told to me by the natives themselves, and are selected from a big book of notes that I have made at odd times during my long residence amongst them. The apparently "biblical" language is

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens. 173 539*

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand. [609] [576]

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu*,

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

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OQ6 Lau OQ6

825 they saw that they had been mistaking the cry of
576 some cranes for a *tama*. But some men of Na Malata Island, who were fishing behind the rocks, pretended that the *tama* had been meant for them, and thus it became a joke that the people of Yacata were *Kaisi*[1] to the people of Na Malata."

At this moment we reached the outskirts of Mabula town; and for the time being the store of anecdotes of my chatty friend had to be cut off, to make way for the more pressing business of a "town inspection."

[1] Inferior in rank, literally slaves.

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and walked along for some distance, the islanders joining our little retinue behind and asking, with many jests and flashes of white teeth, the latest gossip from "the capital." Presently, a horseman approached, splendidly upright, and making a fine picture with his great head of hair carefully combed out, and his proud cast of countenance. But his saddlery would hardly have passed muster in Rotten Row, for it consisted of a loose sack thrown across the pony, and a short length of rope twisted loosely round the animal's nose by a noose in the middle, the two ends running backwards to form the reins! Equipped thus, he yet maintained a beautiful seat; and at our approach vaulted off with an astonishing dexterity, and remained standing until we had passed, a smile of welcome lighting up his handsome features.[1] I heard my clerk ask him where he was going (the usual form of salutation in these islands, and not intended for unseemly curiosity), and his reply was, "To the next town to let them know the Turagas have arrived."

On nearing the town our approach was sighted by watchful boys, who raced back with a flash of brown legs, and presently we heard the deep booming of the *lali*[2] announcing our arrival. Passing along the main street of the town, bor-

[1] According to Polynesian custom no one may be (literally) raised to a higher position than a chief.
[2] Hollow wooden drum.

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dered with shady bread-fruit trees and carpeted 123
with beautifully kept short turf, we came suddenly 574
in the darkness upon an avenue of living torch- [516]
holders, all seated cross-legged as a mark of [576]
respect, and holding aloft their flaring torches of
tied up reeds. In each man's hand was a piece [416]
of broad banana leaf, hollowed to form a cup,
and filled with sand, into which the dropping
fiery fragments of the torch were caught. The
dancing lights threw into strong relief the powerful
features of the men, sitting silent as a row of
graven images; while dimly in the shadows
behind could be seen rows of spectators, men,
women, and children, all silent and motionless
until we reached the appointed spot, when, at a
given signal by the chief, the deep *tama* was given
by a hundred throats, a sound impossible to set
down on paper, but not unlike a long-drawn
exclamation, "o-o-a."

Taking our seats at one end of this double [349]
line, beneath a square canopy of bamboos and
many-fronded palm leaves, we found that all was
in readiness for the *Kavakavanua*, or ceremony. 431
First of all appeared at the far end of the line a 123
pair of very old men, facing us and kneeling 574
side by side, and holding up on their folded arms 481 [285]
a small oblong *tabakau*, or mat of woven coco-nut
leaves. They then advanced, still on their knees,
and in perfect time, progressing by a curious

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [83]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

551 (Ship-of-Tui Naiau), Thamailawathi (Outrigger-of-Lawathi), Lembaikelekele (Necklace-of-Kelekele).

Koroi, Seru, Wangga are names given to one who has slain an enemy. Thama and Lemba are given on the grounds of kinship, and to inferiors. A man may call his younger brother's son Thama after his own son. Lawathi and Thamailawathi were both sons of Ndranivia, but by different mothers; the mothers, however, were sisters, and younger sister's son was called after the elder sister's son. Lemba is given to women in the same way; a *lemba* is an "after-eater" or younger sister. "If two brothers have daughters the daughter of the younger is *lemba* to the daughter of the elder. Lemba and Thama are used only for our inferiors."

Nicknames are called *yatha ni vakathivo*. *Vakathivo* (to lower) is the custom of shouting out some humorous remark after drinking a cup of kava; a nickname is therefore properly a name given at a kava party. One boy was nicknamed Silini (Shilling) and another Penitolu (Three-pence) because as a small child he had put three-pence in the collection plate; another was supposed to look like a billy goat and so was called Tamanime.

A man addresses his namesake as My Name, in Fijian this is *nonggu yatha*, whereas a man speaks of his own name as *yathanggu*, using the suffixed possessive. "If two men have the same name," says one informant, "they are related." Of course, it is generally because they are related that they have the same name, but a common name does seem to bring them closer together, and people sometimes speak as though having the same name were a close tie. I could, however, get nothing definite on the subject beyond the following example: Pasoni, a Tongan, is related according to Tongan custom to Repeka, because his father was born when her father, Leonaitasi Ngu, was in Tonga and so was called after him.

The people are reluctant to mention their names, and, if compelled to ask the name, will do so most politely. When asked his name a man will usually request a third party to tell it for him.

553 The father, mother, and grandfather decide upon the child's name. The naming is not accompanied by any ceremony, except of course for the Christian name which is given at baptism. If, however, a man wants to give his name to a child he brings gifts for the assigning of a name (*me i vakatoka ni vatha*).

ADULTS

576 577 A hard worker is described as a man who achieves things; a lazy man is unable to achieve food or goods. Such a man is liable to have it flung in his face at the first quarrel. Hard work is very much prized, and a man's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of 461
his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; 577
now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *monggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work.

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams 461
and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble 157
of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*.

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. 577
It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is 181
possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait.

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A 577
certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to 626
get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name.

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by 577
mandua. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, 157
shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest.

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in 157
themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

774 to a depth of half-an-inch from walking barefoot. At sundown, Ravu had not returned, and we were worried, for night descends early in the shadowy tropical jungle. When the last rays of the setting sun still cast a red glow over the village, the forest is already in darkness. We called a few natives together and, armed with lanterns and flashlights, set out to look for him. The searching party, in a long line, followed the narrow path up the steep cliff and into the dense jungle.

We shouted at intervals but there was no response. Finally, from afar we heard a shot. Picking our way in the twilight off the rough path into the primeval forest, we followed the sound. Suddenly we came upon Ravu, his body shaking with fear, his face pale and terrified. When he saw us his expression changed to one of great relief. Finally he was able to tell his story.

For some time in the early afternoon he had looked for pigeons without seeing any. Suddenly he had come upon Wangga, a man from Tanggu. He told Wangga he was searching for fowl, and Wangga said: "I know where there are many. Come with me." So Ravu followed him. They walked a great distance through the pathless jungle and Ravu became very tired. But there were no fowl. Finally they reached cliffs which rim the island and drop abruptly into the sea. Wangga stood on the edge of a sheer precipice and called Ravu to join him, but Ravu was frightened and decided to turn back. His companion returned with him. When they were approaching the spot where they had met, Ravu heard our shouts. He fired a shot into the air and Wangga started to run away. Suddenly the man vanished. Then Ravu realized that it was Wangga's bad soul which had tried to lure him to death over the cliff. Ravu did not recover his composure until the following day.

577 As a motivating force, kindness and humanitarianism are still foreign to the Lauan. This was illustrated forcibly one

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Rarama!"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1. Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

RANK AND TITLES

CLASS DISTINCTION

Stature and good physique are considered the marks of a nobleman. In olden days superior diet no doubt promoted the difference but now that the people are prosperous the diet is probably more uniform. The average height of 21 Tumbou men measured is 1.739 meters; of 18 Wathiwathi men, 1.689 meters, a difference of 5 centimeters. The difference is noticeable at dances held jointly by Tumbou and other villages; some allowance, however, must be made for the humble and awkward bearing of the villagers. Difference in stature between the nobles and the people of Tumbou proper is imperceptible as far as my scanty figures go. 565 141

Politeness (*vakarokoko*) is the sign of a nobleman; "a nobleman is known by his manner." A man who is not polite is known immediately as a lowborn fellow. From my experience I should say that the higher a man, the better his manners. The remainder of Tumbou are well bred but without quite so fine a manner. The villagers have not the style and are distinctly inclined to be casual with strangers. 565 576

"Gentlefolk are good natured; it is the way of the lowborn to scold," says one man. The chief of Nasangalau once said to me: "Our hearts turn to the High Chief's nephew and we fear him because he does not pose as a nobleman. If he comes into a house, he does not sit at the top, but on one side. He never asks for bark cloth or oil." If a man is not respectful, the nobleman does not get angry. I do not think a just anger detracts from a nobleman's prestige, if it is dignified; rather the contrary. Murdering one another is said to be the way of the lowborn; war befits nobles.

The nobility have more confidence and self-assertion, like men accustomed to command. They order their inferiors about; but the best do it nicely. Of old, if the lowborn killed a nobleman who oppressed them, they pulled out his tongue and liver, and ate them saying, "You always oppressed us and imposed burdens upon us." 565 578 266

I was often told that the country folk could tell me nothing, and that only the gentry knew anything. Experience amply confirmed this. There was very little indeed to be got from the villages; and for my information I had to rely entirely upon Tumbou. The gentry seem to be naturally more intelligent. The difference between them and the villagers is not due entirely to brains, however; Tumbou is the center of things, a very important fact where a man's education is made by listening to his elders and observing their actions. Melaia ascribed her vast learning to her keeping always at 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.] 585

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vata*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be. 578

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata 587

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau. 621 618

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka. 621 618 578

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of 526
earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high.

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property [525] was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows:

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),	[539]
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?	
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!	

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully [578] ●
through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other.

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy 526 171
wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
●578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this purpose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to
[578] inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
●578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weigh-
621 ing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island
578 with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

clan's claim to the east side. However, the Tanggu clan 423
enforces its claim by actual cultivation of crops on the island 578
and by control of the fishing and turtle breeding there. But since such a claim is substantiated not only by tenure but also through the clan genealogies there was a constant dispute among nobles of Tanggu and Tokalau regarding their genealogies and the relative merits of the two claims.

The effect of the government policy concerning land ownership has been far-reaching. Native retention of ancestral lands 423
has cemented the tie between hereditary social groups and the soil. A man cultivates the garden plot of his ancestors and frequently even builds his house upon the same house site. In spite of the changes taking place in the culture the link with the natural environment has not been broken. This has not only physical significance in that the natural resources upon which the old culture was built are still available, but also psychic significance in that a social group is still in close contact with its sacred places, sacred animals, and plants. The importance of this condition can hardly be over-emphasized. As long as the physical setting is retained there is a possibility of revitalizing a culture so that a satisfactory balance may be re-established in spite of its changing content. Evidence of new adjustment to the old environment is seen in [161]
the increase of the population in recent years—a sign of healthy and socially adjusted communal life which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

As a result of the land policy the native does not suffer from 423
the modern western economic system. He is economically 464
independent and does not need to compete with Europeans or Indians[32] in the struggle for existence. No matter how he chooses to earn his living he can always return to his own village and cultivate his ancestral lands. Hence there is no native unemployment or rehabilitation problem in Fiji.

[32] Since 1879, laborers have been imported into Fiji from India, and in 1936 the total Indian population in Fiji was 85,002. There are, however, no Indians in [167]
southern Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambarâ

The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584
mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, bark-cloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212]
Mbauan dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581 ●
man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883
cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

883 becomes rather pleasant. He is accepted as a man in the
581 community, but he avoids the full responsibility of an adult. Although he sleeps in a men's house he is still a member of his father's household, cultivates his father's lands, and contributes to the daily supply and preparation of food for his father's earth oven. He participates in the ceremonies and games of his age group, spears fish, and sails on trading expeditions. He is sought after by the young women of the community among whom, with the exception of the group tabu to him, he is free to make conquests. The more numerous his affairs the greater he is desired by women. If he should have a
[848] bastard or two, the girl's father will care for the child. When he marries, however, he must accept the responsibilities of an adult; found his own household, work his own garden, and support his family.

A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

584 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father
583 and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [242]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)." Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mburę*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

582 618 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees. Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 134 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive correlation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 611 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common [134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

marry his betrothed he may break the engagement (*vakandaroivola*). This necessitates the formal return of the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*) presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan at the betrothal ceremony, or its equivalent. However, the food and property, of considerable value, which the girl's relatives have received from the boy's relatives from time to time are not returned with the original gift. 584

Frequently a man is reluctant to marry his childhood betrothed for, just as the tabu on a man's classificatory sisters (*weka*) tends to stimulate his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins (*watchi*), especially his betrothed, tends to make them less desirable. However, he is loathe to break his engagement, for he knows that if he does so his father will be very angry at the loss of so much property. Hence a young man postpones his marriage as long as possible.

When he is between eighteen and twenty-five, his father and his clan, whose interests lie in the preservation of the sacred clan mana, force him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed or breaks his engagement and finally becomes engaged to another girl. After he has talked to the girl (*veivosaki*) and gained her consent, he tells his father. If the elders of his clan approve of the match, the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) is made. When the elders of the girl's clan have approved the match, an engagement feast (*mangitchi ni vola*) is prepared and presented by the boy's relatives to those of the girl. When a match is not sanctioned by the clan elders, the young couple occasionally elope (*veitumbaitaki*) to the bush, where they stay until the anger of their relatives, especially of the boy's father, has abated. At first the couple is talked about in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When they return they are accepted as man and wife and a wedding feast may or may not be held. [582] [583]

MARRIAGE

Weddings in Lau differ greatly in size and importance. The quality and quantity of the feasts and gifts for the ceremonial affinal exchanges not only reflect but also determine the social status of the intermarrying clans, and there is much rivalry between them. However, in the long run, the boy's clan usually contributes the larger quantity of food and property (p. 95). The boy's clan sets the date for the ceremonies which are usually held in harvest season when food is abundant. 585

Preparations for the wedding rites are begun months ahead. The work is shared by the men of each of the intermarrying clans who are responsible for the marriage feasts and by the women, who provide the tapa and mats for the affinal exchanges of property.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu, a small low ranking village of sailors

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582] his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [766] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents.
304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 531] Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the [177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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Kambara

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A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

584 583 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

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881 The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents.
304 They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tawelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

[424 Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one
531] knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

[177] Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

●584 Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the
[177] answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

[583] Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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marry his betrothed he may break the engagement (*vakandaroivola*). This necessitates the formal return of the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*) presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan at the betrothal ceremony, or its equivalent. However, the food and property, of considerable value, which the girl's relatives have received from the boy's relatives from time to time are not returned with the original gift. 584

Frequently a man is reluctant to marry his childhood betrothed for, just as the tabu on a man's classificatory sisters (*weka*) tends to stimulate his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins (*watchi*), especially his betrothed, tends to make them less desirable. However, he is loathe to break his engagement, for he knows that if he does so his father will be very angry at the loss of so much property. Hence a young man postpones his marriage as long as possible.

When he is between eighteen and twenty-five, his father and his clan, whose interests lie in the preservation of the sacred clan mana, force him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed or breaks his engagement and finally becomes engaged to another girl. After he has talked to the girl (*veivosaki*) and gained her consent, he tells his father. If the elders of his clan approve of the match, the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) is made. When the elders of the girl's clan have approved the match, an engagement feast (*mangitchi ni vola*) is prepared and presented by the boy's relatives to those of the girl. When a match is not sanctioned by the clan elders, the young couple occasionally elope (*veitumbaitaki*) to the bush, where they stay until the anger of their relatives, especially of the boy's father, has abated. At first the couple is talked about in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When they return they are accepted as man and wife and a wedding feast may or may not be held. [582] [583]

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836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Liri na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

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The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584
mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, bark-cloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212]
Mbauan dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581
man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883
cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

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meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.] 585

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vata*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be. [518]

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata 587

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I attended a wedding in Naivindamu, a small low ranking village of sailors

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

585 and fishermen on Fulanga. The wedding was a very poor one because of the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. Although pigs are usually the most essential wedding food none was killed for this marriage because pigs are scarce in Naivindamu. The wedding was somewhat irregular because the usual Christian wedding rites had been performed in the mission church six months before and the native ceremonies had been delayed until food for the feasts could be accumulated. The young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, and the bride was pregnant.

Early in the morning of the wedding day relatives of the bridegroom began to arrive from the other villages of Fulanga and from the island of Ongea. No close relatives of the bride were present because she came from Vatoa, an island about 50 miles south of Fulanga. While the food for the earth oven was being prepared and steamed by the young men (pl. 2, *A*), the male elders drank kava served by two young girls on the mound of a house under construction. Women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, making wreaths, which they wore around their necks, and preparing greens and fish in coconut cream for the feast.

585 [431] 292 In the middle of the afternoon there was a ceremonial exchange of property (*rau mbutu*) between the two intermarrying clans. Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked the groom, wrapped in an outer garment consisting of a large folded piece of Tongan tapa which extended from his arm pits to the ground. It was tied around his waist with a piece of pandanus, over which was knotted a single width of white tapa (*masi*). His body was oiled and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt orange with *kura (Morinda citrifolia)*. His hair was bleached rust color and stood out about 9 cm. from his head. He wore two red and blue pompons of imported wool fastened just above his temples to a tapa head band.

585 The procession walked to the house which was being used as the bride's headquarters. Here the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan tapa spread in front of the entrance. The groom and his procession walked over it into the house. The groom left his ceremonial outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and, wearing his kilt of Fijian tapa, he returned to his headquarters. Next, six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan tapa (3.5 by 6 meters), emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, dressed in an outer garment of Tongan tapa. She wore a wreath like the groom's but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters, where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked across it and entered the groom's house. The bride left her ceremonial

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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house. 585

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers. 431 585

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made. [438 287]

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets. 585

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

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585 wedding guests leave the house except the young couple and three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt, who remain for the "virginity test" (*rarawa*). The women sleep in the lower part of the house and the bride and groom retire to the upper part which is frequently screened off by a curtain of Fijian barkcloth. Here a nuptial bed of mats and barkcloth has been laid by the groom's relatives. On it the bride's relatives have spread a piece of white barkcloth for the virginity test.

In the morning when the young couple leave the house the old women examine the barkcloth covering the bed. If stains are found they consider the bride to have been a virgin. Often, if the bride is not a virgin, the groom helps her secretly to secure the blood of a chicken or a pig or some red dye to produce the desired effect.

The old women announce the news to the village. They shout and dance and display the signs of virginity to the bride's relatives who are very proud. The village gongs are beaten and frequently the barkcloth is hung outside the house as a proof to all the villagers. The groom's relatives prepare a large feast for the bride, now called "new woman" (*alewa vou*), and her relatives. They kill a pig if possible, and the apertures of its body—the snout, eyes, ears and anus—are covered with banana leaves as a symbol of the bride's virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced, the girl's relatives are ashamed. The groom's relatives are angry, and they prepare only a very small feast for the young couple.

If the bride is wearing "virgin locks" the ceremony called cutting the locks (*kotchi ni tombe*) is held on the day after the wedding. Both sides assemble
[431] in the groom's house and the groom's clan presents mats and tapa to the clan of the bride. The gifts are piled up, the tapa on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or, if a pair of scissors is available, cuts them. They are usually discarded but occasionally the girl makes them into a necklace.

Another ceremony, called "the drying" (*i vaka mamatha*), takes place in the groom's house on the same day. The groom's relatives present property to the bride's relatives according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 169) calls this ceremony "drying-of-the-tears" which the bride shed on leaving her home. Occasionally it is held on the evening of the wedding day after the *mangitchi ni kana vata*, the "eating together" feast.

[515] A ceremony called bath in the sea (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time after her marriage. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to procure sea food for the large feast which

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is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead [828] (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

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302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair longer than women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old 764 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have [142] closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage ●585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock 177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy 144 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the 302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair, however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

142 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from dark brown which is almost black to light café-au-lait. Light skins, like those of the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the 584
end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to 583
take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the 585
status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and 614
ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social 554
status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

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of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon, two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

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585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central [614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morindà citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [531] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

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house the bride left her outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and returned in her under-garment, a *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth, to her house. The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times. Afterwards the gifts received by the groom were divided among his relatives. Those received by the bride were sent to her relatives in Vatoa. The young couple received no share of the wedding presents.

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the important task of sharing the wedding feast. Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the headquarters of the groom and that of the bride, and the food was placed on these leaves. It was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. The food was then divided by five youths under the direction of the oldest man of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups and most of the visitors, carrying their shares of the feast, departed for home.

In the evening the near relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's headquarters for the "eating together" feast. This feast symbolizes the marriage. Each side provides one basket of food. The bride and groom are dressed in outer ceremonial garments of barkcloth. The sister of the girl takes one mouthful of food from the girl's basket in her fingers and feeds it to the young man. Then the sister of the man takes one mouthful of food from the man's basket and feeds it to the girl. The baskets of food are exchanged between the inter-marrying clans. The married couple remove their outer barkcloth garments. That worn by the groom is given to the girl's side, while that worn by the girl is given to the groom's side. The "eating together" feast ended the wedding ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Usually, however, after the "eating together" feast a "happy night" is held in the house of the groom. The young people

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585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

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VIRGIN LOCKS

As a sign of virginity a lock of hair over one ear is twisted into many tiny cords which are not cut until after the wedding night.

[Facing p. 58]

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585 feast which is provided and prepared by the groom's clan on the same day and is eaten by the whole village. This ends the [885] wedding rites. They mark the acceptance of both the young man and the young woman as full adult members of the community.

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556 centralization of wealth and brings about its continual redis-
431 tribution. The underlying principle is clearly expressed in the native soliciting system. Under the soliciting system a man loses face if he refuses to give up property solicited by a relative. However, the recipient is under obligation to the donor, who has the right to retaliate by soliciting something of greater value from him at some future time. Hence the institution is really a system of reciprocal gift exchange. One day I gave a necklace of bright green beads to one of the girls in Tokalau. The next day I noticed another Tokalau girl wearing it. In the course of time the green necklace traveled from neck to neck through the village, and when I visited Undu at the other end of the island there it was ornamenting one of the Undu belles.

556 The native soliciting system does not differ in principle
431 from other types of exchange in Lau such as the *solevu,* which
585 has been described in connection with a Lauan wedding. The *solevu* is a competitive type of ceremonial gift exchange between related groups. As we have seen, marriage in Lau initiates a series of *solevus* between the inter-marrying clans. Inter-island trade on a large scale is carried on mainly through *solevus* between villages. The *solevu* ceremonial pattern varies in detail, but always involves the display of property belonging to the rival groups by means of processions, piling up on the village ceremonial ground and the ceremonial presentation of property by each donor group, acceptance by the recipients, feasting, and dancing. Whale's teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange. Tribute is also presented by means of the *solevu* at the high chief's court on important occasions such as the marriage or death of the chief.

435 Under the old native system there was no definite standard
436 by which the relative value of objects of exchange could be measured. True money was absent. The most valued object in Lau was, and still is, the beautiful polished ivory tooth

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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[B34] dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
548 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
● 587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[M] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and 585
the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.]

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana vuta*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife 578
is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be.

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*aleva vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second 587
marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the
574 house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's
605 people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

551 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of
611 Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

"Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind
643 to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 565 562 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins- [425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*). [587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka- [589 304] vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ● ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead [828] (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

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Lakemba

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Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [242]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven tog[illegible] Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his ow[illegible]e they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu*; otherwise he may not *vasu*. 554

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small 591

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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● 591 child brought up in another clan retains his original clan. One man belonged to Vatuwangga though his father was brought up in Naivi. Another of Naivi was brought up in Matailakemba, but all his sons are in Naivi; he in turn brought up his adopted father's children, Uluilakemba, Malani, Tuiketei, but they are all set down in Matailakemba. It is true that Tuimereke, the son of the ancestor of Vatuwangga, lives with Naivi and speaks of himself as belonging to Naivi, but he is really the head of Vatuwangga. A man of Koroithumu was brought up by the third Lord of Naiau and his descendants on that account belong to Vatuwangga, but they also belong to Koroithumu. Many children are fostered by their mother's people. A commoner could adopt the children of a nobleman. Tuimereke and Malani were both thus adopted.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

582 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees.
618 Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive cor-
134 relation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there
611 are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common
[134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndauvi*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [197] [428]

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Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [243]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 614

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133 592

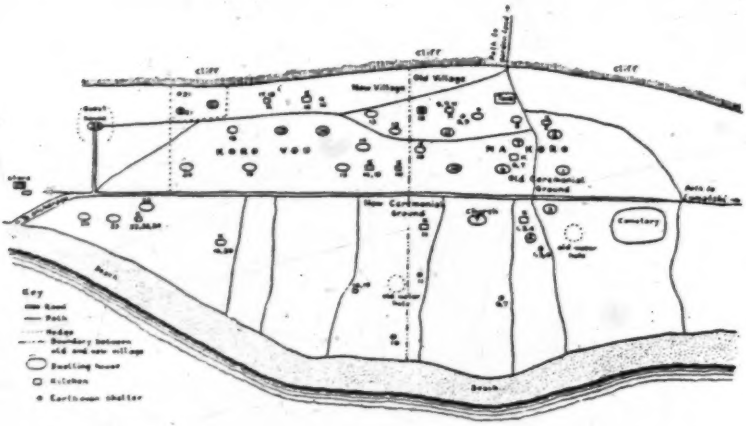

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	I occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1
				(3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead
				(4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island
				(5) female, age 19, child of 4
				(6) female, age 8, child of 4
				(7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9
				(9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8
				(10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20
				(11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9
				(12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9
				(13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9
				(14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9
				(15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9
				(16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9
				(17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9
				(18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9
				(19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavonu	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor
				(47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni
				(48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47
				(49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47
				(50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47
				(51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan
				(53) female, age 22, child of 52
				(54) female, age 10, child of 52
				(55) male, age 7, child of 52
				(56) female, age 16, child of 35
				(57) male, age 7, child of 35
				(58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74
				(76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74
				(77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald
				(79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82
				(80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1
				(82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81
				(83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81
				(84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva
				(85) male, age 1, son of 84
				(86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91
				(87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
				(88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni
				(89) female, child of 88
19	Tatchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan
				(91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90
				(92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91
				(93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, chiid of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119
				(112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111
				(113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111
				(114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111
				(115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111
				(116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111
				(117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111
				(118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow
				(119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan
				(120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119
				(121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau
				(122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110
				(123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

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Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

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The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TABLE 2. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN ELEVEN NATIVE VILLAGES OF SOUTHERN LAU, FIJI, 1921-1936

Island	Village	1921 Total population	1921 Male	1921 Female	1921 No. of houses	1921 Average number of occupants per house	1936 Total population	1936 Male	1936 Female	1936 No. of houses	1936 Average number of occupants per house	Total population increase	Increase rate per 1,000
Kambara	Tokalau	109	48	61	19		127	55	72	19			
	Lomatchi	46	17	29	8		40	21	19	10			
	Tanggu	130	69	61	28		138	60	78	34			
	Undu	89	45	44	19		112	50	62	22			
Marambo*		8	1	7	1								
		382			75	5.09	417			85	4.91	35	92
Fulanga	Muanaithake	205	93	112	40		205	88	117	23			
	Muanaira	41	23	18	12		79	37	42	12			
	Naivindamu	64	34	30	12		106	55	51	16			
		310				4.38†	390			51	7.65	80	258
Ongea	Naithulaianga	101	56	45	21	4.81	105	51	54	29	3.62	4	40
Namuka	Nawatchia	216	113	103	53	4.08	269	123	146	52	5.17	53	245
Mothe	Nasau	187	105	82	51		206	106	100	50			
	Korotolu (formerly called Leva‡)	75	42	33	17		81	41	40	21			
		262			68	3.85	287			71	4.04	25	95
Total		1,271					1,468					197	154.99

Colony of Fiji, Census Reports, 1921, 1936.

* The inhabitants of Marambo moved to Kambara after 1921.

† Since the number of houses recorded for Muanaithake in the 1921 census is probably an error, I have reckoned the average number of occupants per house in Fulanga in 1921 on the basis of the other two villages.

‡ The inhabitants of Leva village moved to their present site after 1921 and named the new village Korotolu.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 582

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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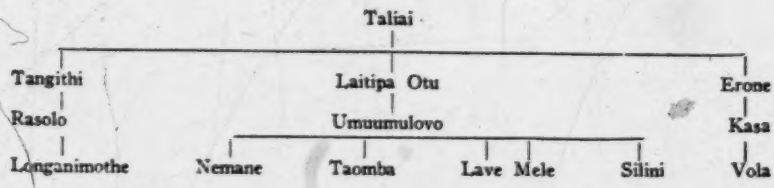
603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vusu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There
[604] is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

605
534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

593
565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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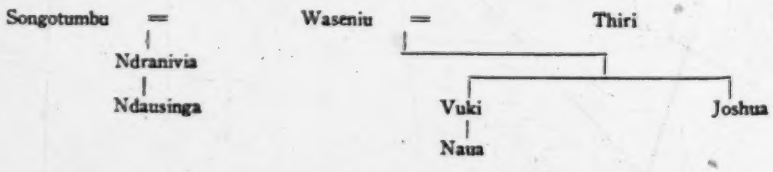
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. 593
The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his 565
father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and 604
obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him 603
sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the 593
other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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7 ●593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga,*" I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[x4] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "offer eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua,* old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kairi* (low born) to his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana,* that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling. [565]

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from *your uncles*." 601

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

584 643 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*). 593

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are transferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over." 614

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane,* which is caused by the husband cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him. 844 753

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work. 343

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine as it causes soreness of the eyes. 753

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day. 844

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THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food. 592 593

Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra). 631 174

The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi*, *nggali*, and *kai si*. Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

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601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Ton. an system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of oppo ite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndawola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 184 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko,* to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau.*

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[835 634]

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

593 605 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini.* A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. [601] [576]

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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the
593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month,
843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small
571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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852 431 602 mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day the child [854] is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls [162] of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

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593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga,*" I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[264] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua,* old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to [565] his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana,* that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga,* a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

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The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

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The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 502 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 543 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

583 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

HIGH CHIEF

[554] 643 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[595] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 747

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

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LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman. [156]

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

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usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [197] [428]

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KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given: 611 171 602

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same. 601

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice). 7

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

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601 **Wati.** The same as *tavale* when applied to opposite sexes; a wife. The Mbauan term *ndavola*, doubtfully Lauan is rarely heard in Lau. It is usually derived from *ndavo*, to lie, but this is impossible for the *a* of *ndavola* is short; in *ndavo* it is long. Also it is not a Fijian formation; it should be divided *nda-vola*.

Relationship is usually expressed by terms which may be regarded as collective, or reciprocal, or both for the prefix *vei*, serves to make collective nouns and reciprocal verbs; in addition is a suffix—*ni*, thus:

Veitamani. Father and child.
Veitinani. Mother and child.
Veitathini. Brothers; sisters. Two *veitathini* means two sets of brothers or even two brothers.
Veiwekani. Brother and sister.
Veitukani. Grandfather and grandchild.
Veitumbuni. Grandmother and grand child.
Veivungoni. Uncle and nephew.
Veitavaleni. Cousins, generally of the same sex.
Veiwatini. Cousins of the opposite sexes; man and wife.
Veindavolani. Cousins of opposite sexes.
Veithavani: what relation?

I have heard the term Veitambani, only once. The Lord of Tumbou says a man and his wife's brother are *veitavaleni* (cousins) and *veitambani*. This may be a usage in the island of Matauku where Tui Tumbou lived in his youth. The word is formed from *tamba;* (side, wing,) and therefore means related as one side to another.

582 The foundation of the Lauan marriage system is that a man's children marry his sister's children, or, as the natives put it, "The child of the woman is brought up to be the wife of the child of the man." It is considered so normal for cousins to marry that if a man and his wife belong to different places people inquire, "How came they to be man and wife?" and go into the pedigrees and conclude, "Of course, they are cousins (*veindavolani*)."

Should two cousins have an intrigue, "it is all right, since they are man and wife." Marriage occurs even between first cousins.

582 565 The descendants of a noble may marry one another if they are distantly related according to Lauan custom. An informant says.

> The nobles decide to confound the descent (*vakasese kawa*) that nobles may arise. Common people cannot confound the descent, but can marry from love. That will be their own concern; they marry in their wilfulness, because they like one another, but they do not tell the old folk, but it is known that they are brother and sister.

582 Once two families have intermarried, there is a tendency to continue the practice generation after generation. Thus the family of Navuanirewa

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

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of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 601
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi*, in Lauan *veitathini*. The word "*tauvu*" therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

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601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

> 773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

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ABSTRA

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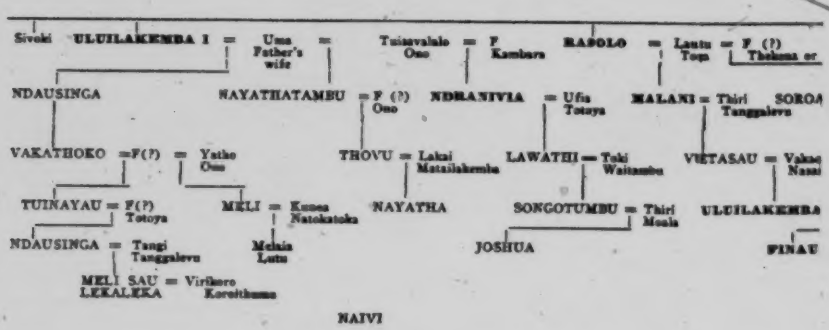

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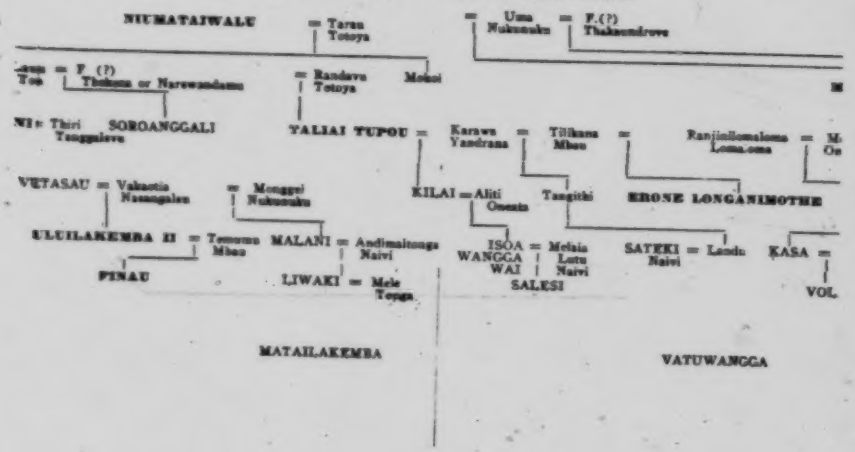
ABSTRACT OF THE GENEALOGY OF NAVUANIREWA



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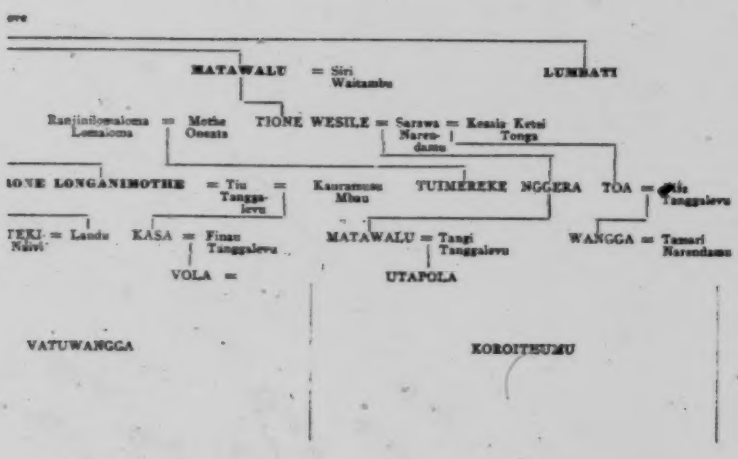

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848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people.

[554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554 descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold 428] the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger 561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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father's older brother and the husband of *tchina- levu* (2). The term *tama-lailai* (little father) is used to specify the father's younger brother and the husband of *tchina- lailai* (2).

2. Tchina-: Mother, mother's sister, mother's father's brother's daughter, mother's father's sister's daughter, spouse's father's sister, and the wives of all men designated by *tama-* (1). The term *tchina- levu* (big mother) is used to specify the mother's older sister and the wife of *tama- levu* (1). The term *tchina-lailai* (little mother) is used to specify the mother's younger sister and the wife of *tama- lailai* (1).
3. Tuaka-: The converse of *tachi-* (4). (ms) Elder brother and the son of *tama-levu* (1). Also the term is occasionally used to designate the elder sister. (fs) Elder sister and the daughter of *tama- levu*.
4. Tachi-: Generic term for siblings (brothers and sisters) and parallel cousins. Specifically it is the converse of *tuaka-* (3). (ms) Younger brother and the son of *tama- levu* (1). (fs) Younger sister and the daughter of *tchina-lailai* (2.)
5. Weka-: A reciprocal term. (ms) Sister, female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Brother, male parallel cousin including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *ndauve-* (10).
6. Karua: A reciprocal term of address usually used without a possessive suffix. It is a term denoting respect as well as kinship. (ms) Male parallel cousin, including the son of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the husband of *watchi-* (7), less frequently, brother. (fs) Female parallel cousin including the daughter of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2), and the wife of *watchi-* (7); less frequently, sister.
7. Watchi-: A reciprocal term for spouse. (ms) Female cross cousin, hence the father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, father's father's sister's daughter's daughter, mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. (fs) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, father's father's sister's daughter's son, the mother's mother's brother's daughter's son. The first spouse is the *matai ni watchi-*.
8. Ndavola-: A reciprocal term used as an alternate for *watchi-* (7). *Ndavola-* is considered a more polite form of address than *watchi-*. *Ndavola-* is a Mbauan term, whereas *watchi-* is Lauan.
9. Tavale: A reciprocal term used only by males to refer to males. (ms.) Male cross cousin, hence the father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, husband of *watchi-* (7).
10. Ndauve-: A reciprocal term corresponding to *tavale-* (9), used only by females to refer to females. (fs) Female cross cousin, hence the wife of *watchi-* (7).
11. Vungo-: A reciprocal term. Mother's brother, father's sister, mother-in-law, father-in-law, child of *weka-* (5), spouse of *luve-* (12). (ms) Child of *tavale-* (9). (fs) Child of *ndauve-* (10).
12. Luve-: Speaker's child, child of *watchi-* (7), child of *karua* (6). The converse of *tama-* (1) and *tchina-* (2). (*Ngone* is the generic name for child.)
13. Tuka-: Grandfather, any male ancestor. *Tuka- levu* (big grandfather) is used to designate the grandfather's older brother; *tuka- lailai* (little grandfather) to designate his younger brother. Great-grandfather is designated as *tuka-vakarua* (second grandfather), great-great-grandfather as *tuka- vakatolu* (third grandfather).
14. Tumbu-: Grandmother, any female ancestor. *Tumbu- levu* (big grandmother) is used to designate the grandmother's older sister and the wife of the *tuka-levu*; *tumbu- lailai* (little grandmother) to designate her younger sister and the wife of *tuka- lailai*. Great grandmother is designated as *tumbu- vakarua* (second grandmother), etc.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

Cross Cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndawola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy,
837 there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. [601] [576]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582] his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 557 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 622

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1.	Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [22]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoro Nanggalia Matainiwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuka Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tautu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tautu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tautu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Namolutu Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (*See p. 212.*) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a tanua ka koto nga*); it is so turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *ngaqni tuka veiambani* or *ngaqni veiambani*; the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veiambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *ngaqni veiambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakawundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> 602 776 The *tourw* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tourw*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tourw*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

62 619 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*leave ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> *We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (nggaur), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (i tukani) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (na kendratou nga); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.*

612 565 *Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (i tokatoka): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line of the bastards may be appointed.*

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Vaituku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (i tokatoka). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[609] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tautu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its 641 people went to Kambara, Moala, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with 716 folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are 642 great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair 652 as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, II.) Fulanga and Kelei in Totoya are *tauta*. Ongea, Ono, Moala, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

[723] Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar manner aloft, whereas Fulanga flies its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tauta*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 454 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tavou*) to Lomati. 602

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives. 574 608

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry. 602

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Mumatawalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 87). 565

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere). 609

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

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602

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

601

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu ekarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbuthothi* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vunga. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife of husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *nanu*.

Tavola. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 — OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the
574 house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's
602 people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of
611 Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind
643 to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits
[776] (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a
> [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in
621 Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This
776 goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child, in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits
621 (*Kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 602 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account: 776 794

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*matanniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and Yandrana are *tauvu*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:

The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."

When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."

To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.

When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakuilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald. When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakamka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Incarnations

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

Men	Women
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matuq ni vuqta*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

438 Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

438 487 Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

438 505 Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

438 Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

[602] Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

105 Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group. 131 133

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home. 602

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests. 137 322 439

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group 134 134 222

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau. [435]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

851 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name
553 and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the
602 mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts
431 consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth
[554] feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a
[848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. [162] Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582] his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554 of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622 every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614] clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602] the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622 an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622 old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177 sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

I: Hocart Y-S (ca. 1920) 1929 006 Lau 006
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently 592
the clan of Sataukaimbula are forming a similar connection with Sikeu. The
late High Chief married a similar connection with the clan of Tavualevu.
he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways.

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of 593
etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau:

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak 604
together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere.

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. 593
They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves.

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to [565]
address the younger first.

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale* [513
soso); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has 304]
one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection.

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives 603
it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with 565
him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble.

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 006 Lau 006
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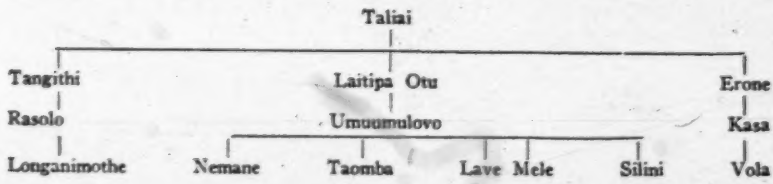
She is not a lady the children will be free with her; they will eat on her bed and so on.

Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of man, that is, nephew, the uncle's property, is allowed. They use same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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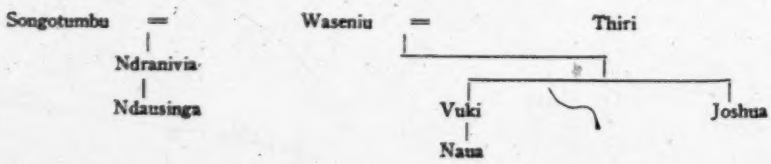
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his father as Ratu, which may be translated the Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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855 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat
324 at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally

their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said
861 to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently.
603 Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early,
868 because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

152 Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [335] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This 606 privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 618 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, [857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and 856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the 854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for 603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
●603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Matailakemba are forming a similar connection with Mbau. The late High Chief initiated a similar connection with the clan of Tanggalevu; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways. 552

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau: 593

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere. 604

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves. 593

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first. [565]

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection. [513 304]

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble. 603 565

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

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Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vuna* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

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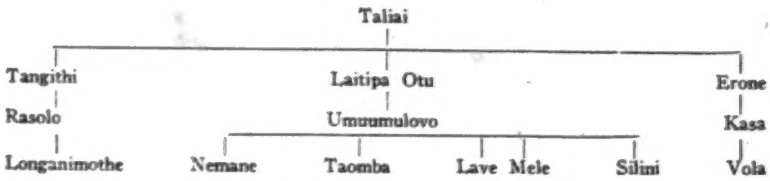
The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There
[604] is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*aleva mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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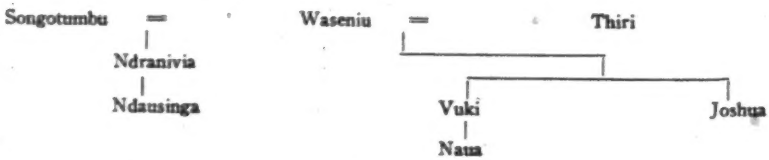
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. 593
The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his 565
father as Ratu, which may be translated The Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and 604
obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him 603
sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the 593
other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veiwungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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554 A nephew is spoken of as *vasu*, which appears to be a title, not a real kinship term. It does not take the suffixed possessive; *vasunda* is not used in this connection, but *nonda vasu*. A man is constantly described as *vasu* to such a place, or to such a clan, never to an individual. Frequently when a man's name has been forgotten, he is still remembered as "the *vasu* to Totoya," or "the *vasu* to Tonga." Historical accounts constantly specify the place to which a personage was *vasu*, or discuss the point, if forgotten. This is especially true with the older generations of the pedigrees. The term is never applied to a woman.

604 425 There is a verb *vasu-ta* which describes the nephew's seizing of any property that belongs to his mother's people. A son of a Naivi man by a Tumbou woman says:

> Formerly a *vasu* could take such things as pigs, and yams, etc., from the mother's people. I could take a pig belonging to the Lord of Tumbou. Roko Liwaki and Ratu Salesi could take things from Naivi, because they are *vasu* to it. If a *vasu* wanted taro he would stick reeds in the taro patch he wanted or sound the conch over the taro. Joshua would know then, "Oh! Liwaki or Salesi has stuck reeds among the taro." This meant the *vasu* had taken possession. The expression used was: "the taro patch has been stuck with reeds" (*sa sauni tu a mbiti mai ka*); the reeds were called *i sausau* [that is, the thing used to prick]. Other wood was used besides reeds.

The tendency nowadays is simply to beg (*kerekere*), not to take without leave, for the Government treats the exercise of the right as theft. It may be noted that the *vasu* to Tumbou may take the Lord of Tumbou's pigs, though the Lord of Tumbou is not "his uncle," however distantly. It is more accurate, therefore, to say that a man can seize the property of his mother's brother's clan, than that he may take the property of the mother's brother.

The uncle, on the other hand, had a right known as *vakambale i titoko*, "causing the staff to fall." One informant says, "If Salesi or Liwaki took Joshua's taro, Joshua would take some of theirs in return. It will then be said the staff falls. One must do *vasu* first, then make the staff fall afterwards, not before." Another says a nobleman may send for a thing belonging to sister's son "that the staff may fall, if a staff falls on a thing, it is damaged." Still another is not quite certain, but he thinks it is right for the nephew simply to take anything he likes, while the uncle, for anything he fancies, sends to the nephew, who cannot refuse. He also applies, doubtfully, the expression "making the staff fall" to the nephew's appropriations as well as the uncle's, but he is alone in this. The uncle's privilege seems but little exercised; only one informant mentioned it spontaneously by accident; whereas no one can be long in Fiji without hearing of the nephew's right. Although the uncle may in a way recoupe himself, the nephew's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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right is a burden (*ka ni ongo*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausu*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*). 604 425

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. *Much stuff* is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu;* otherwise he may not *vasu*. 554

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. 591
Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [766] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

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Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

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Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

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Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana [18] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*leva*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua 'kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Taliai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

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All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[18] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This 606 privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 618 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute. [643]

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The tabus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
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10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

resolved to sail to Vanua Balavu Island and seek the aid of the Ravunisa, the Chief of Loma Loma town there; moreover, a half-brother of theirs, named Kolimatua Kai Koso, was *vasu*[1] to the Loma Loma chief. 173

"Now Lakeba at this time was very powerful, and none of the other islands dared to rise against her; but Vanua Balavu was more daring than the others, being a long way off and half-way to Cakaudrove. (And the Ravunisa had no great fear of Lakeba, but even used to prepare a *dai*[2] for Lakeba, and cause her chiefs to bring him great stores of goods on the pretence that the mighty Cakaudrove chiefs were about to make war on her and needed conciliating.)

"So they came to Loma Loma, and stayed there with the Ravunisa, at the place called Na Kaniwai—where I have heard, sir, that you have lately caused to be built a fine dwelling-house of stone for your assistant. And great gales sprang up and lasted many weeks, as they do sometimes now, and when the seas abated the wind was not favourable for their returning; and then more gales arose, until it was over four moons that they had stayed with the Ravunisa. And Rasolo was *madua*[3] to have stayed so long, and so he promised to give his sister Sivoki to

[1] Nephew, and therefore by ancient right able to claim protection, assistance, or goods. [604]
[2] Trap. [3] Ashamed.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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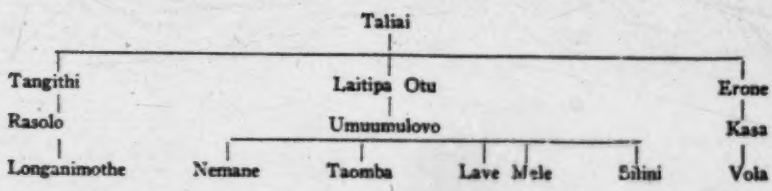
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

●605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other to go. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" [illegible] takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am mar[illegible] Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any appare[illegible] worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There
[604] is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

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534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I thjnk formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

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565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

601 15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuko-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

Cross Cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when
837 a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (head-man) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother. 593 264 601 576

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made. 593 605

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced. [513]

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau. 593 [558]

A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male 593 184

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko,* to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau.*

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

Veitathini is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini.* A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

for his elder brother. The younger brother is not allowed to take his elder brother's property without permission, or to touch his head. He cannot smoke the cigarette of his elder brother if it has been carried behind his ear according to the local custom. 593 605

Elder sisters and daughters of elder sisters of the mother outrank younger sisters.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Veitamani is the collective term for father and child. A child respects and obeys his father and his father's brothers and he honors his *tama levu* most. He treats these relatives in the ceremonial fashion. On Kambara, a high ranking father and his elder brother are called sir (*ratu*) by the children. Another polite form of address is *tumbutumbu* (ancestor) preceded by a possessive pronoun. On Fulanga the father is addressed by the kinship term *tama*, the father's older brother by *tama levu*. It is forbidden to address the father by the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*. Young children often call their father *tata*. The father or the senior paternal uncle sits in the place of honor at the evening meal or at a feast. He receives the first portion of food. The children may eat with him but they may not eat the food he leaves. Father and children may sit and talk together. Children may use their father's or paternal uncle's property without asking, with the exception of his clothes, mats, pillow, or comb. 593 601

Hatred between father and grown son (expressed by the term *thathaveitamani*) is said to be usual and to be based on jealousy. The sons say, "My father does not like me because I am still young and strong", or "My father does not like me because the women like me better than they like him. He is afraid that I have or shall have more social prestige than he has or ever has had", or "My father is very glad when I have bad luck. If I have good luck he pretends to be glad to other people but in reality he is always envious." Most boys claim their fathers are never proud of them. On the other hand, if the son has bad luck (no success), the father feels ashamed. The sons say, "Because of their attitude we do not like our fathers and are glad when they have bad luck." 593

Veitchinani is the collective term for mother and child. There are no tabus between a child and his mother or maternal aunt. He may take her property, sleep on her mats, and eat her left over food. A daughter may cook her mother's food and wash her clothes. The mother is called *nana* by a young child and *tchina* by an older one. The polite forms of address are *nau* (used only to wives of chiefs) and *tumbutumbu marama* (ancestor lady) preceded by a possessive. According to the natives, the mother is not respected by the children because she belongs to a different clan. [601] [576]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of [576] address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 606 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's 618 brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute. [643]

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The tabus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 484 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful. 614 565

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group. 614

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households. [609]

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [242]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [172] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens. 173 539*

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand. [609] [576]

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu,*

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

611 171 602

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

601

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu vakarua* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbathotho* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, wife or husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is therefore used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her brother's children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *momo*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wui*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the
574 house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's
602 people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

597 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of
611 Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

584 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind
643 to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

582 618 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees. Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 134 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive correlation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 611 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common [134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndauvi*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [797] [428]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 these defenses may be seen today. Their main weapons were bows, clubs, and spears. In the course of time they spread in the Lau group and established themselves on the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Mothe, as well as on Kambara.

There was a great deal of rivalry between the leaders of the upper class on the various islands. The influence of Kambara spread until the island held Namuka, Wangava (which was then inhabited), and Komo in tributary relationship, and also included Marambo and Tavunasithi among its possessions. Lakemba, the large fertile island in central Lau, also gained power. Finally, with the help of the Tongans who came to Lau from their homeland 400 miles eastward to build hardwood canoes, Lakemba held all the Lau islands south of Thithia in tributary relationship.

As the power of the chiefs expanded, their sacredness increased. Court etiquette and insignia became formalized and a court phraseology, still used today, developed. The person of the high chief was protected by strict tabus, and death was the penalty for infringement. Social ceremonial became more elaborate, and human sacrifice and cannibalism increased.

Social prestige, based not only on rank but also on personality, became the ultimate value. Rank by birth gave a man standing in society and defined his relations to others, but his success in life depended ultimately on personality. Even a high title, such as the headman of an important clan, did not descend automatically according to the Lauan rule of succession,[11] but was given to the man selected by the clan elders as qualifying not only on the basis of rank but also on the basis of personality.

There were two main channels for acquiring prestige. The first and by far the most important was success in the gruesome petty wars which ravaged the group. A war hero received immediate popular acclaim. He received a high

[611] [11] In Lau a title descends from the first son to his brothers in order of seniority throughout the generation and thence to the first son of the first son. This system is called Polynesian primogeniture.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*); Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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together to make one. In house building and clearing each edge of the oven has its portion to do." The term *i tokatoka* (residence) is also used, apparently in a similar sense. But these terms are very uncertain and in the country even adults sometimes do not know their "side of the oven." The Lands Commission has grouped the people somewhat artificially.

The traditional clans of the Tai division of Tumbou are as follows:

Katumbalevu (the great door);
(a) Matailakemba
(b) Vatuwangga
(c) Naivi
(d) Koroithumu or Navutoka
(e) Katumbalevu
(f) Tonga
Vale Lailai (the little house).

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The Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi and Koroithumu make up the family of Navuanirewa, a term which is never used for any practical purpose. It is merely the name, so to say, of the Royal Family, and designates the descendants of Niumataiwalu (p. 241), who are usually spoken of as *ko ira na Turanga* (the nobles). They came from another land of old. It is said that when the Navuanirewa came to Tumbou from Naiau they dwelt in Katumbalevu; that is why the two go together.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the proper term to apply to these four subdivisions of the nobles. In practice they are also spoken of as clans. If a man of Matailakemba is asked the name of his clan he will say either "the nobles" or "Matailakemba." In theory however it is maintained that they are not clans, but merely houses, or "sides of the oven." One says, "Katumbalevu is a *matanggali* and so are its subdivisions of Vatuwangga, Matailakemba, Naivi, and Koroithumu Katumbalevu was split up because it increased very much in numbers, and in order that the feasts to the Big House might be increased. Each clan, regardless of numbers, is assessed. Thus if a clan is very large, it has to be split up to double its contribution.

Another informant, Salesi (Pl. I, *B*), says that Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, Naivi, Koroithumu were originally households (*vuvale*). Then people saw that they were slack in preparing feasts, though a big clan with many members; so they divided them into smaller clans or sides of the oven. Vunimoli (Vuanimoli?) was first parted off, then Thaumatua, both extinct, and the third, Big House, was split up again. Those were edges of the oven. Then they divided off clans, not sides of the oven: Koroithumu, then Matailakemba; Vatuwangga and Naivi were the last to be split up. This is the reason for this last splitting up: "Naivi and Vatuwangga were one,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vanua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful. 614 565

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group. 614

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households. [609]

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

●614 clans; or, the whole of Tai. Thus the classification of clans in Tai, exclusive of the Tongans, is as follows:

- Tai
  - Katumbalevu
    - Navuanirewa
      - Matailakemba
      - Vaturwangga
      - Naivi
      - Koroithumu
    - Katumbalevu
  - Vale Lailai
    - Tandravula
    - Natokatoka
    - Narewandamu

At present there are three clans in the Tumbou half of the village: Theyekena or Thekena, Tanggalevu or Tumbou, and Tuware.

Of the many subdivisions of the clan Thekena only one is left. And of the Tumbou clans, only Tanggalevu remains. There is some doubt about the subdivisions of Thekena, due to the small numbers surviving. A great many emigrated during a famine and are now to be found in Mualevu and Natewa.

Tanggalevu, which comes second, is the largest clan in the Tumbou half of the village. Its "sides of the oven" are Lomaitheno, first; Thokenikoro, second. Lomaitheno is also the name of a piece of land in Tumbou. The expression *Tumbou lewena* is often heard; meaning, "Tumbou, the core" or it may be short for *Tumbou, lewe ni vanua* (Tumbou, the people of the land). It appears to refer to the clan, not to the half village.

The position of Tuware is not clear. The herald says that Tumbou was divided into Thekena, Nandomole, and *Tuware on one side* and Tanggalevu on the other. A nobleman says Tuware was subject to Thekena. Against that we have the facts that the present order of precedence is Thekena, Tanggalevu, Tuware; that the Tuware quarter is at the opposite end to Thekena; that Tuware is now merged into Tanggalevu. It, however, may have originally belonged to Thekena.

The only survivor of the Tuware clan died during my residence in Fiji. His "side of the oven" was Vatuoso. According to the Lands Enquiry this side comes second, the first one being Naiviloaloa.

Tumbou, then, is subdivided as follows:

- Tumbou
  - Thekena
  - Tumbou
    - Thekena
    - Nandomole
    - Tuware
    - Tanggalevu

or else

- Tumbou
  - Tanggalevu
  - Tuware

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Ancestry, descent, lineage is expressed in Fijian by the word *kawa*. From this is formed a verb *vakawatha*, to trace a pedigree. The Fijians of old were fond of pedigrees, but these became tapu with the introduction of Christianity. An inquiry into a genealogy was a cause of anger and an accusation of discussing others. It was looked upon as an intrigue, for the recital might reveal ancestors who were of low degree (*kaisi*) or captives. People began discussing their pedigrees when the Lands Enquiry drew near.

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The best preserved genealogies, those of the four noble clans of Navuanirewa, are so extensive that it is impossible to reproduce them in detail. (See genealogy p. 241.)

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Naivi, the descendants of Uluilakemba I, comprises about fifty members, whether in the clan or married out of it. The eldest branch is formed by the descendants of Ndausinga, the eldest son of Uluilakemba I, the eldest son of Niumataiwalu, the common ancestor of Navuanirewa. Among them Meli Saulekaleka comes first, being descended through eldest sons. He lived with Tumbou on account of his mother who was of Tanggalevu. Melaia Lutu, who also descended from the eldest son by a junior line, was a woman of importance, with a great reputation for learning.

The most in evidence, however, of the Naivi people were the descendants of Ndranivia, Uluilakemba I's third son. They were led by Joshua, an energetic and ambitious man, seconded by three hard-working brothers.

Matailakemba, the descendants of Malani, son of Rasolo, is a small clan. With one exception they are all descended from Rasolo's eldest son, Vuetasau. For three generations the eldest branch have intermarried with Nasangalau. Sikeli Ralovo, the senior representative of the family in the female line, lived in Nasangalau, where he ordered the people about as became his rank. In the male line Andi Maopa came first. She was married to a Mbauan of high rank, and was most popular and respected in Lakemba. Her brother, Ratu Finau, the High Chief, was the senior male member of the clan, and therefore ranked highest in the leading clan. He had married a Mbauan lady. Malani was the only surviving son of Vuetasau and the oldest man in Tai. He was a boy when his father became Christian. The descendants of Soroanggali, second son of Rasolo, are extinct, except for a line in Naiau.

Vatuwangga is composed of the descendants of Taliai Tupou, third son of Rasolo. Isoa Wanggawai came first as son of Taliai's eldest son. He was married to the senior living lady of Naivi. His son, Salesi, had been the late High Chief's adopted son. The oldest generation in Vatuwangga

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and among all the descendants of Niumataiwalu was represented by Tui Mereke, the youngest and last surviving son of Taliai Tupou, born in Christian times. Vatuwangga included some descendants of Andi Sivoki, eldest daughter of Nuimataiwalu. They entered the clan through a lady of Vatuwangga who was married to Sivoki's great-grandson, and occupied a subordinate position.

Manase Kaukiovalau and his brother, though not descended from Taliai were set down in Vatuwangga, and not in Tonga, for the following reason: Henifanga, a Tongan lady, was well off in Tonga, but sought poverty in Fiji. Coming with Mataitalo to Fiji, she saw the coast of Ndravuwalu, liked it, and married the Tui Ndravuwalu, the chief. Her daughter married the Chief of Totoya, who lived in Tovu, and her two daughters were brought to Lakemba as wives of Rasolo. The son of one of them was Taliai Tupou. The two sisters sent for Tuivu, the son of Mataitalo, who came and lived with Taliai as member of his household.

Vatuwangga numbered about forty residents, whether living in the clan or married out of it.

Koroithumu, the descendants of Matawalu, was a very small clan. Matawalu, the younger, and Wangganisau appeared to be the most prominent persons in it, both descendants of the eldest son.

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Of Katumbalevu proper only a few descendants in the female line remain. Wanggaituinayau, who was looked upon as the proper head, had retired to Nasangalau, leaving Niuvusa in possession. Niuvusa is set down in Katumbalevu because Wanggaveisa, his grandfather, a Tongan, was brought by Malani, the elder, to Lakemba, and lived with him. Malani gave him to wife a woman of Katumbalevu, one of his household.

Narewandamu were nearing extinction; only seven remained.

In Tumbou proper, Thekena consists of the grandchildren of a common ancestor and their children. Tione Mbiu bears the title of Vakavanua, but Poasa is the senior branch.

The people of Tanggalevu cannot trace their ancestry back far enough to reach the common ancestor. Semi Vakathoko was admitted to represent the senior branch; but Maikeli Tokalauvere was the oldest generation, and also the oldest man in the whole village. He bore the title of Tui Tumbou, though a descendant in the female line.

Outside the clans of Navuanirewa few informants can trace their descent beyond their grandparents; some not that far.

Matailakemba and Vatuwangga occupy the center of the village of Tumbou. Matailakemba with a few of Vatuwangga live round the village green (*rara*). Some of the Naivi people live at the back of the village in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green. 614

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's. 614 591

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home. 614 582 591 [342]

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked. 592

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in [609] 617

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark; this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makaudre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 622

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1.	Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [22]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoro Nanggalia Matanivwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Wai ambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

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The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

[641]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakovundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
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> 602 776 The *tautu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tautu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tautu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*). 614 565

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*. 614 622

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later. 636

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 621 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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621 614 pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

614 The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuangava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

621 There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

[602] 636 Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only [614] one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

621 614 Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

312 In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

636 641 226 142 602 Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

173 Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [644]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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622 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622 621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

[614] The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

648 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty." 454 614 565

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country." 152

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati. 602

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives. 574 608

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry. 602

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57). 565

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere). 609

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers. 595 565

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity. 614 554

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister. 593 604

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles." 601

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 775

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.

The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614● 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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have nothing to do with feasts out of doors, but only when these are brought in to the Lord of Naiau. The share that falls to the Lord of Naiau they divide. They do not speak out of doors; Narewandamu speak out of doors. They are described as "the Land of Navuanirewa" as opposed to the "Land" pure and simple, that is Tumbou.

The heads of Katumbalevu proper and of Narewandamu are the Lord of Naiau's "old men." They should be in his presence every day.

Thekena is spoken of as "the Land" in contradistinction to the nobles. The title, Vakavanua, the adjective of *vanua* (land), is usually shortened to Vaka. One tradition relates that he was the chief of old; but the High Chief declined and became Vaka.

The chief of Tanggalevu is called Tui Tumbou. The title was given to a member of the oldest generation, but of the lesser "edge of the oven." The head of the senior branch was addressed and officiated as Lord of Tumbou in the absence of the real one. The original functions of the Lord of Tumbou are not known, but at present he fulfills most of the functions of a herald, excepting the distribution of feasts. It was he who apportioned the kava and directed the reception of high officials. He is the "mouth of Tui Naiau." The High Chief does not speak; the Lord of Tumbou speaks. It was said that the third Lord of Naiau appointed the Lord of Tumbou to this office in place of the heralds who had a bad name for murdering chiefs. The Lord of Tumbou also bears the title of Ramasi, Sir Cloth.

An informant says:

> Vakavanua, the Land Chief, is higher than the Lord of Tumbou. If there is a fight and the heralds go to stop it and do not succeed the Lord of Tumbou will go. If he fails, the Land Chief will go; when he appears, all things cease. The Lord of Tumbou and the Land Chief are weighty delayers of anger. The nobles may not hit each other in presence of the Land Chief, the Lord of Tumbou, or a herald. If the High Chief wants to sleep and his household or the herald comes and tells the Chief and utters the name of Land Chief of Lord of Tumbou, when he hears it, it is hard for him to lie down again on his bed: he knows it is something serious.

I know of no title in Tuware. This clan were the *mataivalu kalou*, that is, "spirit battalion." They went first in war and though all Lakemba retreated, they still advanced.

One Tongan bears the title of Moala, which is said to mean navigator.

The Tongan term *matapule* is constantly used to denote these minor chiefs. Strictly speaking, *matapule* is the equivalent of the Fijian *mata ni vanua* or herald, but it is said to be "a polite word for old men." I have heard the Fijian *matanivanua* used in the extended sense, for instance, for the chief of Levuka. They are also called "chiefs of the land," or "old men of the land." Any of them could intercede with the High Chief on behalf of an offender. Formerly they were treated with respect. The children

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by Manokotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*alewa mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622

In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[8] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[8] *Masi ki Natokalau* not *ni*, of; *ni* is never used in this expression.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LAND AND PROPERTY

423 Title of land is a very delicate subject, consequently my information is scanty and unsystematic. Land which was once freely given away, has now become most valuable on account of the price of copra. To put an end to the quarrels that arose out of land, the Government appointed a Lands Commission to settle the claims. But the method of public inquiry so well adapted to the outspoken British temperament, is quite unsuited to a people who will on no account contradict a chief or a person of quality, and whose [154] great weakness, as they themselves acknowledge, is "Fijian shame" (*mandua vakaviti*), an unconquerable aversion to haggling, disputing, or of saying no to a kinsman.

423 614 The lands in the valleys (*soso*) are held in common by the clan; any member of the clan can plant in clan lands without leave, but a stranger may not.

The lands on the coast formerly belonged to the "sides of the oven." The rents on certain leases are still paid to the "side of the oven." In the reign of Taliai Tupou, Maafu the Tongan, who virtually ruled Lau, divided the land individually among all the adults; those who were children at the time received no land, so they shared that of the father or brother. The eldest controls (*lewa*) the land, arranging about the planting, deciding where each brother should have his garden, and directing the work. Land is held in common also by more distant kinsmen, but under the control of one man.

It is not true then to say that there is individual ownership of property in Lau. The only result of the division has been that the land instead of being held in common by the clan, is now held in common by groups each representing descendants of one who was adult at the time of the division.

It is vain to look for definite rules of succession or any other acquirement of land. A clan forms one vast family where land matters are "discussed as between kinsmen"; and there is much begging, and conceding. It often happens that a man cannot tell why a certain man holds a piece of land, because it is a private arrangement. Nor can they always say what will become of the land after the owner's death.

[597] Adopted children do not inherit land unless there are no offspring. The heirs may, however, decide to let the adopted child get land.

423 562 Women do not own land. The son-in-law of the only survivor of Tuware had to bring presents to his father-in-law in order to have permission to take his land. The head of a clan held that it would be right for him to provide land for a spinster or the wife of a man of another clan if she were a widow, for widows return to their clan. Women can, however, get land by

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Manukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thozithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [566] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 583
a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614
ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 844
and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband [753]
cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843
more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine [753]
as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844
birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydro- 631
graphic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter 621
divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614 565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (*c*) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i tuakoi*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[8]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tovua* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tovua* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of 643
Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[8] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the
[594] *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly
565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are
556 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vaturvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way; all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald.

When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621
insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614
veve, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565
as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622
alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

social organization based on clans[10] living in hamlets. The group was cooperative, not competitive, and political power was in the hands of the old men. The aborigines were apparently not cannibals. They were a relatively peaceful group. Traces of the "land people" are found throughout the Lau islands, especially on the island of Fulanga. This island has relatively less arable soil than any inhabited island in southern Lau. Hence it has not been coveted by newcomers seeking wealth and power. Moreover, of all the inhabited islands in southern Lau, Fulanga is least accessible to foreign influence on account of the lack of a good anchorage. 174

Several generations ago a fierce and cannibalistic group, Polynesian in racial type and culture, arrived in the Lau islands. According to traditions the newcomers came from northeast Viti Levu in two groups, one settling on Moala, south of the Koro sea, and the other on the adjacent island of Totoya and on Kambara in southern Lau. The natives say that this group brought "light", meaning a more elaborate culture, to the "darkness" of the aborigines. The immigrants married women of the "land people", and besides mixing the two racial strains acquired land thereby, and founded their own clans. These clans formed the "chief group" or upper class of nobles, outranking the clans of the aborigines which formed the lower class or commoners. The nobles organized society in Lau on the basis of rank, and set their war leaders at the top of a sort of secular hierarchy. Rank was based on "mana", that is, creative power acquired from deified ancestors of the chiefs. The newcomers were sailors and warriors. They built a fleet of large double canoes of Kambaran hardwood and fortified the strategic high points on the island by means of tiers of stone walls and ramparts. The ruins of these defenses may be seen today. [172]

[10] The term "clan" is used in this study to designate a unilateral kinship group. Instead of tracing descent through both father and mother, as in our "family" or bilateral kinship group, a man reckons his descent through one parent only. Lauan clans are patrilineal, that is a man traces descent through his father and belongs to his father's clan. [614]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

occasionally run away and live together in the bush. At the 584
end of our stay in Tokalau, canoes arrived from Mothe to 583
take a young woman of the village to Mothe to be married. In the morning the girl was nowhere to be found, and it was discovered that she had run away to the bush with a young man. The Mothe canoes had to return without the bride. The pair usually stay away until the anger of their relatives and especially of the young man's father has somewhat abated. At first they are berated in the village, but gossip soon dies away. When the pair return to the village they are accepted as man and wife. A wedding feast may or may not be held.

Marriages differ in size and importance according to the 585
status of the inter-marrying clans. The marriage feasts and 614
ceremonial gifts not only reflect but also determine the social 554
status of the participating clans, who try to outdo each other in the quantity and splendor of their gifts. It is, however the young man's clan which in the long run contributes the larger quantity of food and property. The man's clan sets the date for the ceremonies, which are usually held in harvest season when food is readily available.

The marriage of a couple belonging to low ranking clans is a small affair, but that of a couple belonging to clans of high social standing involves the exchange of large amounts of property and the consumption of quantities of food. Preparations for the wedding feasts and ceremonies are begun months ahead by both the youth's and the girl's relatives. The work is shared by the men, who are responsible for the garden produce contributed by both sides for the marriage feasts, and by the women, who provide the barkcloth and mats for the affinal exchanges. An important wedding is discussed far and wide, and is attended by relatives from many villages and islands. The marriage of a high chief at Lakemba is a historic event, and a drain on the economic resources of the whole group. It is attended by representatives

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of the leading clans of Lau who present food and property from every village in the group.

I attended a wedding in Naivindamu (pronounced Nai-vi-en-dá-mu), a small Fulangan village of sailors and fishermen, and was told that the wedding was a very poor one, chiefly due to the low rank and poverty of the intermarrying clans. It was also somewhat irregular, because none of the close relatives of the bride, who came from Vatoa, a small island about 48 miles south of Fulanga, were present, and because the bride was pregnant. The usual Christian marriage ceremony in the mission church had been performed six months before, and the young couple had been living together in the house of the groom's father, but the native wedding rites had been delayed until sufficient food and property could be accumulated. Usually in Lau a Christian marriage ceremony takes place on the day of the wedding before the native rites.

Three days before the wedding, preparations for the feast began in the village, and a large sailing canoe set out for Namuka to collect kava, tobacco, yams, and barkcloth from relatives of the young man, to supplement deficiencies in the Fulanga supplies. The day before the ceremonies the women of the village went on a large fishing expedition. Pigs are usually the most essential wedding food, and the social standing of a clan depends on the number of pigs killed for the occasion, but pigs are scarce in Naivindamu and none were killed for this wedding.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, relatives began to arrive from the other villages on Fulanga. A few came by canoes from the neighboring island of Ongea. A group of men sat smoking and drinking kava in a lively circle on the mound of a house under construction. A large mat sail, leaning against the house framework, protected the house mound from the sun. Some old men were wrapping balls of sweet pudding made of breadfruit in leaf bags. Two of the island belles were making and serving kava in a six-legged

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 wooden bowl, and a few girls sat on the fringe of the circle
585 but did not drink.
614 The men were joking and telling stories. One told a yarn
[164] about two men present who had both legs grotesquely swollen by elephantiasis. As healthy young men these two had left Fulanga to seek wives on Namuka, an island famed for its beautiful girls. They were absent nine years, but when finally they returned, instead of lovely young brides they brought home swollen legs from Namuka! This story was greeted with roars of laughter in which the two men joined. One of them, however, immediately retaliated with a long tale of the exploits of his ancestors, to which the others listened politely.

[252] Most of the women and girls were busy in the kitchen houses, steaming edible greens which they boiled with fish in coconut cream for the feast. They made wreaths of leaves, flowers, and strips of hibiscus bark to wear around their necks, and stuck sprays of sweet smelling flowers over their ears. The young men were busy making a pudding of the
252 starch of a tuber (*Yacca pinnatifida*). They stirred red-hot
585 stones in a wooden bowl filled with the starch mixed with water. Toward noon two large earth ovens, full of ripe breadfruit, sliced pumpkin and tapioca pudding were covered with green leaves and earth. Two hours later the ovens were opened and the food was removed and placed in baskets until its distribution after the ceremonial exchange of property.

585 The bride and groom took no part in these festivities. The
614 bride, looking none too happy, sat with a group of women in the house of the groom's father which was her headquarters. If her father had been living in the village his house would have been used. The groom, looking dull and bored, stayed in or near his headquarters on the other side of the village. In the middle of the afternoon when the ceremonial exchange of property (called *solevu*) between the two inter-marrying

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central [614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morindà citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [531] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

3:Thompson E-5(1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 exchange native dances and the old people drink kava. Late in the evening all the guests leave the house except the young couple and frequently three or four old female relatives of the bridegroom, including his mother, grandmother, and paternal aunt who remain for the "virginity test". They sleep in the house with the young couple to find out whether or not the bride is a virgin.

If the results of the test are satisfactory the old women announce the glad news to the village by shouting and dancing, and the village drums are beaten. To celebrate the occasion a large feast is prepared by the young man's relatives. A pig is killed and the body openings such as the snout, eyes, ears, and anus are frequently covered with banana leaves as a symbol of virginity. If the signs of virginity are not produced the groom's relatives are angry and the girl's relatives are very much ashamed. In this case only a very small feast is prepared by the man's side.

585 If the girl is wearing "virgin locks" they are cut on the
302 day after the wedding. Both clans assemble in the young
[614] man's house where his clan presents mats and barkcloth to
the girl's clan. The mats are piled and the barkcloth is placed
[606] on top. The bride sits on the pile and her mother-in-law singes the locks, or cuts them if a pair of scissors is available. The hair is usually thrown away, but occasionally the girl makes it into a necklace.

585 Another ceremony takes place in the man's house on the day after the wedding. The man's relatives present property to the girl's relatives. Every morning for four days the relatives of the groom prepare a small breakfast feast for the
[515] young couple. The ritual washing is held for the bride on the fourth day after the wedding. The bride takes a bath in the sea for the first time since her wedding. The natives say that if she bathes in the sea before the fourth day, water will get into her stomach and make her sick. The bride goes fishing with her relatives to secure sea-food for the large

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

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554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554 of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622 every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614] clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602] the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays 622 an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622 old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177 sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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476 ceremonies and a feast. Tabus are placed upon specialists
614 while working for a high chief, and the products of their labor and certain types of work such as preparation of food for the earth oven are tabu to women and boys.

554 The elaborate ranking system is reflected in every phase of the economic life. The work of production is classified according to rank. For instance, skilled workmanship, such as lashing complicated designs or measuring the curved purlin of a house, is done only by the master carpenter; turtles are netted only by men of the chief group under the master fisherman. Moreover, rank is shown in the distribution and consumption of goods. Even in the daily consumption of food by household or sub-clan groups, precedence is paramount. The women and children do not eat until they have served the men in order of rank. Food at a feast is shared according to formal procedure. The chief's portion (which consisted in pre-Tongan times of the head of the pig or turtle as the part containing the most "mana", but now consists of the back, due to Tongan influence) is presented first, then the portion of each clan, according to rank. Formerly the best of everything was reserved for the chief. He received an offering of the first fruits of the harvest, and after a fishing expedition all turtles and certain large fine fish were presented to him. These customs are still practiced on islands like Mothe
[177] where the institution of chieftainship has been only slightly modified in recent times, but they survive only in part on islands like Kambara where native political officials have gained much of the power formerly held by the chief.

556 The philosophy underlying the Fijian economic system is
431 fundamentally different from the western competitive capitalistic system in that social prestige is acquired not through the accumulation of wealth but through its distribution. Fijian systems of distribution differ fundamentally from western ones. They concentrate on competitive generosity in gift exchange, which works against the accumulation and

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau

621 A study of the "totemic" phenomena presented in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the group: (1) a "totemic" system associated with island groups, and (2) a "totemic" system associated with clan groups. Although the data on each system are fragmentary and inconclusive, there is some evidence that they form a pattern which may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Totemic" phenomena associated with island groups.

On four out of the five islands studied (namely Kambara, Namuka, Mothe and Fulanga) the land people apparently formerly believed that they originated in some local natural phenomenon, either a tree or an animal. The land people of the island believed that they were the descendants of their particular tree or animal. The totemic ancestor of the land people of Kambara, namely the *ngingia* tree, even bore the title of Vu (ancestor) and the people were called *vuaningingia* (fruit of the *ngingia*). Similarly the land people of each of the islands mentioned above also claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths and those of Kambara and Mothe had a species of bird. No evidence was found of island exogamy associated with the island totemism of the land people. On the contrary, island endogamy was strongest on the islands peopled by land clans.[29]

614 (2) "Totemic" phenomena associated with clan groups.

At least half of the thirty-seven clans studied possessed three "totems": species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. These were called *ithavutchi*. Thus it appears from the data in *Southern Lau* that the "trilogy of linked totems," considered by Capell and Lester[30] to be "normal" in Fiji, is associated in this area with some clans. No evidence was found of belief in descent from the clan "totem." Since clans in Lau are exogamous, this type of "totemism" is associated with exogamy.

Two clans belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group, namely Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau village on Kambara island and Mbutonokoro clan of Nasau village on Mothe island, also had a war cry and war gods. Regarding their *wanggawangga ni kalou-vu* I have no information.

The inference that there were formerly two systems of "totemic" beliefs in southern Lau, one associated with the land people, the other with the "Nakauvandra people," which derives some support from my data, fits in well with the general conclusions regarding the culture history of the area stated above.

It should be added that there is a certain resemblance between the "totemic" phenomena associated with the land people of southern Lau and those described

[29] *Southern Lau*, p. 54.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

by Epeli Rokowangga. This is noted by Capell and Lester, who quote Rokowangga as follows: "Our ancestors also said, 'We Fijians originated from animals . . .; some again, we originated from fish, and some again, we originate from stones and some different kinds of trees.'[31] But Capell and Lester add that Rokowangga "missed the point" because as a Methodist minister he continued, "Are they perchance right? Never!" Far from being dismissed, however, these data as well as those from southern Lau should be weighed and investigated impartially. It is patently unscientific, merely because they do not fit into a preconceived formula, to try to establish "a bias" against them, as Capell and Lester specifically state they are attempting to do.[32] Indeed the very fact that they do not fit indicates that also the formula should be investigated. Obviously, if all data which do not fit into a preconceived scheme are arbitrarily ruled out, the possibility of the discovery of new knowledge is eliminated.

The Yavusa Problem in Southern Lau

In considering the problem of "totemism" in southern Lau there remains yet to be discussed the discrepancy between my data and those of the Native Land Commission, listed by Capell and Lester "as a corrective" to mine, as follows[33]:

Island.	*Yavusa.*	*Wanggawangga.*	Tree.	Fish.	*Manumanu.*
Kambara	Nakoro	man	*ngingia*	shark	heron and gull
	Namburavi	snake	*ngingia* and *ivi*	shark	heron and rat
	Vuaningingia	black heron	*ngingia*	shark	black heron and gull
	Nukuleka	banded sea-snake	casuarina sp.	*sangga*	*lawendua* and *laiseni* birds
Fulanga	Muanaira:	shark	*nggaikula*	*kawanggo*	*nggawenngawekula*
	Naivindamu	*kuku*	*mbau*	*tunggandra:*	owl
	Ongea	?	ironwood	mullet	*kaisevau*
Mothe	Ndelaimakotu	man	*thau*	*sara*	*ndilio*

This brings us to a consideration of the *yavusa* problem.

First, it should be noted that under the heading *yavusa* the Native Land Commission lists for Kambara island (1) Nakoro which, according to my informants, is the ceremonial name of Nggalinggali village[34]; (2) Numburavi, the ceremonial name of Lomatchi village[35]; (3) Vuaningingia, the title of the land people of Kambara whose origin is reputed to be at Undu village[36]; and (4) Nukuleka, the ceremonial

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Southern Lau*, p. 22.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 22. I have spelled the word Numbaravi.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 105. Raviravibalavu is the ceremonial name of Undu village. (*Ibid.*, p. 23.)

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614 name of Tokalau village.[37] For Fulanga are listed as *yavusa* (1) Muanaira, the name of one of the three existent Fulanga villages; (2) Naivindamu, the name of another of the villages; and (3) Ongea, the name by which Naithulaianga village on Ongea island is known. Omitted from the Fulanga list, according to Capell and Lester, is Fulanga *yavusa*, which accounts for the third village of the island, namely Muanaithake. The only *yavusa* on Mothe listed is Ndelaimakotu, the name of the archæological fortress site formerly occupied by the Mothe people.[38] Namuka island does not appear on the list.

From the above it appears that the functioning social groups to which the Native Land Commission's *yavusa* for southern Lau correspond are *village* groups, the most obvious of all the social groups in the area. This inference fits every case listed, even Mothe if, as I infer, the two historically distinct but at present contiguous villages of Mothe, namely Nasau and Korotolu, have been listed as one unit by the Native Land Commission.

[114] Let us now examine Capell's definition of a *yavusa* in the *New Fijian Dictionary*. A *yavusa*, according to this source, is "the largest kinship and social division of Fijian society, consisting of the descendants of one originator (*vu*), and recognizing one *kalou-vu* (originating spirit or god, normally the father of the *vu*), and one set of totems and war-cry."

Testing by this definition each *yavusa* listed for southern Lau by the Native Land Commission, we find that:

Nakoro (that is, Nggalinggali village), made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Tanggu and Naivotavota), one land clan (Nanggara) and one *matai lemaki* clan (Matai Lemaki), consists of the descendants of three originators rather than one. To wit, the two "Nakauvandra" clans trace their pedigrees back to Ndaunisai, the land clan claims a local origin near Undu, and the *matai lemaki* clan traces its pedigree back to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter. We conclude that Nakoro does not fulfil the first condition of a *yavusa* laid down by the *New Fijian Dictionary* definition, namely that of consisting of the descendants of a common originator.

The same argument holds for Nukuleka (that is, Tokalau village), which is made up of two "Nakauvandra" clans (Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola) and one land clan (Katoka). It also holds for Ndelaimakotu if, as I surmise, the Native Land Commission's Ndelaimakotu grouping includes the two contiguous Mothe villages. Taken together these are made up of one "Nakauvandra" clan (Mbutonikoro) and five land clans (Nasau, Kamali, Vangariki, Banganduku and Nggali).

Turning to the villages made up of clans which are not affiliated with the "Nakauvandra people," we find that the Vuaningingia (that is, Undu village) group is composed entirely of land clans with the exception of the Matai Sau. The land people of Undu believe themselves descended from the aborigines of Lau but

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

114 groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira
614 and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants,
615 and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent
621 from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

114 The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

regarding the culture history of the area. One explanation is that the word had different connotations among the land people and among the "Nakauvandra" people and that the confusion created by this situation has persisted down to the present. The other and more plausible explanation is that the term was introduced into southern Lau by the "Nakauvandra people" along with certain changes in the social structure. But in the blending of the two complexes, that of the land people and that of the immigrants, its original meaning was confused or lost. The latter explanation fits into Capell and Lester's hypothesis regarding the origin of the term.[40]

The Matanggali Group in Southern Lau

Since my critics also questioned my use of the term *matanggali*, a word is inserted here in regard to it. I used the term *matanggali* to designate a clan, namely a "unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal."[41] It is used thus by the natives and by Hocart,[42] and I submit that of all the social groups in southern Lau with the exception of the village, the *matanggali* is the most clear cut and the least open to question.

Theoretically a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site (*itokatoka*) and a few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. After the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets moved to the coast and united into villages, often retaining their local unity in the village. Hence many clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. As the clan group expanded, it divided into sub-clans, the senior branch being called *itokatoka*, the junior ones *mbatchi ni lovo*, or else all the sub-clans were simply called *mbatchi ni lovo*.

Thus the *matanggali* division in southern Lau conforms to a marked degree to Capell's definition of the word in the *New Fijian Dictionary*: "Matanggali: 'the primary social division in Fiji, larger than the *itokatoka* and smaller than the *yavusa*. It appears to have sprung from the subdivisions of naturally increasing families, the sons of an original ancestor being the heads of the resulting matanggali.'"

Summary

The argument advanced in this paper may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a high degree of probability that the main outlines of the functioning social system (including the major social groups in historical perspective) described in *Southern Lau* are correct. There is some disagreement, however, regarding the native terminology used to designate the various functioning social groups.

2. An examination of the data on "totemic" phenomena described in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the area, an earlier one affiliated with the land people and a later one introduced by the "Nakauvandra people."

[40] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 314 ff.
[41] *Southern Lau*, p. 35.
[42] "Lau Islands, Fiji," *Bishop Museum Bulletin* 62, 1929, pp. 10 ff.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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*539 for the four nights were past. It was the worst
754 case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

175 When I returned to head-quarters I looked
565 up some of the dusty old books of record at my
●614 office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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Kinship Groups

THE PHRATRY

615 618 I have used the term phratry (*yavusa*) to designate a group of clans believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor or group of ancestors. The ancestor may have been a human being, an animal or a plant. The phratry is to some extent also a racial, a ceremonial, and an occupational classification. It serves as a broad basis for the ranking system.

There are five phratries in southern Lau: the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*); the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*); the chiefs' carpenters (*matai sau*); the *lemaki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*); and the sea people (*kai wai*). Most of the clans of the islands studied belong to either the land or the chiefs' phratry.

The land phratry

The members of the land phratry (*yavusa vanua*) are called land people (*kai vanua*). On each island they claim descent from the earliest known inhabitants of the land (*na vanua*). Members of the land phratry on each island are united by a belief in their common mythical origin in some natural phenomenon. The land people on Kambara and their relatives, the former inhabitants of Wangava, believe they originated in the *ngingia* tree (*Suriana maritima*) (p. 105). Those of Fulanga claim descent from a hen (*toa*), those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree, and those of Namuka are supposed to have descended from a white dog (p. 106). There are no other stories of the origin of the land people and no migration tales concerning them. Clans of the land phratry have little interest in their genealogies which they trace back not more than four to six generations and always to ancestors born in Lau.

As a group the land people are recognized to be shorter, darker skinned, more frizzly haired, coarser featured, in short more Melanesian in racial type, than the other inhabitants of Lau. Their movements and manners are considered awkward. They seem to have more sense of humor and to be more modest and less materialistic than members of the other phratries. They make the best gardeners in Lau and own the greater part of the garden land.

[565] The land phratry ranks lowest of all the phratries in Lau. Its members are considered to be commoners and to form the lower class of the population. It is the largest phratry in Lau. On the islands visited it is strongest on Fulanga, Ongea, and Namuka. Usually at least 80 percent of the population of a village belongs to the land phratry. Many villages consist of clans belonging to the land phratry only.

The chiefs' phratry

Members of the chiefs' phratry (*yavusa turanga*) claim descent from a group of immigrants led by the war hero Ndaunisai who, according to tradi-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai. 615 618

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors. [565]

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggāli and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather. [776]

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

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Lemaki carpenters

615 The *lemaki* carpenter phratry (*matai lemaki*), according to tradition and pedigree, was founded by Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who came to Lau
618 from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the chiefs' phratry was well established in Lau. Tatchini, the headman of the Matai Lemaki clan in Nggalinggali, Kambara, said the group originated as follows:

> Lemaki, Tatchini's ancestor seven generations back, was a carpenter born on Manono Island, Samoa. He went from Samoa to Nukulofa, Tonga, whence he was sent to Lau for the purpose of building a large, double canoe for the Tongan king. He became carpenter to the high chief of Lau at Lakemba and established a hereditary line of carpenters to the high chief. Lemaki's first son, Manako Siali (Makasiali), and his grandsons spread the *lemaki* line to the southern islands, where they built canoes of hardwoods unobtainable in the north. Malamala, Manako Siali's first-born son, settled on Kambara, where he became the carpenter to the chief of Kambara. Later he was driven from Tokalau because of an affair with the chief's wife. He went to the other side of the island and the chief of Nggalinggali received him and gave him a house site called Tangguiwai, in the old village. With his principal wife, Ndranivasa of the chiefs' phratry, he founded the Matai Lemaki clan.

The headman of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambetembete* type (pp. 186-187); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 160-169); and multiple-legged kava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Nggalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the Mboutolu clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in Mboutolu, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tawalo on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai wai*). Although I was unable to determine the full significance of this term, on the basis of the following evidence I have classed the sea people as a separate phratry.

The genealogies of the two clans are known for only six generations and during this time they show no kinship to each other. Each is traced to a local ancestor but they may, of course, have had a common ancestor before the six generations recorded. An old informant on Fulanga says that before coming to Fulanga the Vandravandra group lived at Narothake on the island of Ngau in the Lomai Viti group, Fiji. The clan headman of Vandravandra holds the title Tui Naro and Fulanga informants agree that the clan formerly lived at a hamlet site called Narothake on the island.

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It is probable that the Vandravandra clan is related to a historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau island and fled eastward. Remnants of this group are known to have settled in the Lomai Viti islands, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji. The Levuka people call themselves *kai wai*. In the past they formed a professional caste. The men were sailors and traders and the women were potters. 615 618

According to Hocart (15, p. 18), the Ndaulakemba clan of Levuka holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawalo, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' phratry and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land phratry. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal. 618

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the natives live in coast villages. Several neighboring hamlets united to form one village, in which each retained its local unity. The hamlet units grew into clans and their local unity is still clear in most villages.

Formerly each clan had its own gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena (pp. 109-111).

Each ranking clan owns one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his 618 428

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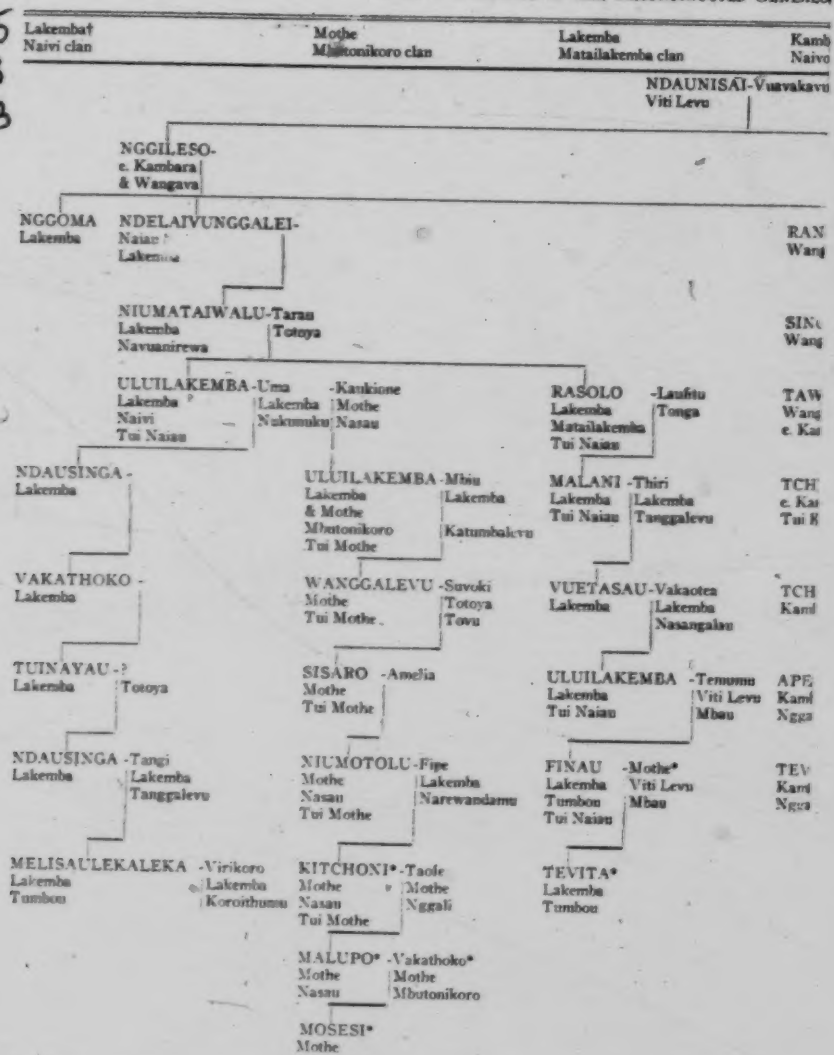
TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO



† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 36)
* Indicates those living in 1933.

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tanggu clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu			-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- e. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lambathi w. Kambara Vuanikathu; Kambara Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - e. Kambara	TUWAI -Maitonga w. Kambara; Totoya; Mbusa; Natukosokuso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava; Totoya	SUE -Ufia e. Kambara; Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara; Kambara Vanua
unfitu onga	TAWAKETCHINI - Vutu Wangava & e. Kambara; Kambara Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? e. Kambara; Kambara Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Raloaloa w. Kambara; Thithia Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi e. Kambara Tui Kambara; Kambara Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe e. Kambara; Lakemba Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara; Totoya; Mousa; Natukosakosa?
akàotea akemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara; Kambara Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila e. Kambara; Kambara Lomatchi Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara; Kambara Mbete
A -Temumu Viti Levu. Mbau	APETENIKO -Riniete Kambara Nggalinggali; Kambara Undu Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Nggali-nggali; Kambara Undu Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara; Kambara Vuanitavola
e* Levu	TEVITA* Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI* -Silai Kambara Nggali-nggali; Kambara Nggali-nggali Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusione w. Kambara; Kambara Vuanitavola
		TCHONI* Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Tokalau Tui Kambara; Kambara Tokalau Katoka
			TCHOSAIA* -Kaituate Kambara Tokalau; Tonga Vavau
			INOKE* Kambara Tokalau

ted locally (see pp. 38-39).

[p 38 (B)]

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Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

615 The people of the "Nakauvandra" clans in southern Lau trace their ancestry back nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai, as shown in the genealogical abstract in *Southern Lau*.[23] Ndaunisai, according to tradition, came to Kambara from Nakauvandra in north-east Viti Levu. The history of the spread of the "Nakauvandra people" in southern Lau, as worked out on the basis of genealogies, legends and the statements of informants, is recorded in *Southern Lau*.[24] Of the eleven villages studied, clans belonging definitely to the "Nakauvandra people" were found only in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara island and Nasau on Mothe island. According to tradition and to the genealogies, the people of the "Nakauvandra" clans believe they have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the forefather of Ndaunisai.

The people of the land clans of southern Lau believe themselves to have descended from the earliest known inhabitants of the area. Hence I have called them the "aborigines." My critics object several times to my use of the term "aborigines" on the ground that since the land people have a Melanesian culture also they are immigrants into the area. But according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, the word "aborigine" means "one of the earliest known inhabitants of a country; one of the native race." As far as can be determined on the basis of the available evidence, the land people have descended from the first settlers in the area of which any trace has been found either in the archæology, myth, tradition or the living culture (including the social organization). Therefore they conform to the dictionary definition of the word "aborigines" and until evidence is found of an earlier population, I shall continue to use the term in referring to the land people of Lau.

By population estimates the people of the land group made up at least 80% of the residents of most villages studied and 100% of several (that is, Nawatchia, Korotoku, Muanaira and Naivindamu). They are most numerous on Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, the very islands concerning which the Native Land Commission's lists on "totemism," as published by Capell and Lester,[25] are incomplete (that is, Fulanga) or omitted entirely (that is, Namuka). The people of the land clans were not interested in their clan genealogies which in not a single case were traced back farther than four to six generations. In contrast to the "Nakauvandra" group, the land people as a whole do not trace their origin to a single traditional human ancestor (*vu*), but they claim that the land group of each island formerly believed that they originated in a particular tree or animal which was the ancestor (*vu*) of the group. For example, land people in Kambara formerly believed they originated from a *ngingia* tree; those of Fulanga from a hen, those of Mothe from an *ivi* tree. The aborigines of Namuka, now extinct, were said to have originated from a white dog.[26] Moreover, the land people of each island mentioned above

[23] Table 2.

[24] *Southern Lau*, pp. 38-39.

[25] *Op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 28.

[26] *Southern Lau*, pp. 32, 105-106.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths. The sacred fish of the Kambara land people, the *nggio ndamundamu*, had the title of Tui Natakala or Ratu and was called the *wanggawangga ni vu*. That of Namuka had the title of Wangga Namuka and was called the *ika na vanua*. The land people of Kambara and Mothe also had a species of bird which was treated with respect. That of Kambara was the *toa kula* (red rooster) and had the title of Kula.

Turning to the other three historical phratries in southern Lau, we find that the *matai sau* in 1933-34 included three clans (that is, Saumua clan of Undu village on Kambara, Nggalitoka clan of Nawatchia village on Namuka, and Nasava clan of Muanaithake village on Fulanga), believed to have descended from a common ancestor god, namely Rokola. The *matai sau* hereditary carpenters were believed to have come to Kambara in search of the greenheart, a valuable hardwood which grows there, from north-east Viti Levu before the "Nakauvandra people." The *matai sau* founded the lineage which became the Saumua clan of Undu and from there the *matai sau* group spread to Fulanga.[27] Although the *matai sau* lineages traced their pedigrees only six or seven generations, the group recognized a common ancestor god and a common human ancestor with the title of Matai Sau. No information was obtained regarding "totemic" beliefs associated with the *matai sau* as a group.

One of the thirty-seven clans (namely, Matai Lemaki of Nggalinggali village on Kambara island) traced its pedigree to Lemaki, a Samoan carpenter who was reputed to have come to Lau from Samoa about eight generations ago, after the "Nakauvandra" group was well established in Lau. Therefore I classed the Matai Lemaki as a separate phratry. The clan headman held the hereditary clan title of Matai Lemaki, the title of its common ancestor. Regarding "totemic" beliefs, the group followed the usual pattern for a clan in southern Lau, to be discussed presently.

The members of two clans studied (that is, Vandravandra of Muanaithake village on Fulanga island and Tawalo of Naithulaianga on Ongea island) were known as *kai wai* (sea people). Because of their probable affiliation with an historic group of sailors and fishermen who were expelled from Mbau and fled eastward, settling in Lomai Viti, at Levuka village on Lakemba, and elsewhere in eastern Fiji, I classed the *kai wai* clans as a separate phratry.[28] Each *kai wai* clan holds the title of *ndau ni nggoli* (master fisherman) of the island on which it is located. No traces of phratry "totemic" beliefs were found among the *kai wai*.

Having surveyed briefly the main outlines of the social system as it functioned on the five islands studied, we now have a background for consideration of some specific problems raised by Capell and Lester, namely the problems of "totemism," *yavusa* and *matanggali* in southern Lau.

[27] For details, see *ibid.*, p. 23.

[28] For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to be *kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

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114 groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira
614 and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants,
615 and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent
621 from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

114 The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

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Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 631 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

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The headman of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambitembite* type (pp. 186-187); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 168-169); and multiple-legged lava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Ngalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the *Mbonudu* clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in *Mbonudu*, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tavalo on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai mata*). Although I was unable to determine the full significance of this term on the basis of the collected evidence (p. [illegible]), it appears to be a separate descent [illegible].

[illegible] for only six generations and [illegible] from [illegible] on Vanua Balavu. Each [illegible] to [illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] Vandravandra

[illegible]

[illegible]

According to Thomson (15, p. 83) the Nduaki-speaking chief of Ilevatu holds the hereditary chief title of master fisherman (*mbiri*). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vandravandra and Tawaki, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambera and Mothe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambera belongs to the Yuanitavola clan of the chiefs' *pokatry* and that of Mothe to the Nggali clan of the land *pokatry*. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal.

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush lands in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity, most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In this they were encouraged by the colonial government, and today all the inhabitants live in villages (*kalanga*) [illegible] the hamlet sites, which in most cases [illegible] the hamlet with [illegible] the clan [illegible] the [illegible] (*kalanga*).

[illegible]

Each ranking clan has one or more hereditary titles, which determine its rank and affect the rank of its members. The titles are held by the clan head, *mbiri* (variants: *matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and frequently between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and barkcloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i takataka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *takataka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mbatchi ni lava* (literally "teeth or edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (pp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, violating the rule of exogamy (residence and marriage), deserts his own clan and his subclan (see p. 43). The subclan has its own chief and its subclan lands, a share of the village and its own share of food at all feasts.

The subclan, functioning under the clan headman, serves to subdivide the social structure, and consequently activities of the clan. It often functions as the economic unit in the work of building houses, canoes, and barkcloth manufacture. Some work subclans produce the food for a feast, using the same oven and kitchen hut. Small tasks are undertaken by the subclan only.

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Kambara

ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO

Lakemba
Matailakemba clan

Kamb
Naivo

NDAUNISAI-Vunvakavu
Viti Levu

RAN
Wang

SIN
Wang

RASOLO -Laufitu
Lakemba Tonga
Matailakemba
Tui Naiau

TAW
Wang
e. Ka

MALANI -Thiri
Lakemba Lakemba
Tui Naiau Tanggalevu

TCH
e. Ka
Tui K

VUETASAU-Vakaotea
Lakemba Lakemba
Nasangalau

TCH
Kam

ULUILAKEMBA -Temumu
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tui Naiau Mbau

APE
Kam
Ngga

FINAU -Mothe*
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tumbou Mbau
Tui Naiau

TEV
Kam
Ngga

TEVITA*
Lakemba
Tumbou

NDAUSINGA-
Lakemba

KABATHORO
Lakemba

TURAYAU
Lakemba

NDAUSINGA
Lakemba

ULUILAKEMBA
Lakemba
Matailakemba
Mbunomburo
Tui Naiau

WANGGALEVU
Mothe
Tui Mothe

SISARO
Mothe
Tui Mothe

SILIGOTOLU
Vuna
Tui Mothe

akemba
vandamu

o*
oro

the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 30 f

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tangga clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu			-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- e. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lambathi w. Kambara Vuanikathu / Kambara Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - e. Kambara	TUWAI -Maitonga w. Kambara / Totoya / Mbusa / Natukoeokoso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava / Totoya	SUE -Ufia e. Kambara / Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara / Kambara / Vanua
nafitu nga	TAWAKETCHINI - Vatu Wangava & e. Kambara / Kambara / Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? e. Kambara / Kambara / Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Raloaloa w. Kambara / Thithia / Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi e. Kambara Tui Kambara / Kambara / Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe e. Kambara / Lakemba / Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara / Totoya / Mosua / Natukosakosa?
akaotea ikemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara / Kambara / Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila e. Kambara / Kambara / Lomatchi / Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara / Kambara / Mbete
A -Temumu Viti Levu / Mtau	APETENIKO -Biniete Kambara Nggalinggali / Kambara / Undu / Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Nggali-nggali / Kambara / Undu / Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara / Kambara / Vuanitavola
ke* Levu a	TEVITA* Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI* -Silai Kambara Nggali-nggali / Kambara / Nggali-nggali / Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusione w. Kambara / Kambara / Vuanitavola
		TCHONI* Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Tokalau Tui Kambara / Kambara / Tokalau / Katoka
			TCHOSAIA* -Kafunte Kambara Tokalau / Tonga / Vavau
			INOKE* Kambara Tokalau

ned locality (see pp. 28-29).

[p. 38 (B)]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery. 621 618

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops. [226]

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

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Kambara

621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the father of Manoa.

618 The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but [427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

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Kambara

six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau. 621 618

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka. 621 618 578

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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UNDU

621 Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Mata-
●618 soata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka.

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small, new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Matacoua clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

KOROTOLU

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

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Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct. 621 618

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest. 554

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Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

HIGH CHIEF

[554] 643 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[595] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 545 543 747

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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582 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees.
618 Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive cor-
134 relation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there
611 are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common
[134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 606 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's 618 brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute. [643]

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The tabus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
98 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[682 etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 769 618 [771 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 006 Lau 006
Kambara

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The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

Ia vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Koko livemu!	Hide your children!
Koko livemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavuda* (*Erythrospermum acuminatum*) tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the kingfisher (*veikuru*, breed bird). On Kambara the mavuda tree grows only at Langa Mbakola in the bush behind Vakacanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The mavuda does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisovou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OO6 Lau OO6
Kambara

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vunimaqa clan of Lakeba from which the Lakeba [768]
war originated (p. 36, table 3). The gods of Vunimaqa were incarnated in [773]
the *lala* tree, the *qaqaka* fish, and the *kalile* bird. The slogan of the clan [678]
was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sesu matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only [775]
the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the [774]
chief group did not possess true totems. They did however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was [769]
apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group. [793]

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

[769] [793] [539]

part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a tap or by a curtain of Polynesian tapa. The couch is rarely used by the old. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*kasa*) or mattresses) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau.

Wooden headrests (*kuli*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavatava*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a few has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, rib upon rib. A floor broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, C), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vale vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

before the priest a dish of coconut oil with which he anoints his hands and then rubs the whole body, from head to foot, with serious intention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . . "[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-è'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

[illegible] Ndengei, who was then a man and his companions [illegible] settled on the Nakauvadra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-dau-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
(824) origin from a *ngingin* (pronounced ngi-ngi-a) tree (*Barringtonia maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau/OQ6

before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live. 539* 776 [793]

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales." [101] [619]

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind. [231]

[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.

[3] Of common origin.

[4] Battle-cry.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba.

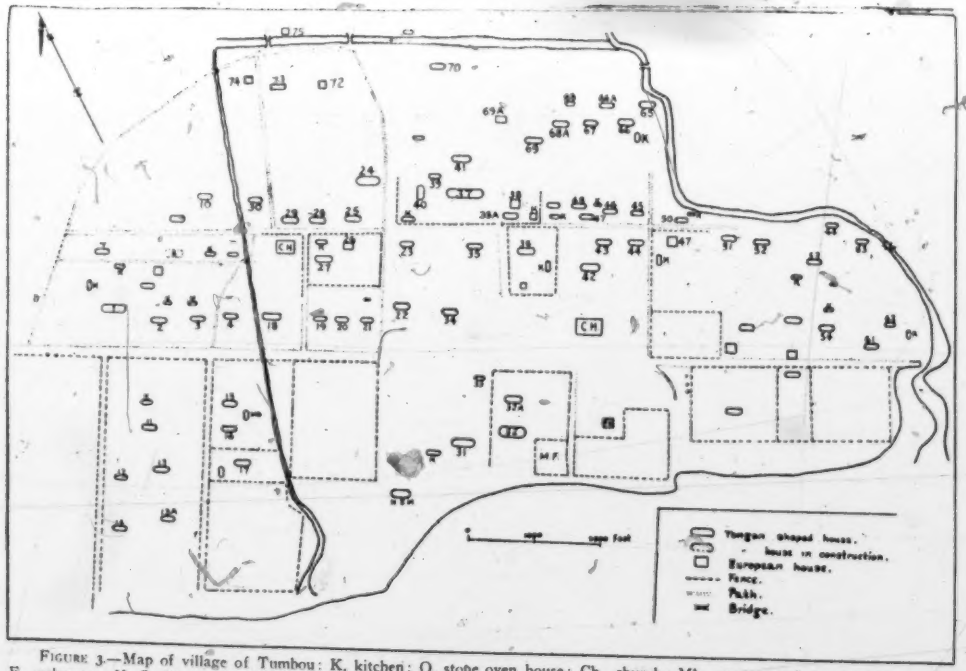


FIGURE 3.—Map of village of Tumbou: K, kitchen; O, stone oven house; Ch., church; Mb., young men's house (*mbure*); M. F., unknown; N. S. M., native magistrate; N. M. P., native medical practitioner; P. O., provincial office. The names of the houses are: 1, Thakaundroveiwai; 2, Mbau; 3, Nggararaninggio; 4, Koronivia; 5, unknown; 6, Seanggangga; 7, Nakoromaluia; 8, unknown; 9, Nggakilanggi; 10, unknown; 11, unknown; 12, Welangi; 13, Mbouono; 14, Motulala; 15, Manono; 16, Undukathu; 17, Samoa; 18, Vanua Masi; 19, Naveruarua; 20, Thithia; 21, Taira; 22, Seanggangga; 23, Lakembanawa; 24, Vunisavisavi; 25, Tuvukei; 26, Naitasiri; 27, Natambusoro; 28, Nakuki; 29, Matanivolau; 30, Tuvatuvarua; 31, Matailakemba; 32, Kaukilangi; 33, unknown; 34, Matai Naiau; 35, Muailangi; 36, Matanalailai; 37, Vatuwangga; 38, Wangganui; 38A, Sekoula; 39, Vunilangakali; 40, Vunimanggo; 41, Yangasa; 42, Niu Kini; 43, Mbateteva; 44, Ndranivono; 45, unknown; 46, Muanakauli; 47, Veiravui; 48, Muairewa; 49, Verata; 50, unknown; 51, Mbiaungunu; 52, Solomone; 53, Mathuata; 54, Nukuselala; 55, Nathurumothe; 56, Wainingasau; 57, Sawakasa; 58, Naveretambu; 59, Newai; 60, Tiaina; 61, Naisongotheva; 62, Vunimakosoi; 63, Nggalimosi; 64, Mbateteva; 65, Nggaranithava; 66, Loa; 67, unknown; 68, unknown; 69, Mbatiniwai; 70, Taiti; 71, Ndenivonu; 72, Niu Silandi; 73, Naingginggi; 74, Tukituki.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

352 mat. These mats and the bark cloth are stored in bales on the beams
285 wrapped in old, coarse matting.

In some *longgi*, the couch on which the head of the household sleeps is
352 simply a pile of mats; in others it is a long, broad stage spread with mats.
513 The other members of the household sleep about the floor with their feet to the wall. In the old days, beds were piled up with grass and coconut leaves, five or six feet high all round the house, each wife having her bed.

Near the couches members of the household place their European
352 wooden boxes in which they keep their clothing, scented oil, comb, mirror,
353 and other odds and ends. At the lower end and at the sides of the house, hanging from the beams, resting on a beam, or placed against the wall, are kava bowls, kava cups, enamel cups, hurricane lanterns, and baskets.

342 Dwelling houses of married folks are called *vale soso*. The sleeping quarters of the young men are small ordinary houses called *mbure*.

Tumbou

361 The present site of Tumbou was first occupied by the Tongans. The people of this village moved down to the shore in 1868 or 1869 under the reign of Taliai Tupou. The remains of the old village Nakorovusa lies about half a mile higher up the Nakula stream. Only the moat and a few mounds on which the houses stood are left, all covered with a thick jungle.

552 As shown in the plan of Tumbou, given in figure 3, each house has a name, and it is customary to say, not "I am going to Isoa's," but "I am going to Vunisavisavi"; not "Salesi and his people," but "they of Matanalailai."

Some of these names are old, some are recent. Thus Wangganui was so called because the high chief's sister's son had been to school in Wangganui, New Zealand. The name Niu Kini was suggested by the fact that a teacher was in New Guinea. Manono is an old name; it refers to an island in Samoa, the place of origin of the Lemaki family. Tui Mereke's house is called Loa, after a village in Oneata; his mother was a lady of Oneata. Many house names are derived from Vanua Levu, more particularly Thakaundrove as: Thakaundroveiwai, Mbenau, Seanggangga.

621 Formerly a ditch or stream divided the village of Tumbou into halves or
614 sides (*tambana*): Tumbou to the east, and Tai, the other bank, to the west. The village is also divided into clans known as *matanggali* (*mata*, face, eye, also group; *nggali*, subject to, or connected).

614 The subdivisions of a clan are called *mbati ni lovo* (sides or edges of the oven). "Sides of the oven," says my informant Meli, "refer to feasts; each edge has its own oven; but when the food is ready, the whole is put

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark; this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

LAUANDOKO

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1. Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2. Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3. Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoro Nanggalia Mataiwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished.

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

621 602 614

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
		Sau	
Yawalevu	Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

[624 202] [602]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

631

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

631 576 565

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba: some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turangu*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *votongia*; if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

622 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba. Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622 621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

614 The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

648 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits
[776] (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a
> [824] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in
621 Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This
774 goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitaututaki*.

602 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits
621 (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*.

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba.

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu.[6] They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*matäniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui.

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside.

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows:

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[9]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauvu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauvu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula: The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the

[9] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

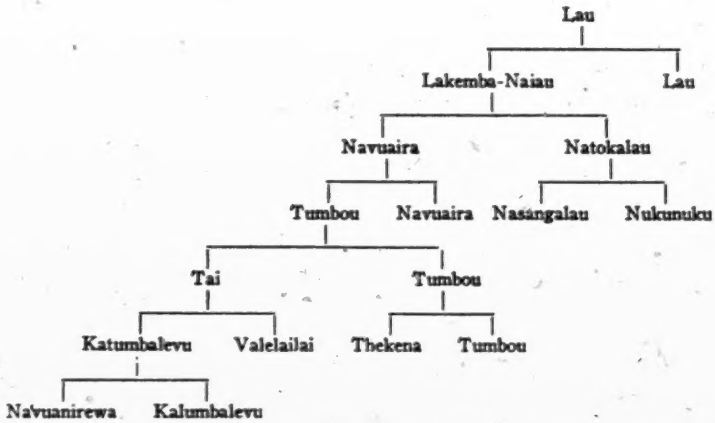
> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

174 A few words contain at once un-Polynesian and un-Fijian sounds, as *pothi* (blunt). They suggest that the Polynesian dialect of Lau retained the *th* which in Tongan has become a glottal stop. This would explain *metha* (thing) which appears in Tongan as *me'a,* but is unknown outside Lau.

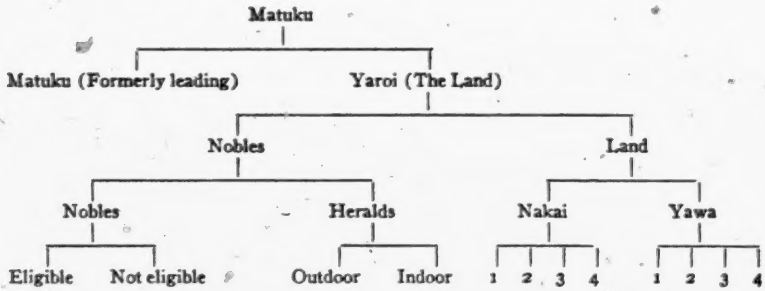
THE DUAL ORGANIZATION

621 The most characteristic feature of Lauan society is the tendency to divide all groups into two parts which are again divided into two, and so on, till the smallest unit is reached. Thus



The process might be continued further since Navuanirewa is divided into four clans, two eligible for the chieftainship, and two not eligible.

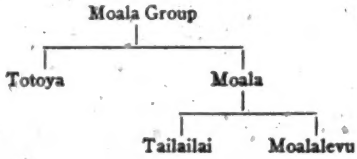
In Matuku it is the same.



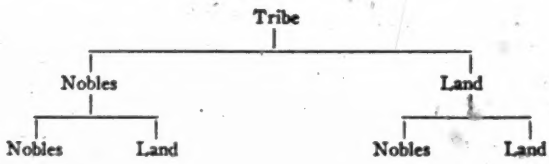
The same system can be traced in Ketei, Totoya, and Naroi, Moala.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The chief of the land is called the Land Chief. The chief of Moala is called Land Chief, and Totoya is said to be noble, thus:



Both in Tumbou and in Yaroi the heralds are said to be the Land of the Chiefs. In the Land division of Yaroi, Nakai are noble.



and so on indefinitely.

The noble side includes the reigning family, the heralds, and the household. The vanguard (*mbati*) is always in the land division. Thus Kambara is on the Lau side. In Lakemba, Yandrana is on the Natokalau side; about Navuaira there is no evidence; in Tumbou Tuware are on the Land side.

The twofold division of Lomaloma at first seems based on a different principle since the whole tribe is not divided into two compact territories, but the capital is divided into two halves of which some villages follow one, others the other. But it can be shown that this was the original state of affairs in Lakemba: it is agreed on all hands that Nasangalau and Nukunuku are noble and are connected with the nobles of Tumbou; and this is borne out by the fact that the heralds of Nasangalau and the indoor heralds of Tumbou have the same god. On the other hand, Vakano and Waitambu were subject to the Land side of Tumbou; Waitambu and Tumbou both worship the bodiless god, and Waitambu worships the Two Ladies, while Thekena worship their children whose father is Tui Vakano; all three call their children rats.

The vanguard (*mbati*) of the whole seems to be closely related to the vanguard of the subdivisions, for Kambara is specially related to both Yandrana and Tumbou quarter. This suggests that the dual division of Tai-Nasangalau-Nukunuku versus Tumbou-Waitambu-Vakano once ran through the whole group.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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The whole frequently derives its name from the inferior divisions. Examples of this are Lau, Navuaira, Tumbou, Katumbalevu, Moala. Of the converse, there is only one instance: Matuku, once the leading half, gives its name to the whole island.

Sometimes there is a third group which does not seem to fit in, as Naturuku in Lomaloma. Intrusive villages such as Levuka and the Tongans in Lakemba may supply the explanation.

Is this the dual organization? The Lauan kinship system is based on the dual organization, and therefore proves that it once existed; in fact, it may be said still to exist since every unit tends to form a bond of intermarriage with some other unit: the nobles and Nasangalau, then later Matailakemba and Nasangalau, Vatuwangga and Naivi, etc. The custom of *tauvu* also records the former existence of intermarrying groups, since the people themselves are conscious that the bond is the same as between cross-cousins. Finally is the word *veitambani* which is used of cross-cousins: it means related as one side to another, and is derived from *tamba* which means wing, side, a side of the village. The great prestige of the home-nephew (*vasu i taukei*) points to a time when the highest form of marriage for a nobleman was with a lady of the Land. For the home-nephew is the son of a nobleman by a lady of the Land. It is difficult to understand otherwise why the son of a lady of a comparatively obscure clan like Thekena, or low caste village like Waitambu, should be a greater man than he who could boast a mother from Thakaundrove, one of the premier states of Fiji. Again, why is Uluilakemba II reckoned a "Great nephew" not on account of his mother of Nasangalau, the ancient nobility of which is known even abroad, but through his grandmother of Tanggalevu? Vakathoko, though senior in the senior branch, is not enumerated among the great noblemen, despite his grandmother of Nukunuku. Obviously it was not mere rank that counted, but the combination of noble and land.

Since society was divided and again subdivided into intermarrying groups, the dual organization was bound to become obscured; for a nobleman as Lakemban would marry into Lau, as one of Tai into Tumbou, as one of Katumbalevu into Valelailai, as Vatuwanggan into Naivi. If at some remote period, as appears to have been the case, the line of cleavage ran out between Lakemba and Lau, Natokalau and Navuaira, and so on, but right across all these divisions forming the nobles consisting of Tai, Naiau, Nasangalau, Nukunuku, perhaps Mothe and some others, and the land, that is, Tumbou, Vakano, Waitambu, Yandrana, Kambara, and others, the case was then much plainer.

There is one possible objection to the theory that identifies the dual organization of the village with what is commonly known among anthropologists as the dual organization. The relations of intermarrying group,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca.1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621
insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614
veve, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565
as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622
alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an impor-
262 tant part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

132 Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be col-
[312] lected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

361 The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

621 Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3
133 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here
[131] most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart of India (called *vesi, Intsia bijuga*) and *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum brackenridgei*) which grow in the heavily forested interior. In Fiji the greenheart grows abundantly only on Kambara, the historic center of canoe building for the whole group and for Tonga as well. 621 133 137

TOKALAU

Tokalau village (fig. 3; table 1) is on the northwest shore of Kambara, at the foot of Ndelaioloi. It is the highest ranking village on the west side of Kambara and the home of the titular chief of Kambara, Tui Kambara. The village title, used on ceremonial occasions, is Nukuleka. The 125 inhabitants 621 133 592

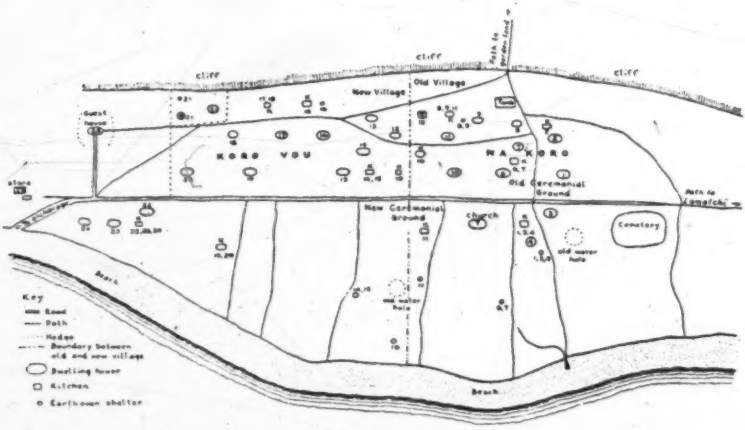

FIGURE 3.—Sketch map of Tokalau village, Kambara. (For household census see table 1, pages 14-21.)

occupy 26 sleeping houses. Tokalau is one of the few villages in southern Lau which has a Chinese store. Imported trade articles are exchanged for copra or cash. A roadway runs from the landing opposite the anchorage through Tokalau southward toward the village of Lomatchi. Most of the sleeping houses are located in a clearing on the cliff side of the road. A few, together with earth oven shelters and kitchen huts, are situated in the coconut grove on the shore side. The old section of the village is located just below a break in the limestone cliff on the most direct path from the beach to the garden land and the old fortress sites. The path also leads through the jungle across the island to the villages of Nggalinggali and Undu. The village fishing grounds extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Ndaku. [439]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
1	Vale Levu, men's house	59	Vuanikathu	(1) male, age 77, chief of Kambara and headman of Vuanikathu clan; his Tongan wife is dead
2	Tchiana	8	Vuanikathu	1 occupied this house
3	Mburotu	6	Vuanikathu	(2) female, age 26, child of 1 (3) female, age 3, illegitimate child of 2; child's father is dead (4) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan (sister of 9); she is staying in Tokalau while her husband, a man of Saumua clan, Undu village, is working on Taveuni Island (5) female, age 19, child of 4 (6) female, age 8, child of 4 (7) female, age 40, born in Levuka, mother of 20, returned to Kambara after her husband from Matuku Island died
4	Wai Levu	2	Mbete subclan of Vuanikathu clan	(8) male, age 45, born on Komo Island, moved to Tokalau at time of his marriage to 9 (9) female, age 40, Vuanikathu clan, parallel cousin of 1, wife of 8 (10) male, age 22, child of 8 and 9, husband of 20 (11) female, age 20, child of 8 and 9 (12) female, age 19, child of 8 and 9 (13) female, age 16, child of 8 and 9 (14) female, age 14, child of 8 and 9 (15) male, age 12, child of 8 and 9 (16) female, age 10, child of 8 and 9 (17) male, age 8, child of 8 and 9 (18) female, age 5, child of 8 and 9 (19) male, age 3, child of 8 and 9

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(20) female, age 19, born on Matuku, child of 7, wife of 10
				(21) male, age 5 months, child of 10 and 20
				(22) female, age 14, born on Matuku, child of 7, sister of 20
				(23) female, age 7 months, illegitimate child of 11; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni Island, is the son of 1, the parents are parallel cousins
				(24) male, age 5 months, illegitimate child of 12; the child's father, who is working on Taveuni, is the son of 119
5	Sayama	2	house of the schoolmaster, owned by the village	unoccupied
6	Moitokavonu	3	Vuanitavola	(25) male, age 60, village headman, master fisherman, and headman of Vuanitavola clan
				(26) female, age 54, born in Undu, Matasoata clan, wife of 25
				(27) female, age 19, child of 25 and 26
				(28) female, age 17, child of 25 and 26
				(29) female, age 14, child of 25 and 26
				(30) male, age 1, grandchild of 25 and 26, child of 32
				(31) female, age 8, orphan, illegitimate child of first wife of 34; child's father belonged to Levuka clan, Lomatchi
7	Vale Kapa	30	Vuanitavola	(32) female, age 28, born in Lomatchi, wife of the son of 25 and 26 who is working on Taveuni, mother of 30

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(33) female, age 60, born in Tokalau, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 32; her husband, a man of Levuka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
8	Moanikau, men's house	20	Vuanitavola	(34) male, age 40, separated from his wife 36 during the tabu period after childbirth
9	Ndokanitambua	2	Vuanitavola	(35) female, age 50, sister of 34; she has returned to Vuanitavola clan after the death of her husband who belonged to Vuanikathu clan, Naitathini subclan
				(36) female, age 25, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, second wife of 34
				(37) female, age about 50, born in Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan, mother of 36
				(38) male, age 10, child of 34 and his first wife, now dead
				(39) male, age 6, child of 34 and his first wife
				(40) female, age 7 months, child of 34 and 36
10	Lotoa	house beams are 70 years old	house of the mission church	(41) male, age 69, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, native missionary for Kambara; his wife, from Totoya Island, is dead
				(42) male, age 17, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(43) male, age 15, born on Totoya, child of 41
				(44) female, age 12, born on Matuku, child of 41
				(45) male, age 8, born on Vanua Mbalavu, child of 41
				(46) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K10			kitchen for (10)	temporarily occupied by a group from Nggalinggali because 47 is ill after a stillbirth and is being treated by a Tokalau doctor
				(47) female, age 24, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, married to a man of Tanggu clan, Nggalinggali, who is working on Taveuni
				(48) female, age 52, born in Nggalinggali, Lemaki clan, widow of a man of Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali; mother of 47
				(49) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, a widow, grandmother of 47
				(50) female, age 20, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, sister of 47
				(51) female, age 19, born in Nggalinggali, Tanggu clan
11	Vakandewavosa		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(52) male, age 46, born on Komo, came to Tokalau when he married Vuanikathu woman, now dead; envoy to Lakemba and headman of Mbete subclan
				(53) female, age 22, child of 52
				(54) female, age 10, child of 52
				(55) male, age 7, child of 52
				(56) female, age 16, child of 35
				(57) male, age 7, child of 35
				(58) female, age 13, child of 34 and his first wife
12	Nambukelevu		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied because out of repair, but formerly occupied by 59 and her husband, now working on Taveuni, and by their child 60

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621
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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
K12	Kitchen house for 11		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	temporarily occupied, out of repair
				(59) female, age 22, Vuanitavola clan
				(60) female, age 1, child of 59
13	Vunivou		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	unoccupied since the death of former occupant, mother of 8, one month ago
14	Mbusa	4	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(61) male, age 36, child of 67 and 68
				(62) female, age 30, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 61
				(63) female, age 7, child of 61 and 62
				(64) male, age 5, child of 61 and 62
				(65) female, age 2, child of 61 and 62
				(66) female, age 70, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan, grandmother of 62, a widow
15	Naloto	50	Katoka clan, Saumua subclan	(67) male, age 70, headman of Saumua subclan
				(68) female, age 70, born in Nggalinggali, Naivotavota clan, wife of 67
				(69) female, age 21, child of 67 and 68, widow of a man of Vuanitavola clan
				(70) female, age 3, child of 69
				(71) female, age 5, illegitimate child of 46; child's father, working on Taveuni, is the son of 41
				(72) male, age 3, illegitimate child of 46; child's father is dead
16	Lamitchi	24	Vuanitavola	(73) male, age 46, Vuanitavola clan, carpenter
				(74) female, age 43, wife of 73

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(75) male, age 16, child of 73 and 74
				(76) male, age 11, child of 73 and 74
				(77) female, age 27, born on Komo, Tuvana clan
17	Nukumboromboro, men's house	6	Katoka	(78) male, age 60, headman of Katoka clan, chief of crops and herald
				(79) male, age 18, son of 78 and 82
				(80) male, age 12, Vuanikathu clan, an orphan
18	Naisevou	4	Katoka	(81) female, age 50, Vuanikathu clan, wife of 78, sister of 1
				(82) female, age 19, child of 78 and 81
				(83) female, age 15, child of 78 and 81
				(84) female, age 24, born on Totoya, child of 41, wife of son of 78 and 81; her husband is working in Suva
				(85) male, age 1, son of 84
				(86) female, age 20, Vuanikathu clan, daughter of 90 and 91
				(87) female, age 6, illegitimate child of 36; child's father, Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is dead
				(88) female, age 24, Vuanitavola clan, wife of the son of the brother of 82; her husband works on Taveuni
				(89) female, child of 88
19	Tatchi	28	Vuanikathu	(90) male, age 52, Vuanikathu clan
				(91) female, age 44, born in Lomatchi, Nawi clan, wife of 90
				(92) male, age 16, child of 90 and 91
				(93) female, age 7, child of 90 and 91

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(94) female, age 5, child of 90 and 91
				(95) female, age 74, Vuanikathu clan, mother of 90 and 98
				(96) female, age 3, born in Lakemba
				(97) female, age 15, born in Lomatchi, Levuka clan; her mother 33 is the older sister of 89; the child is *vasu* to 89
20	Nukumbalavu	10	Vuanikathu	(98) female, age 46, Vuanikathu clan, widow of former Mbuli Kambara, Vuanikathu clan, sister of 90
				(99) female, age 25, child of 98; has returned to Tokalau after the death of her husband in Suva; she has one child in Suva
				(100) male, age 19, child of 98
				(101) male, age 16, child of 98
				(102) male, age 14, child of 98
				(103) female, age 12, child of 98
				(104) female, age 8, child of 98
				(105) male, age 3, child of 98
				(106) female, age 65, Katoka clan, widow of the former native missionary
				(107) female, age 16, born on Matuku; her father, now dead, was a brother of 67, Saumua clan
21	Naveiruarua		Vuanikathu clan, Mbete subclan	(108) male, age 70, Mbete subclan, Vuanikathu clan
				(109) female, age 60, born on Totoya, wife of 108
22	Kenitoni	3	Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	(110) male, age 36, born on Komo, former Mbuli Kambara, temporarily schoolmaster; illegitimate child of 118

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TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD CENSUS OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA—(Cont.)

HOUSE NUMBER ON SKETCH MAP	HOUSE NAME AND TYPE	AGE OF HOUSE IN YEARS	CLAN	INHABITANTS
				(111) female, age 30, born on Komo, wife of 110; illegitimate child of 119
				(112) female, age 10, child of 110 and 111
				(113) male, age 7, child of 110 and 111
				(114) female, age 6, child of 110 and 111
				(115) female, age 4, child of 110 and 111
				(116) female, age 2, child of 110 and 111
				(117) male, age 3 months, child of 110 and 111
				(118) female, age 58, born on Komo, Nukusea clan, a widow
				(119) female, age 45, born on Komo, Mbete clan
				(120) female, age 16, illegitimate child of 119
				(121) male, age 45, half-caste born on Nggau
				(122) female, age 35, born on Kandavu; her father is from Komo, her mother from Vuanitavola clan, Kambara. She is cross cousin of 110
				(123) male, age 10, illegitimate child of 121; child's mother, from Nakaka clan, Lomatchi, is now living on Matuku Island
23	Tuvana		Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan	house is out of repair; it was formerly occupied by 119, 120, and 121
24	Mualevu	2 months	owned by Chinese storekeeper	(124) female, age 25, Vuanitavola clan, Matandravu subclan, child of 119
25	Sitoa store		owned by Chinese trading company	(125) male, age 32, Chinese storekeeper
26	Koro Vou guest house		owned by the Kambara district	used for visiting chiefs and officials

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621 133 [312] Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair. Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

621 133 712 Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabitants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau, before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 133 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

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the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

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621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

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621 133

Lolousiusi, is on the west side of the island above Vuninawanawa on the west coast. At Vuninawanawa are two temporary shelters.

The two important fortress sites of Wangava are Korombalayu (Korong-gara) (p. 220), a fortified cave with one entrance in the central basin and another high up on the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu on the north coast of the island; and Ndengei (p. 219), a fortified village on the highest point of the island, above Saurai on the west coast. A hamlet site called Nakumbua on the west Wangava beach below Ndengei is said to have been occupied by the inhabitants of Ndengei after the coming of Christianity.

My guide to the archaeological sites of Wangava was Rasolo of the Naivotavota clan, Nggalinggali, reputed to be the only one who knows their location.

Namuka

Namuka is a relatively fertile, limestone island about 4 miles long and 1 mile wide. The maximum elevation of the island is 79.2 meters. The island is nearly surrounded by a barrier reef. Nawatchia, the only village on Namuka, is located on a small bay on the south coast. Fifty sleeping houses occupied by the 289 inhabitants are clustered around the ceremonial ground. Nawatchia has a Chinese store. Paths from the village lead to garden lands in the central basin and northwest across the island to the only anchorage. Fresh water is obtained from a reservoir in the village.

Namuka is geologically older than the other limestone islands and of them has the richest garden lands. The island produces an abundance of food to cover the needs of her population. The main garden products are manioc, sweet potato, and banana. Her principal resources are the paper mulberry (called *masi*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*) and other plants used in making fine types of barkcloth.

Mothe

Mothe is a circular volcanic island about 2.3 miles in diameter. It is surrounded by a barrier reef. The island rises from sandy beaches toward a central ridge, which attains a height of 179.8 meters at Ndelaimakotu hill. The hillside slopes are forest free, and fertile valleys are watered by creeks. Mothe is rich in garden lands but lacks the forest resources of the limestone islands. Besides an abundance of food, including yams and taro, as well as manioc and breadfruit, the island produces good paper mulberry.

The population of the island is concentrated at the southern end in the two villages of Nasau and Korotolu. These villages occupy adjacent sites, separated only by a narrow drainage ditch. Nasau has 260 inhabitants occupying 52 sleeping houses. Korotolu has 80 inhabitants occupying 15 sleeping houses. Nasau has a Chinese store.

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621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants, the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

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in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai. 621 133

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village. [221]

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village. [712]

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

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both sides of the village, are very poor. The men are expert fishers and the best sailors of Fulanga, an island noted for skill in navigation.

[221]

At Naivindamu the high tide mark almost reaches the kitchen huts along the beach. Between the months of January and March, when mosquitoes are troublesome in the village, the people sleep in temporary shelters on Matafeke, an island in the central lagoon swept by the southeast trades. Four huts have been built on the table top of the island, which is not more than 15 meters in diameter. Matafeke is about 400 meters from Naivindamu and is reached by canoe and scaled at low tide by means of a wooden stepladder.

In the garden land on the lagoon shore about 1,200 meters south of Naivindamu lies the old hamlet site of Toka below the hill fortress of Tchinambua. The Naivindamu people say that both sites were occupied by their ancestors who moved from Toka to the present site. When Williams (27, vol. 2, p. 122), the first European missionary to visit Fulanga, came to the island in June 1842, he found four settlements: Toka, Naivindamu, Muanaira, and Muanaithake. The locations of the settlements are not stated, but it is probable that the inhabitants of Toka have moved within the last century to the southwest end of Naivindamu where they have formed the clan hamlet of Toka. Members of the Toka clan know little of their pedigrees.

Ongea

The two main islands in the Ongea group are Ongea Levu, about 4 by 2 miles, and Ongea Ndriki, 1 by 1.8 miles. The maximum elevation of Ongea Levu is 91.4 meters. A barrier reef, encircling both limestone islands, encloses a deep lagoon which affords the best anchorage in southern Lau. Hence Ongea is visited by ships more frequently than the other southern islands.

The only village in the Ongea group is Naithulaianga, situated on an inlet at the southern end of Ongea Levu. No census was taken on Ongea, but the village headman said that the population of the village was 102. There are 25 sleeping houses in the village. Naithulaianga is connected with its garden lands by paths running northward into the interior of Ongea Levu. There are also garden lands and temporary huts on Ongea Ndriki. Though the Ongea soil is not rich it is better than that of Fulanga and the food problem is not so acute. The crops are manioc, sweet potatoes, and bananas. The principal resources of the island are hardwoods.

Naithulaianga is built on the shore of the lagoon. The high tide line is only a meter or two from the kitchen huts, two of which are protected by a limestone retaining wall 75 cm. high. Many of the houses in the village stand upon stone-faced mounds from 75 cm. to 1.5 meters high. According to the natives the village is flooded during hurricanes.

[217]

Fresh water is obtained from a concrete reservoir.

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sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123).

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail.

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*).

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

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631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery. 621 618

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor, the request is made by the chief of crops. [226]

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the
618 father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

[423] The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but
[427] are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau. 621 618

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka. 621 618 578

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

UNDU

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Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Matasoata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka. 621 618

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small, new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Matasoata clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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KOROTOLU

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct.

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER III

POLITICS AND POLICEMEN

539 GREAT BRITAIN TAKES COMMAND

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama,
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga,
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata
Laki kele sara i matamatana.

Floating stones, the fruits of light,
Wonderful canoes welcomed by the murmuring breeze,
Chiefly canoes of the people of Mathuata
About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

Ancient club dance, Fiji.

614 WE HAVE THUS SEEN how every Lauan child is born into his father's clan. It is as a member of his clan rather than an individual that he goes through life. Under the Lauan social system the patrilineal clan is the basic social unit. Each clan is controlled by a clan headman and is composed of two or three sub-clans. Each sub-clan consists of several households, usually made up of a man, his wife, his children and near relatives such as his parents.[17]

614 621 178 Before the introduction of Christianity each clan formed a hamlet, located in the bush or the garden land, and protected by a hill fortress. One of the most far-reaching effects of the introduction of Christianity was the elimination of warfare in the group. As soon as protection against enemy raids was no longer necessary, most of the hamlets moved down to the coast and consolidated into more convenient coast villages. Later, under colonial regulation village residence was made compulsory and hamlet dwellers were heavily fined. In re-

[17] For details concerning the social organization of Lau, see L. Thompson, "Southern Lau, Fiji, an Ethnography," op. cit.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which 614
become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial 621
government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked 178
clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle 648
of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weigh-
621 ing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Problem of "Totemism" in Southern Lau

621 A study of the "totemic" phenomena presented in *Southern Lau* reveals traces of what appear to be two "totemic" systems in the group: (1) a "totemic" system associated with island groups, and (2) a "totemic" system associated with clan groups. Although the data on each system are fragmentary and inconclusive, there is some evidence that they form a pattern which may be summarized as follows:

(1) "Totemic" phenomena associated with island groups.

On four out of the five islands studied (namely Kambara, Namuka, Mothe and Fulanga) the land people apparently formerly believed that they originated in some local natural phenomenon, either a tree or an animal. The land people of the island believed that they were the descendants of their particular tree or animal. The totemic ancestor of the land people of Kambara, namely the *ngingia* tree, even bore the title of Vu (ancestor) and the people were called *vuaningingia* (fruit of the *ngingia*). Similarly the land people of each of the islands mentioned above also claimed one or more species of fish which was propitiated with offerings of kava, food and wreaths and those of Kambara and Mothe had a species of bird. No evidence was found of island exogamy associated with the island totemism of the land people. On the contrary, island endogamy was strongest on the islands peopled by land clans.[29]

614 (2) "Totemic" phenomena associated with clan groups.

At least half of the thirty-seven clans studied possessed three "totems": species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. These were called *ithavutchi*. Thus it appears from the data in *Southern Lau* that the "trilogy of linked totems," considered by Capell and Lester[30] to be "normal" in Fiji, is associated in this area with some clans. No evidence was found of belief in descent from the clan "totem." Since clans in Lau are exogamous, this type of "totemism" is associated with exogamy.

Two clans belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group, namely Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau village on Kambara island and Mbutonokoro clan of Nasau village on Mothe island, also had a war cry and war gods. Regarding their *wanggawangga ni kalou-vu* I have no information.

The inference that there were formerly two systems of "totemic" beliefs in southern Lau, one associated with the land people, the other with the "Nakauvandra people," which derives some support from my data, fits in well with the general conclusions regarding the culture history of the area stated above.

It should be added that there is a certain resemblance between the "totemic" phenomena associated with the land people of southern Lau and those described

[29] *Southern Lau*, p. 54.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

are not distinguished from the Numburavi (that is, Lomatchi) group (consisting entirely of land clans) in this respect. 614

It is interesting to note that in the Native Land Commission's list Undu and Lomatchi villages have almost identical "totems," which correspond to those recorded in *Southern Lau* for the Kambara land group except for the *manumanu*. However, the Nggalinggali group also claims the tree (*ngingia*) and the fish (shark) which, according to my informants, belonged to the land people of Kambara island.

Also Muanaira and Naivindamu, two Fulanga villages composed entirely of land clans and, according to my notes, reputed to be descended from the earliest inhabitants, do not fulfil the conditions laid down by the definition for classification as separate *yavusa*.

Ongea (that is, Naithulaianga village) is composed of two clans (Mata and Nggalileka) belonging definitely to the land group, one clan (Tawalo) which claims to *e kai wai*, and one clan (Tumbesara) which may belong to "Nakauvandra" but since its pedigree does not show direct descent to Ndaunisai cannot be definitely assigned to it. Ongea therefore definitely does not fulfil the dictionary definition requirements of a *yavusa* group.

Thus our inquiry into the nature of the groups labelled *yavusa* by the Native Land Commission reveals that not one fulfils the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the dictionary definition.

Of the functioning social groups defined by me in *Southern Lau*, on the other hand, three of the five phratries (namely, "Nakauvandra," Matai Lemaki and Mata Sau) do fulfil the condition regarding belief in a common ancestor laid down by the definition. Moreover, all five of the clans which I have definitely assigned to the "Nakauvandra" phratry trace their pedigrees directly to their common ancestor (*vu*), namely Ndaunisai, and claim a common ancestor god (*kalou-vu*), namely Ndengei, who is reputed to be the father of the *vu*. They do not have a common set of totems, so far as my information extends, nor a common war cry. On the other hand, two of the five "Nakauvandra" clans within the phratry claim a common set of totems and a common war cry. 614 615

Of the other four phratries, the Matai Lemaki traces descent from the Samoan carpenter, Lemaki; the Matai Sau from the Matai Sau originally from Viti Levu; the *kai wai*, so far as the evidence extends, seem to stem from the *kai wai* of eastern Fiji; and the land group of each island traditionally traced its origin to some natural phenomenon on the island rather than to a common originator for all the land people.

The available evidence, therefore, leads us to infer that in southern Lau there is no over-all, area-wide social group, either based on kinship or on geography, which fulfils all of the conditions stipulated by the New Fijian Dictionary's definition of the term *yavusa*. Let us consider first the Native Land Commission data. If, as we assume from the Native Land Commission's list, each village group has a *wangga-wangga*, a tree, a fish, and a *manumanu*, then the village group fulfils one of the requirements of the definition, namely that of claiming a common set of "totems." But our analysis of the functioning social system shows that only in four of the village 114 614 615 621

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

groups listed by the Native Land Commission (that is, Undu, Lomatchi, Muanaira and Naivindamu) do we find any evidence of common ancestry for all the inhabitants, and in these cases the common ancestry, being based on a traditional belief in descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of the island does not exclude the land-clans from other villages on the same island.

Turning to the data presented in Southern Lau, on the other hand, we note first that the phratry groups come much nearer to fulfilling the condition of common ancestry laid down by the dictionary definition, but do not, so far as is known, have a common set of totems and a war cry. Indeed the land people are characterized as definitely unwarlike. Secondly, we note that two clans of the "Nakauvandra" phratry seem to fulfil all the conditions of the definition and it is possible that the other three "Nakauvandra" clans did so at one time. However, the remaining thirty-two clans in the area studied, as far as is known, do not fulfil these conditions.

The absence of a clear-cut *yavusa* division in the functioning social system of southern Lau, revealed by our analysis, explains both the confusion of the natives regarding the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of actual living social groups (especially the discrepancy between informants belonging to the "Nakauvandra" group and to the land group), and it explains the discrepancy between the use of the term by the Native Land Commission and by the writer. The Native Land Commission associates it with village groups (that is, groups of clans related by common residence) whereas I associate it with phratries (that is, groups of clans related by common ancestry). The *yavusa* of the Native Land Commission is a social group based on geography; that of the writer is a social group based on traditional belief in common descent from a human or mythical ancestor. Since, however, common ancestry is the key notion stressed in a literal translation of the word *yavusa*[39] as well as in Capell's definition, I conclude that there is more justification for my use of the term than for that of the Native Land Commission. Indeed it appears from the above analysis that the Native Land Commission has attempted to superimpose a previously developed formula on to the social system of southern Lau regardless of the social groups actually functioning there. And this in turn explains why Capell and Lester claim that groupings of *yavusa* in southern Lau are "easily ascertainable," a fallacy of which has been revealed by our analysis of the problem on the basis of the actual living structures.

On the basis of the above analysis, I submit that of all the social groups functioning in southern Lau, the term *yavusa* fits the phratry best. However, on account of the confusion regarding the term, it may be advisable to eliminate it altogether in describing the social system of this area.

The confusion as to the meaning of the word *yavusa* in terms of the actual social groups found in southern Lau is understandable on the basis of either one of two hypotheses, both of which fit into the general conclusions presented in *Southern Lau*

[39] "The original founder of the group is called its *vu*, or root . . . ; the group which originates from him is called a *yavusa*." (Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, p. 314.)

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau. 554 291

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.) 622

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu. 614 602

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana. 621

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are: 614

1. Nanduruvesi	Nakanoru Talikimamana
2. Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3. Veikau	Naseuvou Vutuna Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son. [565] [622]

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven: 621 614

Nanggalitoka	Valeiloma Navai
Rakuta	Ndakoso Nanggalia Mataniwai
Lomaitilou	Lomaitilou Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	Tandulu Mbatiniwai Nanduruvesi

1 [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala { Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Namolutu Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

●622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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[60.2]

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

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The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*). 614 565

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*. 614 622

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later. 636

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old, 621 614

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

622 Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

622 621 There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

[614] The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

648 The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1; Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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noble or a commoner. In return for this he built canoes for the people. This continued under the late Tui Naiau during the building of the Fane, a canoe in honor of Fane, the daughter of Ratu Erone who protected Lemaki in the exercise of his right, but cautioned him not to impose it on the common people who might prosecute him, but only on the nobles who dare not object.

VILLAGE CHIEFS OF LAKEMBA

622

In each village there is a chief usually bearing the title of Tui. The chiefs are spoken of as "the old men of the countryside." Except the Lord of Nasangalau and Tui Soso of Nukunuku, they are not honored in Tumbou, but only in the country.

The chief of Nasangalau is usually known as Ramasi, Sir Cloth. He is the cloth for Natokalau,[5] whereas the Lord of Tumbou is the cloth for Navuaira. The *masi* are those that rule the land. Formerly the two "Cloths" would discuss anything that was intended, war, a potlatch, a feast. When they had decided they reported to the Lord of Naiau, who approved. The chief of Nasangalau also bears the title of Tui Natokalau. It is doubtful whether the third title of Tui Nasangalau is ancient. One man says the chief is first called Tui Nasangalau, then installed as Ramasi.

Except the people of Nasangalau, no one in the North salutes this chief with the *tama;* but they all use this salutation in front of the door of Ralovo, who lives in Nasangalau but whose mother was a great lady of Tumbou.

Vakano is a lowborn village. They go about Natokalau with folded arms. The chief is now called Tui Vakano, but of old there was no such title, because a god was called Tui Vakano. The old title was Tui ni Mata, Lord of the Face. Evidence from Vanua Levu shows this to mean "Lord of the Grave."

The chief of Nukunuku is called Tui Soso, Lord of the Field, after a large extent of low land near the village. The people of Tumbou say there was a god called Tui Nukunuku, but the people of the place know nothing of this. The present chief is a Tongan. The nobility of Nukunuku is extinct. Formerly Tui Soso was a man of importance and could wear a turban in Tumbou.

Yandrana are not lowborn like Vakano. They are termed the *mbati ki Lakemba*, that is, "teeth" or "edge for Lakemba." "They stand on the edge; the nobles lean upon them." They fight for Lakemba. The old title of the chief is said to have been Vata ni Tawake. The present one of Tui Yandrana is a government one.

[5] *Masi kei Natokalau* not *mai*, of; *mai* is never used in this expression.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua,* that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga,* "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakamelomelo,* which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa,* that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vu luvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia: 622 272 276

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73). 648 272 276

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald.

When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 602
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cross-cousins and *tauvu*, are marked by violent appropriation, and studied 621
insolence. So essential is this violence that having forgotten why Ono and Thithia are *veitambani* of Lakemba the people say it is because they could fight with Lakemba: the violence is all that is remembered of the ancient bond. There is nothing of the kind in the relations between Tai and Tumbou. But in the first place the cross-cousinship, if it did exist, of the two sides has become completely obscured; and secondly *tauvu* tribes live at a distance from one another and when they are described as plundering one another it is always with a state visit in mind. Cross-cousins do not commit the excesses of the *tauvu* because they live side by side and so could not keep it up, or else their visits are individual, and finally it is evident that the custom has become much attenuated since modern relations do not involve the excesses of the ancient ones that go back to the gods. There is, however, a certain amount of rivalry between Tai and Tumbou, though Tumbou is hopelessly outclassed.

In the Banks Islands, society is divided into two intermarrying halves which are in opposition to one another; one claims to be "versed in social lore" and peaceful, and accuse the other of being ignorant, quarrelsome, and unimportant (12, vol. 1, p. 22); now the nobles in Lau are versed in social lore and are gentle in their manners, but the land, especially the vanguard, are reputed to be rough in their ways; they are also comparatively unimportant.

The *solevu* or ceremonial exchange seems to be essentially a custom of intermarrying tribes: it is always held between tribes that are related, i. e., intermarry; it is marked by keen competition and by horse-play and jesting between men and women.

CLANS

In the Banks Islands each half is subdivided: these divisions are called 614
veve, just like the halves. So in Fiji each side is called a *matanggali*, is divided into *matanggali*. The subdivisions of the Banks Islanders are each under a god called *vui*, just as the Fijian clans are under a *vu*.

The Fijian clans have different functions and could therefore be grouped 565
as castes. There is the noble caste corresponding to the Indian raja, the heralds or councillors equivalent to the Indian Brahmans, the land, the vanguard, carpenters, fishermen, house servants (*kai vale*).

SUCCESSION

The order of succession presents this peculiarity, that the chieftainship 622
alternated between two branches of the chiefly family. This is true in Tumbou, Yaroi, Ketei, Oneata. In Oneata it was definitely laid down that

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

622 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but semen-man would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief political officer of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE ISLAND CHIEF

622 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
[428 his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in
184] the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[8] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

Chief's Installation

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

Chief's Reception

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[8] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, ● 622] the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held 526 upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa* 765] *ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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501 396 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on [354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *evuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku* [622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambetembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just [731] before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

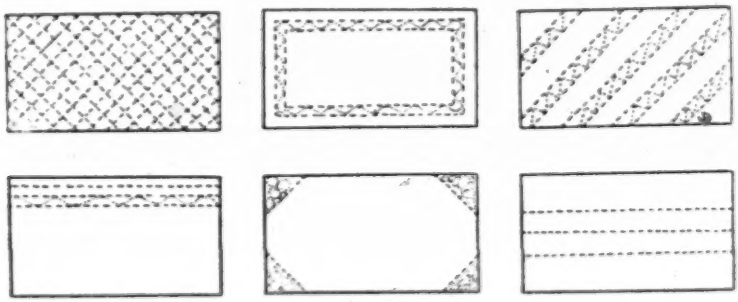

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

[292] Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

[237] Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

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197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

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648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or pro-
648 vinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village head-
622 man (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

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He is the head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed. 622

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials. 634

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to 634 177

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau QQ6
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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had 558 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 622 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 178 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*, according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has 756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits 159 554
of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In 622
every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a
titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is
clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of [614]
clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the
chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of
Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and [602]
the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back,
whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a
common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created politieal office of village headman plays 622
an important part in village affairs. The village headman is
responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations
which provide for the communal performance of all activities
considered beneficial to the community. These activities
include gardening, village planning, house building and
sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and
the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive
duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies
to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men
of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were
executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the
village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was
acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia,
the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract
labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious
man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and
effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest
villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was
swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the 622
old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a 177
sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

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of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

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When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantat- on, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are ~~[illegible]~~ said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 177 [143] [759]

[p.60]

7/1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

a very wet and disconsolate castaway that eventually stepped on the sandy beach of Doi, and turning round sat down to gaze at the ship and meditate on the prospects of getting home again. Here was I, on a tiny islet, inhabited by a handful of natives, at the extreme south of the Fiji group—so far south, indeed, as to be well on the way towards New Zealand, and not on the Fiji chart at all—and if the ship were disabled or unable to be floated off again I might be settled here for a month before a relief ship could reach me. There is, of course, no "wireless" on such remote islands as this, and the Ono Islands are seldom touched at beyond my own annual visit of inspection. 123

We eventually floated the vessel off, after a trying time of several days on the reef; and what with that and a severe gale that subsequently arose I was detained at Ono for some eleven days, during which I spoke no English, and found for literature only a copy of the *Auckland Weekly News*, just fifteen months old, to amuse myself with. It was during that time, when we sat out in the warm, moonlit nights, watching the distant reef, and wondering always whether *that* night's tide would be sufficient to float her free, that I heard some of the old-time tales of the ancient gods of Lau.

There is a fair-sized village at Doi, and, luckily, the Chief of the Island was a most intelligent 115 123

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10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 man, though of a somewhat dreamy nature,
123 and although he pretended to laugh at these tales
[361] of olden days, I could see that he more than half
[622] believed them. But being intelligent he was, at all events, able to tell a connected story, and also help me elicit one from others; and some of the tales I heard then I now set down.

"Did you hear that, sir?" he said, suddenly, one night as we were seated on the beach with some of the local islanders round a little wood
[276] fire, kept up more for the sake of re-lighting
[372] the oft-renewed *sulukas*, or native cheroots, than for actual warmth.

[534] "That" was the distant beating of a *lali*, the big wooden drum found in all Lauan villages. The air was still, yet the sound was but faint that came to us from over the great lagoon that stretches between Doi and Ono Islands. I had several times heard the Ono *lali* before; and on calm days such as this it had seemed quite close, and certainly different from this faint sound, which now had ceased altogether. Some of the men looked at each other.

"Perhaps it is *Sagasagawalé*, for I know of no meeting to be summoned at Ono to-night, and why else should the drum be sounded?" said one of them, a little awkwardly.

"Don't be a fool," said the Chief, with a curt laugh. "These are enlightened times, and

[text continues on p. 70]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala { Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	{ Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	{ Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	{ Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	{ Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

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The Fijian word for subject is *nggali*; Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

[641]

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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have nothing to do with feasts out of doors, but only when these are brought in to the Lord of Naiau. The share that falls to the Lord of Naiau they divide. They do not speak out of doors; Narewandamu speak out of doors. They are described as "the Land of Navuanirewa" as opposed to the "Land" pure and simple, that is Tumbou.

The heads of Katumbalevu proper and of Narewandamu are the Lord of Naiau's "old men." They should be in his presence every day.

Thekena is spoken of as "the Land" in contradistinction to the nobles. The title, Vakavanua, the adjective of *vanua* (land), is usually shortened to Vaka. One tradition relates that he was the chief of old; but the High Chief declined and became Vaka.

The chief of Tanggalevu is called Tui Tumbou. The title was given to a member of the oldest generation, but of the lesser "edge of the oven." The head of the senior branch was addressed and officiated as Lord of Tumbou in the absence of the real one. The original functions of the Lord of Tumbou are not known, but at present he fulfills most of the functions of a herald, excepting the distribution of feasts. It was he who apportioned the kava and directed the reception of high officials. He is the "mouth of Tui Naiau." The High Chief does not speak; the Lord of Tumbou speaks. It was said that the third Lord of Naiau appointed the Lord of Tumbou to this office in place of the heralds who had a bad name for murdering chiefs. The Lord of Tumbou also bears the title of Ramasi, Sir Cloth.

An informant says:

> Vakavanua, the Land Chief, is higher than the Lord of Tumbou. If there is a fight and the heralds go to stop it and do not succeed the Lord of Tumbou will go. If he fails, the Land Chief will go; when he appears, all things cease. The Lord of Tumbou and the Land Chief are weighty delayers of anger. The nobles may not hit each other in presence of the Land Chief, the Lord of Tumbou, or a herald. If the High Chief wants to sleep and his household or the herald comes and tells the Chief and utters the name of Land Chief of Lord of Tumbou, when he hears it, it is hard for him to lie down again on his bed: he knows it is something serious.

I know of no title in Tuware. This clan were the *mataivalu kalou,* that is, "spirit battalion." They went first in war and though all Lakemba retreated, they still advanced.

One Tongan bears the title of Moala, which is said to mean navigator.

The Tongan term *matapule* is constantly used to denote these minor chiefs. Strictly speaking, *matapule* is the equivalent of the Fijian *mata ni vanua* or herald, but it is said to be "a polite word for old men." I have heard the Fijian *matanivanua* used in the extended sense, for instance, for the chief of Levuka. They are also called "chiefs of the land," or "old men of the land." Any of them could intercede with the High Chief on behalf of an offender. Formerly they were treated with respect. The children

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of the High Chief were respectful to them. They cooked for them on board. If they foregathered there was no youth there. The noble youth was of no use in the affairs of the country. The old men drank kava and ruled the land; a noble youth would not be present unless it were to make kava. Later on he would be able to pronounce upon matters: he would know what the men of old had decided. 614 624

The custom of "bearing the Sau" or "lifting the Sau" (*thola Sau*) has been discontinued. It is described thus:

> The Chief formerly had a nobleman to "bear his reign," to work for his reign. He bore the stress of it, the Chief leaned upon him. If the father dies, the Chief appoints one of his sons to bear for him, to be his hand and mouth."

Tione Wesele filled this office because he was energetic, enterprising, and brave. The Lakembans feared him because of his energy. If at a ceremonial kava, a lowborn man went to the top of the ring or did something wrong, Tione Wesele would drag him out. If a bad feast were sent in, he would send it back, or seize and whip the givers.

Carpenters, called *matai*, are highly respected in Lau. Two men, Tiafau[4] and Lemaki, coming at different times to Lakemba, established two houses of hereditary carpenters, the titles and the positions of carpenters to nobles. In the Lemaki family the title passes from father to eldest son. 554 614 463

The Tiafau family, who came from Tonga in Christian times, were originally heralds to the Tui Tonga, and later achieved the craft by the skill and strength of their hands. They were experts in making drums (*nafa*).

Lemaki was originally a chief in Manono, in Samoa. With a relative, Leha, he went to Tonga to seek timber for a war canoe; there, hearing of timber in Fiji, they went to Lakemba, and took up their residence with the nobles. For, Lemaki's son having been killed in Ono, as the price of blood and price of work, the nobles of Lakemba asked his family not to return to Samoa, and gave them the land of Lekutu, where they still live.

A clan of Lemaki is in Nggalinggali; some of the family are in Taveuni and Nairai.

The first Lemaki was succeeded by [illegible]kotiale, his son, for in this family the son of the chief wife (*aleua mbau*) is the successor; not the brother, as in Fiji. His son Vulivuli joined the Naivi faction and was killed in the civil war in Naiau. His other son, Maopo, succeeded. He had seventy wives.

Of old the Lemaki merely superintended the work; but later descendants worked with their hands. The Lemaki did not plant but served the nobles, which gave him the right to appropriate pigs, yams, or reserve a crop for himself; he could do so anywhere in Lau, whether the crop belonged to a

[4] Or Taunga, I am not certain as to the title.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE ISLAND CHIEF

622 554 Each island has a chief (*tui*) who holds a definite interisland rank, indicated, as is the rank of the island, by the order of presentation of shares at an interisland feast.

The chief of Kambara formerly held highest rank among the island chiefs. He received tribute not only from Kambara, but from Wangava, Namuka, and Komo. Although the chief of Kambara is still respected and feared, he has lost some of his former prerogatives. The first fruits are presented jointly to him and to the village headman by Tokalau only.

The chief of Mothe is of high rank because of his relationship with Vuanirewa, Tumbou (p. 38). He still receives regular, annual tribute of first fruits from all the clans on Mothe.

The chief of Fulanga of Vunikoro clan and the chief of Ongea of Tumbesara clan hold a lower interisland rank. Each, however, receives an annual offering of first fruits from the clans on his island.

The headman of Toyovu subclan of Nasoiya clan on Namuka has recently been given the newly created title of chief of Namuka. No offering of first fruits is presented to him because, according to the natives, there is plenty of food on Namuka, and the tabu on first fruits, which conserves the supply by preventing the inhabitants from eating green fruit, is not necessary.

622 624 The island chiefs perform functions similar to the high chief but on a descending scale, depending on their rank. They are sacred repositories of powerful clan mana inherited from strong ancestral forefathers. They are highly respected and are protected by tabus and etiquette. They have their assistants: a herald, a master fisherman, a chief of crops, or chief's administrator, a master carpenter, an envoy to Lakemba, and a chief of the ceremonial ground. They collect tribute from the villages within their domains in the form of first fruits, feasts, and property on important ceremonial occasions, such as the chief's installation, marriage, death, and canoe and house building.

ASSISTANTS TO THE CHIEF

624 There are several assistants to the chief who rank below the island chief but whose relationship to one another is not clearly defined today. These are the chief's assistants, who have charge of the administration of his chiefdom. Precedence among them differs according to island. The functions of these officers are not rigidly fixed. Seniority and personal skill often help to determine their duties.

The herald (*mata ni vanua*), a hereditary title held by a clan in the land phratry, is the chief's first assistant. He acts as the chief's spokesman and master of ceremonies and receives and presents gifts on behalf of the chief. The title of herald occurs on the islands of Kambara, Namuka, and Fulanga. It is absent on Mothe and Ongea where the duties of the herald are performed

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga. 624

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important. 624 784

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older. 624

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal 624 226

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 226 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accompanied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 335 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 793 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 644 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to [428 his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in 184] the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 241 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 226 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai*, which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were [251 261] abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under [184] tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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[48]

series of side or slanting paces, their bodies swaying in unison, and all in dead silence. When they reached us they deposited their burden at our feet, with a few, almost inaudible, words, and then retreated down the long line, still facing us, in the same manner as they had come. This part was called the *Rogo tabakau*, and signified that they had brought the *Draudrau ni Vanua*[1] as a sign that the representative of the Governor—and therefore of the King—held sway over all that had grown upon the land since the last visit. (The presentation of baskets of earth, to signify that the chief held sway over the actual soil itself, had been made to the first Governor forty years before, on the cession of the Colony to Great Britain, so there was no necessity to repeat this.)

[624]

Our *matapuli*[2] (or aide-de-camp or herald), then touched the *tabakau* in silence, the touch signifying his acceptance, on our behalf, of the emblem.

Then another white-bearded old man came along, also advancing on his knees, with upraised hands grasping a heavy stalk of large green coco-nuts, the nuts themselves, two in number, drooping over and suspended on his left shoulder. One nut represented the visiting chief, and the other the people of the land. He deposited these

[1] Literally, leaves of the land.
[2] This word is often used in old ceremonies in the Lau Islands instead of the Fijian word "mata ni vanua."

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Offenses against the native regulations, which control such 648
aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house 692
building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which [625]
consists of over two hundred police officers divided into 696
twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in 554
southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of 461
his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; 577
now it is straightness (*yalo ndonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work.

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams 461
and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble 157
of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*.

Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. 577
It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is 181
possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait.

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A 577
certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to 626
get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name.

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by 577
mandua. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, 157
shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest.

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in 157
themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 648 success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies 178 mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka. 539

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576 of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626 learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
●627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

173 these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of
177 chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

631
131 The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

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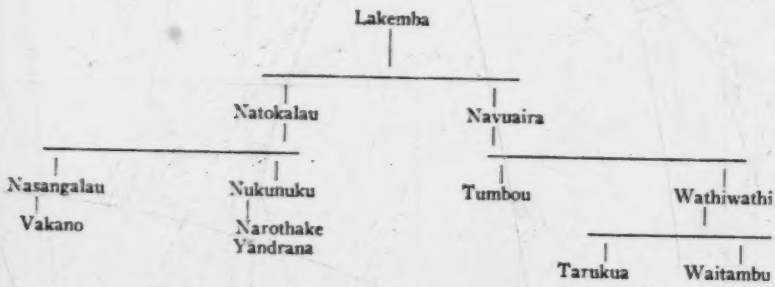
134 Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

For "the purpose of feasts," Lakemba is divided into two districts: Natokalau, the North; Navuaira, the Southwest or West. The divisions are again divided as follows: 631



Levuka is not mentioned in these divisions, because its inhabitants stand apart, "They are foreigners," considered as people of Mbau. [563]

Houses of Lakemba are all of Tongan style—oblong in plan with rounded ends, the roofs slightly convex. The houses stand on mounds (*yavu*) of the same shape, the height varying, only a few present day mounds being of any considerable height, notably one which has a double plinth. These mounds, or plinths, play a large part in Fijian tradition. 342 171

As a result of a Government regulation, almost every house has attached to it and built on the level ground a little hut which serves as a kitchen and family dining room. With few exceptions, all the houses present their flanks to the beach. In Tumbou, a door is built at the west end, and along the north coast some houses, I believe, if not all, have their doors in this position. In Wathiwathi, where the beach runs southwest to northeast, the door is at the southwest end, invariably to one side to avoid a post in the middle of the house. Inferiors enter at this door; superiors, by a door which is usually in the side facing the sea. Some houses have a door on each side. 343 342

It is in the *sue*, or lower end of the house, where the cold food is kept, kava is made, and inferiors sit. Usually the most important person sits toward the upper end with his back to the householder's couch, which is erected in the *longgi* (the upper end). This end in some houses is cut off by a curtain of bark cloth or a wooden partition. 342 576

The floor is of sand and pebbles strewn with coconut leaves and covered with mats (*tambakau*) about 8 feet by 2 feet, made of half coconut leaves plaited and stitched together. Over these again are laid the ordinary mats or *yamba* of *Pandanus* leaves. At the lower end of the house these mats are coarse with very broad strips, but where the more important people sit, the mats are usually finer. An honored guest is provided with a clean 352 285

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala { Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	{ Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	{ Namana { Mbutukoro
		Sau	{ Mbutoisau { Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	{ Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

622

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

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The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali,* a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

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The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

631 Naivi people are envoys to Ono and Vatoa because Uluilakemba I ancestor of that clan, married a lady of Ono and her son conquered Ono. They also became envoys to Ongea because one of them saved the third Lord of Naiau from shipwreck and so was given Ongea, Tarukua, and Lomati in Kambara as the "price of life" (*ka ni mbula*) to rule according to his pleasure.

Koroithumu is envoy to Nukunuku and Oneata; Katumbalevu proper, to Thithia; Tandravula, to Waitambu; Narewendamu, to Wathiwathi; Thekena, to Vakano. Tanggalevu is envoy to Kambara.

From of old down to the days of the third Lord of Naiau Vakano made feasts for Thekena while the other villages made feasts for the chief's house. If they made a feast for the High Chief it was first taken to Thekena and there was a share for that clan. Thekena also counts Waitambu as a subject, although it is not envoy to that place. Waitambu prepares the food out of doors, while Vakano are household servants (*kaivale*) and attend indoors. Thekena speak of these two places as their "two countrysides." They are also envoys to Komo.

There is no envoy to Naiau. This island stands in a peculiar position. The Lord of Naiau holds it. On landing the people of Naiau go straight to Big House into the kitchen.

In each island there is an envoy to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands these envoys were the chiefs. There were no *tui* then.

645 There are also envoys to countries not subject. The envoy to Mbau has been mentioned. The envoys to Thakaundrove and to Totoya were not hereditary, but some nobleman was appointed. He was accompanied by a herald who spoke to him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui. 631

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. 226); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also the heralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside. 621

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614 565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukai*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[3]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tautu* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tautu* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the 643

[3] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p.12. - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 631 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

THE FAMILY

A small clan or a subclan is composed of one or more *vuvale* (families or households). A *vuvale* usually consists of one family including a man, his wife, their children, and other near relatives. The group usually owns a sleeping house, a kitchen hut, and an earth oven shelter. Some families also own a men's house, used by the father of the family when his wife is child bearing, and by the youths, unmarried men, and widowers of the group. As a rule the family functions as a unit in planting, gathering, preparing and eating its daily food.

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Local Groups

THE CHIEFDOM

The chiefdom of Lakemba is composed of a group of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) held in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Besides Lakemba and Naiau, the chiefdom consists of Kambara with its dependencies (Namuka and Komo) and its uninhabited possessions (Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi); Mothe with its uninhabited possession (Karoni); Oneata; Fulanga with its dependency (Ongea), its uninhabited possessions (Yangasa cluster) and Ongea's uninhabited possession (Ongea Ndriki); Thithia; and Ono with its dependency (Vatoa) and uninhabited possessions (Tuvana-i-tholo and Tuvana-i-ra).

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The chiefdom resulted from the unification and organization of society in southern Lau, which began with the arrival of the immigrants from Viti Levu and was strengthened and accelerated by Tongan and finally European influences (pp. 29-30). Rivalry grew up between the clans of the nobles. Intervillage and interisland warfare followed. The nobles protected themselves with fortresses (p. 104). Their war leaders (*tamata nganga*) were aided by their allies (*mbatchi*) until gradually the strong groups reduced the weak ones to dependency.

There were three grades of dependency between political groups: *mbatchi, nggali,* and *kai si.* Moto of Undu says that a *mbatchi* is a man who helps because of kinship, not because he is forced to do so. According to Wilkes (26, p. 59) the term "*mbatchi*" means ally, or under the protection of a power though not actually subject to it, and the term "*nggali*" means subject to a power and compelled to pay yearly tribute or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 19) the *nggali* type of subjection includes a province or town subject or tributary to a chief town, and the *mbatchi* type includes provinces or towns not so directly subject, less oppressed, and less respected. In general the *mbatchi* includes those groups which were compelled to respond when the chief called for help in warfare; and the *nggali* includes conquered groups from whom the chief extracted

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regular tribute in food and industrial produce. Groups that were completely defeated in warfare were either destroyed or reduced to *kai si*, the lowest possible rank, becoming the chief's slaves who labored for him, provided his daily food, and built his houses.

How the southern islands became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba is not definitely known. It is the concensus in both Lau and in Viti Levu, however, that Kambara was formerly a rich and powerful chiefdom and that it held the highest rank in Lau before the rise of Lakemba. According to genealogies, legends, and statements of informants, Ndaunisai settled on Kambara, which was already inhabited by the land people, and established the noble class there. The nobles spread in Lau by tradition as follows:

Ndaunisai built the fortress of Nambewa in east Kambara. Ndaunisai had three sons, Wetasau and Nggileso by a woman called Vuavakavutu, Nawasambalavu by a woman called Naitukuninggila (table 2, next page). Vuavakavutu's kin are not known but Naitukuninggila belonged to the land people of Kambara. Wetasau established himself in east Kambara, Nggileso on Wangava, which was inhabited by the land people, and Nawasambalavu in west Kambara. Rivalry grew among the three brothers. Kelei, the son of Wetasau, and Sue, the son of Kelei strengthened east Kambara; during this time they acquired the island of Namuka, probably by destroying the aborigines, who were land people. They colonized the island with people from east Kambara. The descendants of Nawasambalavu strengthened west Kambara and acquired the island of Komo, probably in similar fashion. They colonized Komo with people from west Kambara. Nggileso built the fortress of Ndengei in west Wangava. He had three sons, Nggoma, who was the first-born, Ndelaivunggalei, and Randauvala. Nggoma established himself on Lakemba, Ndelaivunggalei on Naiau, and Randauvala succeeded his father on Wangava.

Niumataiwalu, the son of Ndelaivunggalei, killed Nggoma and his sons and established himself as chief of both Lakemba and Naiau. He founded the Navuanirewa clan which was later divided into the Naivi, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans and provided the high chief of Lau (table 2). Niumataiwalu had two sons, Uluilakemba I and Rasolo, by Tarau, a Totoya woman. Uluilakemba I had several sons. Among them were Ndausinga, the first-born, by Uma of Nukunuku, Ndranivia by a woman from Kambara, and Uluilakemba II by Kaukione of the Nasau clan, Mothe. Ndausinga founded the Naivi clan. Ndranivia married Ufia of Totoya—probably the same woman who was stolen by Sue of Kambara and from Sue by Singambongi of Wangava—who became the mother of Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini.

Uluilakemba II with his wife, Mbiu of Katumbalevu, Lakemba, established himself on Mothe which was inhabited by land people. Mothe had two chiefs, one from Nasau clan on the south side and the other, probably from Nggali clan, on the north. Uluilakemba settled on the side of Nasau, his mother's clan and united the island under his rule. He held the title of chief of Mothe and founded the Mbutonikoro clan.

Niumataiwalu's second son, Rasolo, succeeded Uluilakemba I as chief of Lakemba. He married Laufitu of Tonga and founded the Matailakemba clan. Other sons of Niumataiwalu founded the Vatuwangga and Koroithumu clans of Navuanirewa, Lakemba.

Randauvala, the son of Nggileso, who remained on Wangava, had a son, Singambongi. Singambongi stole Ufia from Sue, chief of east Kambara, who had stolen her from a chief of Lakemba. Ufia bore two sons on Wangava, Mbuatoka and Tawaketchini. Informants on Kambara do not know whether the father of Mbuatoka was Sue or Singambongi but they agree that Singambongi was the father of Tawaketchini. Sue, with the help of Ufia's kin in Totoya, killed Singambongi on Wangava and rescued Ufia.

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Mbuatoka, either by kinship or conquest, succeeded Sue as leader of the east side of Kambara. He lived at Nakoro, a fortress on the cliff above the present site of Nggalinggali and took to wife the sister of Thakauniwere, chief of the east side of the island. Mbuatoka's descendants comprise the Tanggu clan of Nggalinggali. Thakauniwere was a direct descendant of Nawasambalavu, a son of Ndaunisai, who founded the Vuanikathu clan (table 2). Thakauniwere lived in Nakorovusa, a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau. He led the west side against the east, killed Mbuatoka, and took his sister back to Nakorovusa.

Tawaketchini, who succeeded his brother Mbuatoka, founded the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali. The fight between the two sides of the island continued, Tawaketchini leading the east, and a warrior called Tawakerua the west. Tawakerua was victorious and it was perhaps at this time that part of the Naivotavota clan joined the Vuanitavola clan on the west side. Tawaketchini died by falling from a coconut tree and was succeeded by his son, Tchiaotchi, whose mother was Vutu of the Nanggara clan. Tchiaotchi united the island and was installed as the first chief of Kambara. During Tchiaotchi's rule the influence of Lakemba on Kambara was strengthened. The Kambarans say that Lakemban influence was responsible for a meeting of the two sides of the island held at an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*) situated near Naimarai, the Tongan village at the north end of the island, in order to stop the war between them.

Informants agree that Kambara is ally (*mbatchi*) to Lakemba. Moto of Undu says that Kambara became ally to Lakemba when an agreement based on kinship was made between the two island units, Kambara agreeing to furnish manufactured goods to Lakemba in exchange for food. When Tchiaotchi died, Manoa, his sister's son (*vasu*), was appointed his successor by Roko Taliai, the chief at Lakemba. Manoa was installed as chief of Kambara. He became a Christian and soon the whole island was converted. During his reign the Tongans became powerful in Lau, and Timothe Thakau was appointed Tongan magistrate on Kambara. When Manoa died Timothe Thakau was appointed by the high chief at Lakemba as Manoa's successor, and he was installed as chief of Kambara. Soon after this the British took possession of Fiji and Timothe Thakau became the first district headman (*mbuli*) of Kambara. Timothe was the last chief of Kambara to be installed. From this time on district headmen have been appointed by the colonial officials.

From the above account it appears that the Kambara group, Mothe and Naiau, became attached to the chiefdom of Lakemba through kinship and warfare.

According to the natives, Fulanga reduced Ongea to dependency after a long, hard conquest. Some informants say that Fulanga is ally (*mbatchi*) to Kambara while others deny the relationship, but Kambarans agree that the Fulangans are people of lowest rank (*kai si*). It is said that if natives of Fulanga come to Tokalau, the chief village of Kambara, they are not allowed to walk erectly through the village but must bow their heads in an attitude of respect. As a matter of fact the Fulangans avoid Kambara, and, although they sail and trade a great deal, they never voluntarily touch its shores.

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Today each minor chiefdom holds a definite rank in relation to the others and to Lakemba. This rank is expressed in the division of shares at an inter-island feast and, according to the southern natives, the order is as follows: Lakemba, Naiau, Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Fulanga, Thithia, Ono. Hocart (15, p. 25) states that he heard the shares of a feast called out at Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

631 in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga (sometimes Ono before Oneata). For the order at the high chief's funeral see page 98.

Tribute consisting of whales' teeth (*tambua*) and local produce is paid to the high chief by minor chiefdoms (p. 37) at the installation, marriage, and death of a high chief; at the birth, marriage, and death of important members of his family; or upon requisition of the high chief or his sister's son. A small countergift, such as tobacco or a feast, is usually given in return for chiefly tribute and is always of far less value than the gift.

Each minor chiefdom has a hereditary chief (*tui*). The title, chief of an island, is hereditary in the senior subclan of the highest ranking clan of the group. Other hereditary clan titles of the minor chiefdom are: herald (*mata ni vanua*), master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*), chief of crops (*vaka vanua*) or chief's administrator (*takala*), master carpenter (*matai*), envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*), and chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*). The functions of these titles have been described in the section on clan titles (pp. 45-53).

Under the colonial government, minor chiefdoms have been organized into political districts under a district headman. Island assemblies are held to arrange the collection and presentation of tribute to the chief or taxes to the colonial government; the reception of a visiting chief or government official; interisland feasts and ceremonial exchanges. Native district courts are held to try petty offenses against native regulations.

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The Village

621 Each minor chiefdom is composed of a group of villages. The villages are graded according to the hereditary rank of the clans of which they are composed.

[622] The chief ~~political officer~~ of the village is the village headman appointed by the colonial government to apportion and direct the communal work of the village. He sees that it is kept clean, and recommends the repair and rebuilding of houses according to the village plan ordered by the government. As the representative of the colonial government, he is responsible for collecting tribute and taxes. Village affairs are discussed by an assembly of

The district is also a property-owning unit (p. 125).

The main functions of the village are economic and ceremonial. It acts as a unit in such communal activities as turtle fishing and organized fishing, house and canoe building, the making of large strips of barkcloth, large mats, and large nets. As a group it participates in village, inter-village, and interisland feasts, and it competes with other villages in ceremonial exchanges, games, and dances. There is a strong spirit of rivalry between villages.

The village is also a property-owning unit (pp. 124-125).

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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622 177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648 631 178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 648 success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies 178 mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka. 539

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576 of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626 learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

6: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1947 OQ6 Lau OQ6

Tongans.[20] Moreover, as noted in *Southern Lau*,[21] more than 80% of the inhabitants are affiliated not with the "Nakauvandra people" but the earlier land people. (See pp. 8 ff.) In this connection one wonders why, if Capell and Lester are so sure that "certainty is difficult to reach" regarding the problems of southern Lau, they make a categorical statement regarding the basis of Lauan civilization without documentation. In this connection we should also note that, according to population estimates, the "Nakauvandra people" did not by any means overrun southern Lau, as maintained by Capell and Lester.[22]

Let us turn now to some of the findings in *Southern Lau* to which my critics take explicit exception. "Totemic" phenomena, on which Capell and Lester centre their concern in southern Lau, cannot be understood except in the context of the functioning social system as a whole. Although this is fully treated in *Southern Lau*, for purposes of the discussion it will be necessary to include a brief outline of it here.

The Functioning Social System of Southern Lau

The most obvious social unit in southern Lau is the village (called *koro*). The villages are united into larger political divisions of minor chiefdoms (formerly called *mata ni tu*) which stand in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. Moreover, each village is composed of three or more clans (called *matanggali*), that is, unilateral kinship groups which as a rule are exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Before the abolition of warfare in Lau the clans occupied hamlets (called *itokatoka*) in garden lands or clearing in the bush. Thereafter they moved to the coast and united in villages but many clans still retained their local unity in the village. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, that is, both kinship and geographic units. The clans are divided into sub-clans (usually called *mbatchi ni lovo*, although the senior sub-clans may be called *itokatoka*). The sub-clans are subdivided into families or households (called *vuvale*).

The clans may also be classified into larger kinship divisions which I have called phratries (*yavusa*). There were five such groups of clans on the five islands surveyed, that is, two major groups, namely (1) the clans of the land people (*kai vanua*) and (2) the clans of the "Nakauvandra people"; and three minor groups, namely (1) the clans of the chief's carpenters (*matai sau*), (2) those of the *lameki* carpenters (*matai lemaki*), and (3) those of the sea people (*kai wai*). From an analysis of all the available data, including the genealogies of the thirty-seven clans existent in 1933-34, it appears that these five phratries stem from historic migrations to the islands.

Inasmuch as the evidence concerning the "Nakauvandra" group of clans is the most clear cut, I shall discuss it first, although to this phratry only five clans (representing less than 20% of the population of southern Lau) may be definitely assigned.

[20] *Southern Lau*, pp. 212 ff.

[21] *Southern Lau*, p. 32.

[22] Capell and Lester, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 38.

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SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF LAU.
From 1921 Census.

District	Island	Village	Pop.	Fijians Res.	Fijians Strangers	Others	No.of Houses.
Fulanga	Ongea	Ongea	101	92	9	-	21
	Fulanga	Munaithake	205	199	5	1	40
	"	Munaira	41	41	-	-	12
	"	Naivindamu	64	64	-	-	12
Kambara	Namuka-i-Lau	Namuka	216	187	29	-	53
	Komo	Komo	140	115	25	-	25
	Marambo	Marambo	8	8	-	-	1
	Kambara	Lomati	46	42	4	-	8
	"	Nggalinggali	130	123	7	-	28
	"	Tokalau	109	101	8	-	19
	"	Undu	89	83	6	-	19
Mothe	Mothe	Leva	75	74	1	-	17
	"	Nasau	187	152	35	-	51
Oneata	Oneata	Dakuiloa	85	70	13	2	21
	"	Wainggori	138	128	10	-	23
Lakemba	Lakemba	Nasanggalau	151	127	23	1	29
	"	Nukumku	70	63	6	1	17
	"	Tumbou	283	235	38	10	76
	"	Vakano	70	50	17	3	14
	"	Wathiwathi	130	112	17	1	28
	"	Waitambu	76	69	6	1	15
	"	Yandrana	187	177	8	2	46
	?	Levuka	87	83	3	1	17
Naiau	Naiau	Liku	59	56	3	-	14
	"	Narothivo	117	104	12	1	33
	"	Salia	146	108	34	4	28
Thithia	Thithia	Lomati	113	102	9	2	28
	"	Mambula	123	118	2	3	23
	"	Natheva	41	37	4	-	12
	"	Tarukua	75	67	3	5	17
	"	Natokalau	65	57	7	1	15
Lomaloma	Tuvutha	Tuvutha	102	96	6	-	22
	Susui	Susui	67	64	3	-	21
	?	Futuna	3	3	-	-	1
	Vanua Mbalavu	Levukana	71	67	4	-	18
	"	Lomaloma	151	113	29	9	38
	"	Narothivo	60	48	12	-	15
	"	Ndakuilomaloma	52	46	2	4	12
	"	Sawana	121	105	16	-	28
	"	Uruone	66	61	5	-	15
Mualevu	"	Malaka	14	9	5	-	5
	"	Mavana	115	83	28	4	26
	"	Mboitathi	64	53	10	1	12
	"	Mualevu	196	151	45	-	37
	"	Muamua	30	20	10	-	8
	"	Ndalithoni	91	55	33	3	23
	Avea	Avea	63	53	10	-	20
	Thikombia	Thikombia	51	39	10	2	12
Ono	3 islands	5 villages	641	613	23	5	?
Matuku	Matuku	7 "	648	573	74	1	163
Moala	Moala	8 "	667	645	20	2	133
Totoya	Totoya	4 "	474	431	39	4	88
"	Vanua Vatu	Taira	162	145	15	2	26
			7402	6583	743	76	--#

1487 houses exclusive of those in Ono district.

[p. 9]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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3: Thompson E -5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

He is the head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed. 622

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials. 634

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to 634 177

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuliship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

554 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in
177 the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of
634 this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of
177 jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages
578 on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole
634 island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were
[623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 The division of political power in the Kambara district has
614 deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially
554 its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For
159 five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> 602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920), 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

and Yavuliku contain the bastards of Vunisea; Yavuliku also contains bastards of Turangaulu. The nobles of Vunisea are in Sawana. Vanga stands apart; one of them is appointed Tui Vanga. Turangaulu, Vunisea, Nggitawa are noble groups (*i tokatoka vakaturanga*).

Ngoneulu and Vunisea originate from Moala from the clan of Manukui. Nggitawa came from Vuna to Yathata, and Yathata to Thithia; among them was Lalinggavoka who became chief because he was strong. All the chiefs nowadays are chiefs by the strength of their hands, whereas the true chiefs live like common people. The village of Natheva holds the rank of *mbati*.

Southern Islands

RELATIONSHIP

With the exception of Ono, it is not known how the Southern Islands came under Lakemban rule. There is no record of wars with these islands. The inhabitants say that they "went by kinship"; that is, that they became subject to Lakemba by being kinsmen of a lower rank. One informant probably preserves some of the facts when he says that Kambara formerly ruled over the Southern Islands; all the islands to the windward obeyed it; it was Kambara that brought the islands (except Ono) to Lakemba. In Viti Levu, too, is a tradition that Kambara was once chief in Lau; the rise of Lakemba came later.

Kambara is still chief (or noble) among the Southern Islands. For a big feast in which all the islands take part, the shares are called out in the following order: Kambara, Mothe, Oneata, Ono, Fulanga. There seems some uncertainty, however, about Oneata and Ono and I have heard Ono called before Oneata.

KAMBARA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Kambara, a noble land, holds the rank of *mbati* (tooth or edge). That is, if Lakemba were not strong enough to fight a war, Kambara was called upon for assistance.

Vakawaluwalu of the clan of Nanggara, usually known as Tawaketini because he had ten flags, was a great chief in Kambara and flew a pennant all over Lau except Lakemba. He smote all the small islands in Lau, was made Tui Oneata, Tui Mothe, Tui Yandrana. A special connection exists between Yandrana and Kambara, referred to in several stories and insisted upon by the old men of Yandrana.

Nangalingali (Nggalinggali) usually known as Tanggu, was formerly the village from which Tui Kambara was most often chosen. The title is old,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri káta;	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 143 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemba dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 chief, Maafu, to govern them. Maafu organized a band of Tongan warriors and became powerful in the chiefdom of Lakemba. He procured the support of the missionaries by
175 promising that conquered groups would be required to become Christian. He was the first to use cannon on canoes in Fiji. By the clever policy of aiding the weaker side in a struggle between two Fijian groups and using the victory thus gained for his own ends, he succeeded in gaining control of Lau, the Koro Sea, and most of Vanua Levu. He seriously threatened the supremacy of Mbau, whose high chief, Thakombau, applied as a last resort to Great Britain. The conquest of Fiji by the Tongans was averted when the group became a British Crown Colony in 1874.

The Tongans were used as a wedge into Fijian culture by the English Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who came to Lau from their mission center in Tonga where they had made many converts. They established their first Fijian mission on Lakemba in 1835. They used Tongan teachers and for some time their only converts in Fiji were Tongans. During the first 15 years the Lakemba mission made slow headway, but finally in 1850 the high chief of Lau was converted and the gospel was soon established on the southern islands. Small churches in charge of native missionaries were built on each island.

The missionaries waged a death struggle against god houses, hereditary priesthood, cannibalism, human sacrifice, widow strangling, infanticide, and the tattooing of women. The most important result of their proselyting was the change wrought in the religio-magic world of the natives. In opposition to the Christian God, the native deities were said to be devils (*tevoro*). This resulted in a psychological conflict, which weakened the system of ancestor worship, the basis of the social system. On one side were the powerful, ancestral mana givers, on the other was the Christian God. For a time the ancestral gods were eclipsed by the Christian God who, because of the white man's power, appeared to have more mana. But the old gods were still greatly feared and secretely propitiated. Gradually, as the natives began to react against western ideas, they turned more and more to their ancestors. The gospel taught by the missionaries (*lotu*) tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value.

After the British annexation the missionaries were aided by the colonial government. Almost immediately warfare ceased and the scattered clan hamlets were consolidated into coast villages. The colonial government followed the policy of the mission in attempting to uphold the native system of chieftainship and rank. As far as possible the local chiefs were appointed as native colonial officials, but since the highest ranking individuals were not always best qualified to hold office, personality as well as rank had to be considered. The result was the split of the authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs among the chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

Western influence, beginning with warfare and religion, and working through the social system, finally reached a peak through the economic life. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century copra became an important export of Fiji. Southern Lau offered valuable coconut lands and the coconut acreage was increased. In exchange for copra the Lauans received trade goods. They neglected their economic pursuits to work on the plantations. The ensuing period of prosperity lasted until the slump in the copra after the war.

177 Today, although the copra market has improved, most of the islands remain unvisited by traders. Western trade goods are disappearing and the natives are reestablishing their old economic independence. For a discussion of recent changes and problems in the economic life of southern Lau see "Fijian Frontier" (23, pp. 75-104).

636 The British colonial officials have established a system of indirect rule in Fiji as follows (23, pp. 61-62):

> Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces. These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commis-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 651 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

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number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	Nayala Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	Namana Mbutukoro
		Sau	Mbutoisau Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

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The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

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ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

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The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

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The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

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The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba; some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. 1, *H.*) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

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Lakemba

565 Lord of Tumbou," who though noble in a way, are not of the nobility proper. It seems to be applied also to the younger folk as opposed to the elderly people, who are called *turanga ndina,* or "true *turanga.*" I have heard *ngone marama* used only once in reference to elderly or married ladies. The word for lady is *marama.*

The opposite of *turanga* in the sense of noble is *kaisi*—terms often used in a relative sense: a man or woman of high rank may be *kaisi* to one still higher and *turanga* to one lower; *marama* is never so used. The word *kaisi* is used also as a term of abuse.

THE HIGH CHIEF

643 565 In Lakemba the high chieftainship was possible to only two groups, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, Naivi and Korothumu having lapsed after their defeat in war. Upon the death of a high chief, the *turanga* decide upon his successor. Then the two Ramasi—Tui Tumbou and Tui Nasangalau—together with Vakavanua, the chief of Thekena, Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, install him as Sau, a common title for a high chief. After an interval of one or two years he is installed as Tui Naiau, Lord of Naiau, and his wife with him as Randi Naiau (Lady of Naiau). An installation ceremony is called *veimbuli* (creation). The last installation as Sau occurred in the seventies. The present High Chief, Ratu Finau, was not installed as Sau, because he received his government appointment before the installation could take place; but he is usually spoken of as Roko Sau, or the Chief, seldom as Tui Naiau. There is no title Tui Lakemba "because the god is Tui Lakemba."

643 The first Sau of the dynasty which came to be called Navuanirewa was Niumataiwalu. His successors were (p. 241): Uluilakemba I., son of Niumataiwalu; Lumbati Lakemba, son of Niumataiwalu; Rasolo, son of Niumataiwalu; Ndranivia, son of Uluilakemba I.; Matawalu, son of Niumataiwalu; Malani, son of Rasolo; Taliai Tupou, son of Rasolo; Uluilakemba II, son of Vuetasau, the son of Malani; Erone Longanimothe, son of Taliai Tupou; Finau Ulunggalala, son of Uluilakemba II. Thus Niu was succeeded by three, or including Lumbati, four, of his sons in the order of seniority; for Ndranivia was said to have "snatched the chieftainship," to be an usurper. Then the two sons of Rasolo succeeded, the elder first; the second, Soroanggali, declined. From Malani on, the succession alternates between the two houses of Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. But this rule is not absolute, for it was considered by some that Tuimereke should have been Tui Naiau in succession to his brother Erone Longanimothe, with Salesi, his eldest brother's son's son, as government chief, and that Malani should have been Sau before his eldest brother's son, Ratu Finau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau.

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant.

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*udonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho*, "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala*. [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya*, "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho*. Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua*, "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi*, from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

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[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua e—Sa!—thombo*: to clap.

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INSTALLATION OF THE SAU

The following account is given of the installation of new Chief as Roko Sau. (See also 7, p. 70.)

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The family of the Vuanirewa make kava; Tui Mereke strains it. There is no singing; the kava is merely taken up to the chief. The two Ramasi, that is the Lord of Tumbou and the Lord of Nasangalau, tie a piece of bark cloth (*masi*) on Roko Sau's arm. One of the two, or else the Vakavanua or the chief of Nukunuku admonishes him and the people of Lakemba that he should be loved, that what he says should be accepted, that they should hearken to what he says, that he should be good to the people of the land.

No one may come in during the ceremony. On that day and for four days afterward no crying or beating of bark cloth is allowed. Every day they bring in feasts from all the villages. He stays in the house for those four days; this is called *tonivaki* [a term also applied to the staying in after a funeral]. After four nights he goes to bathe; a feast is then held called the bathing feast.

Another informant says the retirement lasts for eight days and a man of Katumbalevu proper claims that it is the function of Katumbalevu to rise after the drinking of the kava and tell the Sau "they give all things into his hands and he must be good to the people."

So long as the chief is only Roko Sau the people of Naiau bring him the first fruits of every kind of food.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI NAIAU

Tui Ndevo, Tui Liku, chiefs of Naiau, and the Vaka of Naiau discuss the installation of Tui Naiau:

A noble of Tumbou will strain the kava, and another will bear the cup. The man who strains the kava stands; he stands with crossed legs, as is proper in all installations, including Mbau. The post of cup-bearer is a difficult one and only a nobleman can be chosen for it; he wears a grass skirt. Tui Naro, the chief of Naiau, ties bark cloth on Tui Naiau's arm, and will tell him to be kind to the people of the land, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company, not to close the door on the Naiau people. Randi Naiau drinks next to Tui Naiau, then the herald (*mata ni vanua*).

Any minor office that may be vacant is filled on that occasion. Thus at Ratu Finau's installation, one nobleman was installed as Envoy to Mbau, though the office properly belongs to Narewandamu; another, as envoy to Thakaundrove, and the head of the Lemaki family as Lemaki. The Lord of Tumbou apportioned their kava. He merely said, "This is the kava for So-and-so, to appoint him to bear the name of So-and-so."

During the ceremony the Naiau people mount guard with clubs to see that no one speaks. Afterwards while the people of the land and the nobles go home, the village headman and the true chiefs assemble in a house which is to be their club house (*mbure*), in order that there may be no noise or crying of children; if anyone makes a noise, he is fined and must make a feast. The Tui Naiau keeps the scarfs on his arms for four days. Feasts are made for the chiefs every day for four days, after which they all make merry. Once the chief is installed as Tui Naiau, the Naiau

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people bring him gifts—manufactured articles and fish, whereas formerly it was only the fruits of the earth.

After his installation, the High Chief visited the subject islands. This was called *va vanua*, that is "to tread on the land." Another term was *vakasenungganungga*, "to make *Nelitris vitiensis* (A. Gray) to bloom." The message announcing his coming is called *vakawelomelo*, which means "to get an overnight oven prepared." The feast made for him is called *iwawa*, that is "waiting feast." The chief brings gifts with him.

INSTALLATION OF VILLAGE CHIEFS

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In discussing village chiefs, an informant states:

In olden times if the Sau went to a place and saw that the headman misbehaved he would dismiss him and appoint another. Only in Nasangalau are there proper chiefs. It is characteristic both of the fluidity of Fijian institutions and the people's manner of expressing this fluidity by contradictory statements that my informant stated that it is impossible for the High Chief to dismiss the chief of Nasangalau, yet possible since the High Chief is far greater.

In Yandrana the clan of Mbaumbunia discuss who shall be chief of Yandrana. Then the High Chief asks whom they have chosen and sends some gentleman down who ties a cloth on the new chief's right arm. Then the kava turns first to the new Lord of Yandrana, then to the Tui Ra of Yandrana, then to the Vaka of Yandrana, then to the nobleman who has come to install him. The Lord of Yandrana presents this nobleman with the mats on which he sat, with clothing and whale's teeth.

A minor chief, whether of Tumbou or the Country, plants taro and when it is mature brings it to the High Chief. This feast is called "the hand washing feast" (*i vuluvulu*).

The installation of Ramasi of Nasangalau is described as follows:

The kava faces Ramasi, who is dressed up. A nobleman from Tumbou sits beside him accompanied by a herald. They beat the drum. Then meet on the Green. When the kava "stands before his face" [when the cup-bearer faces him], the herald from Tumbou takes a piece of bark cloth; then a turban is brought and twisted like the twisting of a rope. The herald from Tumbou then speaks, "Here is the kava for you, Ramasi. It has been decided that you should drink kava. As for the bark cloth I am holding, it is the cloth of the land. Love then your people; invite them to your house to eat. If your character is going to be bad you shall not drink your kava." Then he says, "Give him the kava to drink." Then he stops him and says, "Do not give him the kava to drink." He admonishes him again, "Think of the nobles of Tumbou that will come; be kind to them, and also to the people of the village be kind." Then he says, "Bring the kava to drink." Ramasi drinks and they clap. Then they tie on the bark cloth. Ramasi then goes to sleep, while they keep watch (*tonitoni*). For two nights he sleeps on and they keep making feasts. On the third day there is also a feast. On the fourth day they make a bathing feast for the Lord of Natokalau (Ramasi), and the Tumbou people go home. Ramasi would plant taro and take it to Tumbou as a feast "for the washing of the hands" (*i vuvulu*). The Ramasi are proper chiefs: they still have "fresh water" in their kava, only it is squeezed into the cup and not into the strainer as for Tui Naiau.

Tui Soso of Nukunuku used to have fresh water, but this is no longer allowed by the High Chief.

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others got land in this way from Narewandamu. A sister's son may not seize land by right of *vasu* (*vasuta*); he can only get it by "causing to fall."

Of old, Matailakemba, Vatuwangga, and the rest had each their strangers from Totoya, from Tonga, and other parts. A stranger got land from the edge of the oven to which he was attached; when he died it went back to the clan. Since the Lands Commission has been inaugurated, this is no longer possible, as the Tongans have been grouped together as a side of the oven; the land is therefore lost to the four groups of nobles and remains with the Tongans. There are some Solomon Islanders now living in Tanggalevu and treated as members of the clan. In olden times, a nobleman would beg a bit of land to plant in, and when the food was mature he would share it with the owner.

Some Europeans take the view that the land belongs to the chiefs; this is a claim made by some of the chiefs and nobles. Ratu Finau claims that all the land as far as Ono is the property of the Sau. "It belongs to the Chief: God appointed him."

Salesi, a nobleman (Pl. I, *A*) expressed the following opinion concerning a disputed land:

> Navutoka properly belongs to Thekena. It belongs to Katumbalevu in so far as the nobles have smitten Thekena; but it is not right for the chiefs to oppress the people. Some people imagine they are chiefs by themselves and forget that, but for the landsmen, they would not be chiefs. The present nobility owe much to Yandrana because the nobles used to invade Lakemba from Yandrana [18] and Yandrana and Natokalau took their part against Thekena. A chief is apt to forget that the ancients of Yandrana and Natokalau died for their sakes.

Joshua, a nobleman, says, "The chief only disposed of what was brought to them. He did not dispose of the land; each owner disposed of his own."

Semi of Tanggalevu says,

> The nobles of old had no land; they had only the authority (*levu*); it is only since the Tongan rule and the Government that it extends to the soil. They could not take land; only the sister's son could bring land to the nobles; the elders of the landsmen (*matua kai vanua*) would decide to give land for their sister's son to plant in. The nobles used to refer to us landsmen. Land would be provided for strangers by Envoy to Mbau, Envoy to Thithia (that is Thekena), and the Lord of Tumbou. If Roko Tahai wanted land for the people of Levuka he would say, "Tui Tumbou, let it be your part to provide taro land for the Levuka people to plant in." And the land was given. To Envoy to Mbau he would say, "Give some land to the Tongans." He did not dispose of it; he referred it to the old men.

CHATTELS

All property other than land is called either food (*kakana*) or manufactured articles (*i yau*). These two categories are continually opposed to

[18] When they came over from Naiau to conquer Lakemba.

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Greens

222 [77]

The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

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Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245

The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [77]

The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

43 643

The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 643

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A ntipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis. [539]

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thaw*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The southeast and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 823

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against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

"Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai*, as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

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If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb. 431

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now. 226

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received: 225

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if 225 243 262

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Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

275

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *raurau mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

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Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

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Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

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The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

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In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ringgai*).

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342 574 *i yau*) are given to the workers when they come down, called *vakevu* (to bring down); but in Lakemba there is only a feast, consisting of grated pudding and pig. Another similar feast is made for the walls.

342 When the house has been strewn with grass and mats kava is made, but no feast. This is called "spitting on the mats" (*kanusivi tambakau*), or "spitting on the house" (*kanusi vale*). There is no spitting.

An informant says:

342 643 565 House-building now is a poor affair compared with what it used to be. Of old the whole of Lakemba would come to build the Tui Naiau's house. Villages would work for a nobleman who was connected with them. If a man of Tumbou wished to have a house built he would carry a feast to the chief with his request; the chief would assign a certain village to build the house; of course the man had to feed them.

342 565 The side of the house towards the sea was called the noble side (*yasa turanga*), and with it went the east end, or, if the house were perpendicular to the seashore, the east side was the noble one, and with it went the sea end. If Tumbou village alone were building, Katumbalevu would work on the noble side, and Valelailai on the end that goes with it; in house-building Valelailai goes with Katumbalevu, that is why they are joined together as Tai; Tumbou quarter would divide the other side and end.

If the whole of Lakemba were building, the Town took the noble side; Wathiwathi and Waitambu would take the east end on account of Wathiwathi; Natokalau took the other side and end, Nasangalau and Nukunuku taking the side, Yandrana and Vakano the end. If Natokalau alone were working Nasangalau took the noble side, Nukunuku the sea end, Yandrana the common side, and Vakano the land end. It was forbidden for the commoners (*kaisi*) to tie their thatch higher than the top reeper until the nobles had tied theirs so as to inaugurate it (*sevu*) up to the top. The other side could then be finished.

342 574 Should Natokalau be building a house in Tumbou, Navuaira would make a feast for them, and then attend to their own affairs; or if Navuaira were building, Natokalau made the feast.

Canoe Building and Its Ceremonies

501 Almost all the canoes in Lau are dug-outs, and all carry outriggers. Lemaki told me of small plank canoes (*wangga vonovono*) 3 or 4 fathoms long, introduced by his family, but I did not see any. There are three grades of dug-out canoes: paddling canoe (*wangga vothe*); sailing canoe, called beam float (*thamakau*) in opposition to the third kind, the double canoe (*ndrua*), which for outrigger has a smaller canoe and which was built on a keel of two boards. The paddling canoe alone is common; the others being superseded by the cutter, only one of each surviving in Lau in 1910.

The paddling canoe (Pl. III, *D*) is used in smooth water only, either inside or outside the reef. It is punted in shallow water and paddled in deep, and can be sailed in calm waters.

396 The sailing canoe (Pl. III, *C*) is larger, more stoutly built, with high wash strakes, and is decked fore and aft. Figures 9 and 10 show the con-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

"Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

VANUA MBALAVU

LOMALOMA

Vanua Mbalavu, the main island of the archipelago shown on the Hydrographic charts as "Exploring Islands," consists of two districts or states. Lomaloma and Mualevu, each independent of the other; but Lomaloma is of low rank while Mualevu is noble in both Thakaundrove and in Lakemba. Formerly the islands of Mango and Tuvutha belonged to Lomaloma and when Mango was sold to Europeans, its people were transferred to the villages of Malata (Nalamata) and Ndakui. 631

The chief village of Lomaloma is Lomaloma. It has a Fijian quarter divided into Nggala, Mbutha, and Naturuku; and a Tongan quarter known as Sawana. The whole of Lomaloma is divided between Nggala and Mbutha: the villages of Levukana, Narothivo, and Susui are subject to Nggala; Ndakuilomaloma, Tuvutha, Uruone, Malata and Mango are subject to Mbutha. Levukana is the household (*lewe ni vale*) in Nggala. Tuvutha is the household of the Rasau (p. [illegible]); they are directly his men; they may come into his house as may also [illegible]eralds of Ndakui; others must sit outside. 621

The clans of Lomaloma are as follows: 614 565

Nggala: (*a*) Nandawavula; (*b*) Nukuthiri, merely nobles, cannot become Ravunisa; (*c*) Mbotembote, the heralds of the Ravunisa; (*c*) Naitasiri.

Mbutha: (*a*) Valelevu; (*b*) Naivindrawalu; (*c*) Namasokithake; (c) Sinumana.

Naturuku: (*a*) Naitokandamu; (*b*) Nandave; (*c*) Naraka.

Nggala and Mbutha are equal. Formerly the feasts were divided in two and Nggala was called first. Each clan divided its feasts among its subjects. Nowadays, a district feast is divided among the villages, Sawana being called first, because the district chief belongs there. The people of Naturuku belong to neither Mbutha nor Nggala; they live by themselves on the shore, and the neighboring islands belong to them.

If a man's father comes from one noble clan into the "center of the village," and his mother from another, he is termed a "home nephew" (*vasu i taukei*). He is a very great nobleman.

There are four ranks in the clan of Naturuku: Tui Naturuku, his Vaka, his Takala, his Herald, or Tui Ra. These are they who obey Tui Naturuku: Takala, the Takala of the feast; Vaka, the Vaka of his word; the herald, the herald of Tui Naturuku. The Herald sits with the feast but the Takala faces the feast.[1]

Naivindrawalu are now the priests of Tuilambelambe, the god of Valelevu. He is a god in Yandrana also.

Mbutha's *tauva* is Kelo in Yandrana: Nggala's *tauva* is Mboma in Taveuni, but since the Lands Enquiry this has been extended to the whole village.

The chief of Nggala is Ravunisa of the clan of Nandawavula. The chief of Mbutha is Rasau in the clan of Valevalu. The Ravunisa takes precedence, he rules the land; the Rasau is next in rank, the Tui Tumbou is second to the Tui Naiau. They cooperate. Of old, each ruled his part of the town and of the land, and grouped the 643

[1] In Lomaloma the title Tu is used for Ratu. "They make a great use of titles."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief.
161 It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and
787 priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and Yandrana are *tauvu*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:

The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."

When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."

To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.

When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakuilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

> Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".
>
> Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.
>
> The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

> All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. 643
The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald. When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakasuka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, 614
Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui 622
Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, 60
or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

642 in "all countries the chieftainship goes from one to the other." Such families, as in Oneata, "may intermarry a good deal because they are cross-cousins."

The succession is through the father, yet the descendants of an elder sister are thought far more of than any descendants through males; and, though not qualified for the chieftainship, yet rank higher than the chief. The great prestige an elder sister possesses may be the relic of custom which still obtains in Tonga of ranking the descendants in the female line higher than those descended through males. This may explain the word *kaisi*: this is usually explained as having been originally a term of abuse; but semen-man would in Fijian be *tamata si*, not *kaisi*, which should mean "one of the nationality of the semen"; comparing *kete*, womb, for a descendant in the female line, *kaisi* would then be properly a descendant in the male line, and therefore one of inferior rank; *turanga* would be a descendant in the female line, one of higher rank.

Descendance in the female line is preserved in such place names as Keteithake, Keteira.

DUAL CHIEFTAINSHIP

643 In Lakemba there is now a great disproportion between Tui Naiau and the Land Chief, but it is quite clear that there was not so great an inequality between them of old, and that the state of affairs formerly came much nearer to what holds now in Lomaloma and the Moala Islands, where the second chief Rasau or Vaka merely yields precedence to the first chief Ravunisa or Tui Moala.

The leading chief almost invariably bears the title of Tui. The title of the second chief varies; in Lomaloma it is Sau which is the title of the first chief in Lakemba; but in Lakemba there is an obscure and hotly controverted tradition that Thekena was Sau at the very beginning of history, that their title later declined to Vaka; on the other hand Melaia, who was reputed one of the best authorities, declared that Uluilakemba I and Lumbati were never Sau; thirdly there used to be a title Tui Lakemba which must have been in Tai since Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Putting all this together may it not be that there once was a Tui Lakemba in Tai, and a Sau in Tumbou? The heirs to the first title fled to Tonga and the title remained in abeyance, like the Ravunisa in Lomaloma at the present day, so that there only was one title left, the Sau, as in Lomaloma. In the course of the civil wars that followed Ului and Lumbati, Thekena was smitten and Tai took the title of Sau, to which they later added that of Tui Naiau. This explains all the facts and is consistent with the sequence of events I have accepted as history.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INSTALLATION

The ceremony of installing a chief varies in details in different tribes, 643 but the general outlines are constant: kava drinking, tying on of a piece of cloth or scarf, guard to keep anyone from coming in during the ceremony, prohibition of all noises for four days, bathing feasts at the end of four days. This period of four days is very much like a period of mourning, indeed it is described by the same term as mourning, *tonivaki*. It looks then as though the installation was conceived as a death. Tui Mavana at his installation is nursed in the lap of the elders for four days like an eldest newborn son: this looks like death and rebirth. The legend of the origin of the chiefs of Yaroi leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the tying on of the scarf: the snake was a god, it had a scarf tied round the body, was itself called "the cloth of the land," bark cloth is waved to catch souls: therefore it may be inferred that the scarf contains the divinity which passes into the chief who dies as a man, to be reborn as a god. This inference is confirmed by the cult of the water-sprites: the initiates of the cult drink kava and thereby become possessed by spirits.

The evidence of the divinity of kings is slight in Lau, but it is there: there is a god called Tui Lakemba, who, according to Fison (4, p. 49) was son of the sky god, and there was once a chief bearing that name, and there still is in Tonga. The same with Tui Vakano.

Thus a new explanation of the title Vunivalu is evolved which is conferred on one of the two chiefs of Mbau. It is usually interpreted as a metaphorical expression, the Root of War, but it would be more in accordance with the Fijian thought usage to translate it literally God of War. The captain of a reed-throwing team is called the God of the Reed-throwing, obviously because the god is in him. The priests of the tidal stone in Levukaindaku are spoken of as "the gods (*vu*) of the stones." On this analogy the *vunivalu* is the god of war, the *vuniwai* is the god of the medicine. What then is the *ravunisa?* The same word, *sa*, is found in *mburenisa*, club-house; in Samoa, *sa* means a tribe, a clan: this meaning suits both words, and *ravunisa* would then be the Lord God of the Tribe, in other words the incarnation of the ancestor god.

The chief being divine it follows that the same ceremonial is observed towards him as towards a god: offerings, first fruits, etc.

The herald may be defined as the chief's priest: he is to the chief what the priest is to the god.

There are two hints that the possession of the regalia conferred the chieftainship: the meaning of the ornaments which Kumboavanua stole from Tokairambe was subjection; in other words, he who held them was overlord;

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940. OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Clan Titles

554 618 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

HIGH CHIEF

554 618 The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[545] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe*, and so forth.

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship.

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa.

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25).

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice.

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute.

The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The abus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQo Lau OQo
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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of [177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance [867] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558 eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
612 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela- [84] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly [689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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STRING FIGURES

String figures (*sana*) are made all over Lau, chiefly by women and children. I did not attempt to record them in the limited time available for this study.[3] 524

OTHER GAMES

The games of *lafo* or disk sliding, *kitchia* (*kitia* in Mbauan) or squat hopping, *vakasiri* or guessing, and *vakatu* or rhyming, described by Hocart (15, pp. 92-95) are known in southern Lau. *Lafo* is played outdoors by young people in Kambara, not indoors by adults as at Lakemba. *Kitchia* is played by girls only on Fulanga.

CHIEF'S INSTALLATION

No chief's installation ceremony (*veimbuli*) was witnessed, but an account of the installation of the present chief of Fulanga, an island chief of low rank, was recorded on Fulanga. 622

About a month after the death of the old chief, when a good man had been found in the Vunikoro clan to replace him, the chief of crops called a meeting of the whole island to set the date for the installation. Each village made preparations to contribute part of the installation feast (*mangitchi ni veimbuli*). On the appointed day each village prepared its own earth ovens and cooked its share of the feast. The cooked feast was placed in baskets and piled in front of the house of the chief of crops. When all the food had been assembled it was examined by the chief of crops, who told the people to take it to the new chief. When the people approached with the feast the new chief emerged from his house dressed in ceremonial attire of Tongan tapa and a wreath and with his body oiled. He wore nothing on his head. The feast was presented to him and then the young men of Vunikoro carried it to the ceremonial ground where it was spread on mats. Then men of Vunikoro pounded kava provided by their clan. It was served in the open, and the Fijian ceremony was used. The drinking order was: chief of Fulanga, *tui naro*, chief of crops, chief's administrator, and chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the chief drank he said that anyone who thought he should not drink must say so. No one spoke. Only one round of kava was served. When the bowl was empty the drinkers clapped. The new chief was thus installed. The chief of the ceremonial ground divided the feast, and the *tui naro* distributed it in the following order: chief of Fulanga, district headman, native missionary, Vunikoro (clan headman), Rasea (clan headman), chief of crops, chief of the ceremonial ground, *tui naro*, Muanaira, and Naivindamu.

Installation ceremonies for chiefs of higher rank are more elaborate. Besides the kava ceremony and the feast they usually include the tying of a piece of tapa on the arm of the new chief, as an emblem of chieftainship, and the confinement of the chief for four days. During this time noise is tabu. This is followed by the bathing ceremony.

CHIEF'S RECEPTION

Great preparations were made on Kambara for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, who is district commissioner of Lau and the sister's son (*vasu*) of the late 643 574

[3] For information concerning string figures from Fiji, see James Hornell, String figures from Fiji and western Polynesia (17, pp. 11-60).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

643 574 Ratu Finau, the high chief of Lau. Assemblies of the men of the island made arrangements for the reception. The women on both sides of the island began to practice *meke* two months before he was expected. A canoe, sent from Nggalinggali to Wangava to secure turtles, returned with six, and they were placed in the turtle fence in the lagoon near Nggalinggali to await the feast. The finishing touches were applied to two sailing canoes, which had been under construction for the past six months. One was built by the west side and one by the east side of the island. The women worked on two mat sails for the canoes and on two long pieces of barkcloth.

During the preparations a dispute arose between the two sides of the island regarding the program. The east side wished to hold separate ceremonies in Nggalinggali. The headman of Tokalau village insisted that the two sides cooperate in ceremonies held at Tokalau since the chief would probably not have time to go to Nggalinggali or to witness two sets of ceremonies. Several meetings of the island elders took place concerning the disagreement. Long speeches were made and whispered conferences held. The dispute was settled when the chief arrived and his herald announced he could stay only a few hours. All the ceremonies were held at Tokalau. The envoy to Lakemba, who was in charge of the ceremonies, chose representatives from the clans of the chief group.

The ceremonies began when the elders of the island paddled a canoe out to the chief's cutter and the headman of Tokalau village presented a whale's tooth ceremonially to the chief on behalf of the island. After the presentation the flag was lowered, so this ceremony is called hauling down the flag (*luva ni tawake*). Next, the same man presented a second whale's tooth, a ceremony called weighing the anchor (*thavu ni kelekele*). Then the Kambara people went ashore.

[516 576] Some time later the chief's wife landed. She was received by the women of the village who sat cross-legged to show respect along the avenue through which she passed on her way to the village. Then the chief accompanied by his herald landed, and he was greeted in the same way by the men. The chief, his wife and his retainers were escorted by the island elders to a pavilion outside the government house for the wading (*nggalonggalovi*) ceremony. The chief sat at the upper end of the pavilion, his wife on his right, and one herald sat on either side of the pair. The island elders formed a kava circle, according to rank.

A bunch of green coconuts (*i vono ni vanua*) was presented to the chief by the chief of crops. The natives say the purpose of this ceremony is to let the chief know that the products of the land are at his disposal. Next a coconut-leaf mat (*tambakau*) was presented to the chief's wife. Then an offering of dry kava root was prepared and drunk. During the kava ceremony, Tongan [431] songs were sung by the Kambaran men. This was not part of the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Tuimereke leads in Vatuwangga, then Ratu Isoa, who, though the son of Talaiai's eldest son, was not made Lord of Naiau because this "father," Ratu Erone, was living. However, Ratu Finau was appointed by the Government to administer the province, owing to the influence of Mbau, which was paramount in the Native Department, and the people preferred that since he was Provincial Chief, he should also be Sau. 643

In the old days it is said that the strongest man was chosen as Sau. Another opinion is that it was the most industrious in planting. There was a saying, "This state is going to ruin because it is governed by a man with all his teeth." For a young man is willful and impetuous, while an old man governs mildly.

When the facts and statements of informants are analyzed, it appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of a passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

If a woman of low rank were brought in state, with the consent of the chiefs, to marry a noble, her son might become Sau. Not so, however, were she brought as servant. [565]

The first Lord of Naiau was Rasolo; his successors were Malani, Taliai, Erone, and Finau. The other three Sau were not in office sufficiently long to receive the title.

The house of the Lord of Naiau is called Big House, and the term Big House is often used as a circumlocution for the Chief. The present Chief keeps up little of the old state; he does not "make the people of the people of the land at home" and feed them. On some nights, Ratu Finau will sit in the middle of the floor of his large native house with visitors, mostly elderly men and no women, seated round the lower end with crossed legs and folded arms or clasped hands, slightly inclined, facing him; not changing their position the entire night. Kava is made by the young people; two persons pounding the kava on one stone—a prerogative allowed only to Tui Naiau. Most of the talking is done by the host in a loud voice and with gesticulations. His guests listen respectfully and occasionally in a low voice make a remark confirming or developing his statements. The kava makers utter no word except the formulae. Anyone entering assumes a stooping posture, sitting down hurriedly, and waiting to speak when spoken to. Any one leaving does so on all fours or in a crouching position. 644 516

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga,* a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

881 was provided by Nasangalau, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining [302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating [734] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter [644] of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com- [95] panions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or 791 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851 Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644 their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751 make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758 some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758 their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753 and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753 for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757 the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755 patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank. 634 614 554 159

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20] 644 159 [191] [272] [276] [826]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory 159

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The title of Tui Wathiwathi is said to be an old one. A former title was Tui Lomanikoro from the old name of the village. He also bears the title of Tui Navuaira, embracing Wathiwathi and its dependencies but not Tumbou. He rules Tarukua and Waitambu. 622

It is not clear whether the title of Tui Tarukua is ancient or not. There was a god of that name. The title of Tui Waitambu is new.

The order of precedence in Natokalau is: Tui Nasangalau, Tui Soso, Tui Yandrana, Tui Vakano. In Navuaira it is Tui Tumbou, Tui Wathiwathi, Tui Tarukua. Nasangalau and Nukunuku are equal, but Nasangalau is a little higher because they had the elder brother there. Nukunuku is the junior branch.

Formerly Lakemba belonged to three chiefs, Tui Soso, Tui Nasangalau, Vakavanua.

Wathiwathi and Waitambu are spoken of as the *i tambani* of the nobles; that is, "those who are on the same side of the nobles," as opposed to *veitambani*, the other side.

When country folk or subject islanders come to Tumbou they usually frequent the house of a particular nobleman. On the other hand, this nobleman will have influence in that village and speak of himself as a native there. This is because one of his female ancestors comes from that village. A nobleman may be a native in several villages. Sometimes the relationship is most roundabout. Thus the High Chief is connected with Yandrana because his mother's mother was of the clan of Vusaratu in Mbau which is of the same blood as the village of Kiuva from which men came to settle in Yandrana and married Yandrana women. If a man have a female ancestor from Ono he is thereby a native in Wathiwathi. 565

Except Wathithi, the villages of Lakemba do not welcome a nobleman unless he is a native of that place.

ENVOYS

This relationship is not to be confused with the office of envoy. An envoy is called *mataki* (literally, face toward). An envoy conveys the High Chief's orders to the place to which he is appointed. On the other hand, if the people of that place come to Lakemba, they stay at the envoy's house and he introduces them to Big House. The envoy speaks of that place as his (*ona*), and it is said to be subject to him. The Lord of Naiau rules all the islands, but Matailakemba rules Namuka, to which that clan is envoy. If, therefore, the present High Chief wanted a cutter, it was always that of Namuka he commandeered. 645 631

The clan of Vatuwangga is envoy to Yandrana because the two are kinsfolk. Vatuwangga is also envoy to Mothe and Vulanga. 631

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

631 Naivi people are envoys to Ono and Vatoa because Uluilakemba I ancestor of that clan, married a lady of Ono and her son conquered Ono. They also became envoys to Ongea because one of them saved the third Lord of Naiau from shipwreck and so was given Ongea, Tarukua, and Lomati in Kambara as the "price of life" (*ka ni mbula*) to rule according to his pleasure.

Koroithumu is envoy to Nukunuku and Oneata; Katumbalevu proper, to Thithia; Tandravula, to Waitambu; Narewendamu, to Wathiwathi; Thekena, to Vakano. Tanggalevu is envoy to Kambara.

From of old down to the days of the third Lord of Naiau Vakano made feasts for Thekena while the other villages made feasts for the chief's house. If they made a feast for the High Chief it was first taken to Thekena and there was a share for that clan. Thekena also counts Waitambu as a subject, although it is not envoy to that place. Waitambu prepares the food out of doors, while Vakano are household servants (*kaivale*) and attend indoors. Thekena speak of these two places as their "two countrysides." They are also envoys to Komo.

There is no envoy to Naiau. This island stands in a peculiar position. The Lord of Naiau holds it. On landing the people of Naiau go straight to Big House into the kitchen.

In each island there is an envoy to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands these envoys were the chiefs. There were no *tui* then.

●645 There are also envoys to countries not subject. The envoy to Mbau has been mentioned. The envoys to Thakaundrove and to Totoya were not hereditary, but some nobleman was appointed. He was accompanied by a herald who spoke to him.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

648

that time on there are no more ladies of Vuna in the pedigrees. It is uncertain whether it was Vuna or Thakaundrove that "took Lakemba to Mbau"; or whether Lakemba entered into relations with Mbau directly.

Thakaundrove ladies were brought to Lakemba as wives for Lakemban nobles. It is said that Lakemban ladies were taken to Thakaundrove, but no concrete instance could be given, except that of the wife of the late Tui Thakau. When a canoe came from Thakaundrove some fifty years ago the women of Lakemba used to attire themselves exceedingly well, for in those days the nobles of Thakaundrove were very tall and "the objects of our coquetry"; now they are small men. Their capital, Somosomo, "is withered; perhaps because of parricide" (at least one chief of Thakaundrove buried his father alive). The people of Lakemba, not the Lord of Naiau, gave the *tama* to Tui Thakau when he came; but they did not do it sincerely unless his mother was a Lauan. One informant thinks Lakemba was afraid of Thakaundrove because it was a strong land, and that is why Lakemba made feasts for them.

Lakemba was, with Thakaundrove, "the hand that takes stuff to Mbau (*linga ni yau ki Mbau*)." Lakemba used regularly to take gifts to Mbau and received nothing in return. This was explained by saying that Mbau and Lakemba are kin, that Mbau is "sacred blood," that is senior branch, in relation to Lakemba, as the Mbauans are descendants of Niumataiwalu. The story is cited that Thakombau refused to drink kava until the cup had been taken to the Tui Naiau who was in Yandrana. When the Sau or High Chief died, Lakemba would ask Mbau to approve of his successor. The people give the *tama* salutation to the Vunivalu or principal chief of Mbau and his true sons; even the Tui Naiau does so for the Vunivalu. For the Vunivalu only, they hold the ceremony called "calling on one another" at his arrival. If the Vunivalu came to Lakemba, the Tui Naiau would send to Lau for a large double canoe. Formerly ladies were taken to Mbau to be the wives of the Vunivalu or some other nobleman. It is said that when a Mbauan noble came to Lakemba, the women were hidden for fear he should take them by force. No great lady of Mbau married a Lakemban until Uluilakemba II married Andi Temumu, and then there was some opposition. Ratu Finau, his son, is "great sister's son" to Mbau; if he goes to Mbau, he can fly a pennant from his masthead. At the present day the Lauans are looked down upon in Mbau .

The Lord of Naiau presents whale's teeth (*tauri tambua*) only to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Rewa. It is considered improper to do so for Kandavu. Lakemba only dances for the Chief of Mbau and the chief of Thakaundrove; and there was much grumbling when they were ordered to dance for the Kandavu people and to take off their dancing dresses to them. When the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*sōlevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

434 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia:

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73).

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

"Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge."[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalavu a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka ;uuuva."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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D72

In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, *"O, oa!"* set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, *"A, mangiti,"* dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, *"Amunduo,"* clapped again and said, *"Amunduo,"* then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *wavu lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

527

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

[648]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PREPARATIONS

When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauritambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children, allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i tokathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba
Viti-i-Loma OQ9

MOALA, TOTOYA, AND MATUKU ISLANDS

GENERAL RELATIONS

V L 648

Moala, Totoya, and Matuku constituted a group of islands which "stood by itself"; they were subject to neither Mbau nor Lakemba. They formerly "went to" Mbau, but "were not turned very much" that way; and went only as relatives, not as subjects. However, an article in the Native Gazette (11, Feb., p. 13, 1891) represents Mbau as making requisitions (*lala*) in Moala, and a writer in the same journal (op. cit. 4, p. 47, 1897) traces the origin of one whole group of Fijian chiefs to Moala. He says:

V 173

> I will also relate to you a Fijian tradition concerning the origin of some of the great chiefs of Fiji. The name of that family is Ndelaindaku. The various states where they are found and their ranks are as follows: In Mbau the Vunivalu is a scion from Ndelaindaku, in Thakaundrove the Tui Thakau, in Rewa the Roko Tui Ndreketi, in Mbua the Tui Mbua, in Mathuata the Tui Mathuata, in Lakemba the Roko Sau, in Nakelo the Tui Nakelo, in Namata the Roko Tui Namata, in Namara the Roko Tui Veikau, in Nasavusavu the Tui Nasavusavu, in Natewa the Vunivalu, in Wainikeli Roko Tuei, in Namuka (Mathuata) the Time, in Mualevu the Tui Mavana, in Nasangalau the Tui Nasangalau.
>
> There are other scions of Ndelaindaku in the various lands of Fiji that are by descent small nobility, and there are also many who are by descent people of the land (*kawa lewe ni vanua*). Now this noble family is said to originate entirely from Moala; that is why those lands are still related to Moala. The people of Moala are wont to carry out in honor of those great noble lands "the opening of the path," "the setting foot on land," the "visiting" at the various installments of chiefs. Moala people have only just returned from Mbau after visiting the Roko Tui Tailevu [i. e., the Yunivalu of Mbau].

This writer distinguishes another noble line, called the Ratu, who originate from Nakauvandra; unfortunately his account is confused with modern theories about Malaya and Melanesians, but he states (11, p. 78, 1897) that the Ndelaindaku clan is in Moala.

Totoya is the land of origin (*vanua vu*) of the nobles of Moala: they are called Kai Lomanikoro, or "Men of the middle of the town." Their line split and spread first to Moala, whence come the great nobles of Naroi, then to Matuku. The writer whom I have quoted says that Ravuvu or Ravouvou of Mburotu, son of Tui Mburotu, was shipwrecked in Totoya. After staying some time he went on to Moala where he married Raluve of Moala. One of the party went to build Nayavutoka in Lakemba to be his village.

Another version is that Ndaunisai, the youngest of the brothers, came from Nakauvandra, settled in Kambara, but owing to the lack of land they sailed in two canoes, one to Keteithake in Moala, the other to Keteira in Totoya. In Keteira they set up a big mound (*yavu*) called Kau Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 575
the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by [349]
Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social [557]
order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government 648
has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability [778]
to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the 776
cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, 575
not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wanggapouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the 575
bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses [785]
his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They
jump, dance, And club one Another.

3:Thompson.E-5(1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the
[797] trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji
[648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally
177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a
439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

[p. vi is blank]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which 614
become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial 621
government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked 178
clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle 648
of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 648 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. 622

[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

622
177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648
631
178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

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native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order 631 648
to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The 178
success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka. 539

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

SOCIAL life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code 576
of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is 626
learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had [558] lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony. 648 692

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which consists of over two hundred police officers divided into twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A [625] 696 554

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

BLOOD AND SOIL

Nonggui tau,
Solia nonggu yau.

My friend.
Give me some property.[27]

423 IN LAU the basic landowning unit is the clan. The land is divided into three classes: garden land, village land, and bush. The natives say that according to the pre-Tongan system of tenure in Lau each hamlet owned a part of each class of land. This system is found on the island of Mothe, which is divided into sections shaped like pieces of pie, each containing bush, garden, and village land. Each section was formerly owned and occupied by a hamlet and is still owned by the same group, which is now a clan in one of the two villages of the island. After the Tongan conquest, according to informants, on some islands clan titles were established to the garden and village land only and the bush was considered free. The post-Tongan system is found on the island of Kambara.

423 648 One of the most important policies of the British administration in Fiji has been the protection of native land ownership. Before annexation, white settlers in Fiji had acquired large areas of land (about 414,615 acres) from the native chiefs, but since 1875 practically all sale of native land, except to the government for specific purposes, has been prohibited. Tenure has been granted only by leaseholds, which may extend up to 99 years for agricultural purposes. In 1936 only about one-fifth (863,211 acres) of the total area of the colony (4,523,620 acres) had been alienated by sales and leases.[28]

[27] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 118.
[28] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 70.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense of social security in spite of the modern trend away from kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing, which is due in part at least to the government's systematic campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the promotion of sanitation and health.

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau.OQ6

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THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

131 THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The 134 southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of ex- 137 change. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil 539 grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

648 Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

114 [1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion. [2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also ·nbau (probably *Pittorporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka. [6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pp 1-151 not processed]

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 149 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174 175 648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji; 134 245

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and 175 648

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands. 174

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

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SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

WE were running along the coast in smooth 123
water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the [648] little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, *I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the* 123
engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy- 115
headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds [673] of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that he would return and beat them should such report reach him.

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"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.
[2] In the New Hebrides.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

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At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

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"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time. 123 776 539*

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl. 776 [797]

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about. 539* 776 101 648

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks 539* 776

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things. 539* 776

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove. 101 175 776 648

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner 776 825

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 Canoes from southern Lau were used by chiefs throughout the Fiji islands and in Tonga where there is no hardwood. Tongan chiefs sent their own carpenters and workmen to Kambara and Fulanga where they lived for two years or more building large double canoes to be used in Tonga.

According to informants, the last double canoe was made in Kambara about 30 years ago. However, large sailing canoes and paddling canoes are still made. Since the fall of the copra market large sailing canoes have provided interisland transportation.

SAILING CANOE

501 [651] [439] Large sailing canoes (*thamakathu*) are one of the most valuable objects of ceremonial exchange made in southern Lau. They are paid as tribute to high chiefs at Lakemba, who in turn frequently present them in ceremonial exchanges to chiefs of Viti Levu.

Canoe census

Thirty-two large, seaworthy, sailing canoes on the islands visited were distributed as follows: Fulanga 11, Kambara 8, Ongea 7, Mothe 6, Namuka 0. On Kambara the distribution between villages was Tokalau 1, Lomatchi 2, Undu 2, Nggalinggali 3. Many partly hollowed hulls, abandoned during construction, were seen rotting in the bush; and old, broken hulls were seen in all villages.

Navigation

502 A well-built Lauan sailing canoe is a seaworthy and swift craft. In a stiff breeze she easily attains a speed of 10 knots an hour. She sails best with the wind just off the stern but cannot sail *directly before the wind, because the* outrigger must be kept to windward. In stormy weather the man who holds the sheet watches the outrigger and the sail constantly. If he does not slacken the sail at a gust, the float rises out of the water and the canoe is in danger of capsizing. If the outrigger swings to leeward, the float is forced under water and the canoe swamps. Care is taken to balance the load on a canoe by favoring the outrigger side. If the load is unbalanced the canoe capsizes; if it is too heavy, the canoe sinks. Loads are often thrown overboard. A capsized canoe is righted by the crew and bailed out, and the journey is resumed.

If the wind is very strong the sail is lowered while a reef is taken in the foot of it. In dangerous gales the sail is lowered, rolled, tied, and adjusted to the mast in order to catch the wind. A canoe with lowered sail so adjusted makes 4 knots an hour in a gale. Lauan sailors say that a mat sail is better than a canvas one for the mat allows the wind to pass through and therefore the mast is not easily strained or broken.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

431 to a chief is not accumulated by him but is put into circulation again either through his obligations or the soliciting system.

556 The *kerekere* system prevents accumulation and centralization of wealth by any individual or group and promotes continual redistribution. Property serves as the medium by which social prestige may be acquired. A loss of property through gift exchange means a gain in prestige—the material loss, through giving, equals a social gain. But prestige cannot be accumulated and stored. As a commodity it is perishable and must be renewed frequently. Under the system the rewards go to the industrious and clever man—to the worker; the lazy man loses out. There is social rather than economic insecurity.

SOLEVU

A *solevu* is a competitive form of ceremonial gift exchange of the potlatch type between rival, related groups. The *solevu* pattern involves announcement by messengers displaying the property to be presented in a procession and in a pile on the ceremonial ground, ceremonial presentation of a whale's tooth and the property, dancing, and the distribution of goods (pp. 73-74). A *solevu* is usually planned months ahead, to allow time for making and collecting the property. Payment may be either immediate or deferred. Large *solevu* are usually accompanied by barter between related individuals who are participating in the *solevu* as members of rival groups. Whales' teeth, mats, tapa, food, woodwork, canoes, and sennit are the most important articles of exchange.

Solevu are held between villages or clans. The basic motive for many intervillage *solevu*, especially if the villages are located on different islands in Lau, is economic. The *solevu* is a form of economic exchange, which serves to provide for local deficiencies in natural resources and supplement local industries. At the same time it provides a means by which the spirit of rivalry may be expressed and prestige may be gained. Interclan *solevu* are usually affinal exchanges in which the underlying motive is social rather than economic. They serve to express and emphasize the bond between two clans related by marriage. They are held at marriage, birth, the first birthday of the first-born, and death.

TRIBUTE

431 A variation on the *solevu* ceremonial exchange pattern serves in the pay-
● 651 ment of tribute to a chief. Property collected from a village or an island is present according to the *solevu* form with deferred payment but no equivalent return payment is made although a small return gift of tobacco or other property is made by the chief. Also, in the payment of tribute, rivalry plays a part, for the value of the tribute offering affects the prestige of the donors.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The tribute system is related to the *kerekere* system in that while *kerekere* is soliciting between relatives, tribute is soliciting of the people by the chief. However, *kerekere* is a reciprocal exchange between more or less equals, whereas tribute is a non-reciprocal payment of property by the people to the chief, and *kerekere* is non-ceremonial whereas tribute is ceremonial. Small quantities of tribute, such as the first fruit offerings are offered according to the ceremonial presentation pattern. 431 651

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

Another type of ceremonial exchange is the payment of goods in return for professional services of carpenters, doctors, midwives, *meke* makers, and master fishermen. This is a reciprocal exchange in which payment of goods is usually deferred until after the services have been rendered and paid in a lump sum of property offered according to the presentation pattern. 431 [465]

VASU AND TAUVU

The *vasu* relationship involves a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment which is not reciprocally balanced. It has been described on pages 62-64. 431 571

I was not able to gather much information concerning the *tauvu* relationship. Informants agree that if two villages have the same *vu* (forefather) they are *tauvu*. This means that they may take each other's property. It seems, therefore, that the relationship involves a formalized reciprocal exchange of property with deferred payment between villages related by descent from a common mythical ancestor. Each village has the privilege of seizing property from the other village.

Kambara is *tauvu* to Vatoa, a village near Mbau on Viti Levu. Their mutual *vu* is Mberawalaki. When Kambarans go to Vatoa village they may seize property there and when Vatoans go to Kambara they may do likewise. Kambara is also *tauvu* to Nukuloa village, Thakaundrove, but Nukuloa is not *tauvu* to Vatoa. Oloi in Tailevu, Viti Levu, is *tauvu* to Kambara. Mualevu district on Vanua Mbalavu is *tauvu* to Vanua Vatu Island. Mothe is *tauvu* to Lauthala at Rewa on Viti Levu. Mothe is also *tauvu* to Taveuni. Matakana, Ono, is *tauvu* to Kamali clan, Mothe. The natives of the other islands visited say they do not know their *tauvu* relationships.

BARTER

Barter may be defined as a non-ceremonial form of direct reciprocal gift exchange. Barter is often used by traders who sail to distant islands to exchange their wares with relatives. Also, it accompanies every large ceremonial exchange. 437

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

doubled.[37] This commercial development had a strong effect on the southern Lau islands where the soil is particularly suited to the growth of coconuts. 439 245

The systematic production of coconuts in southern Lau began during the Tongan regime when the Tongan chiefs exacted tribute from the Lauans in the form of large quantities of perfumed coconut oil, which was shipped by canoe to Tonga. With the rise in the price of copra these plantations began to be used commercially, and their area was increased until they covered much of the available coconut land in southern Lau. Trade stores sprang up on all islands. They were run by Chinese or European traders, who exchanged copra for cash, or for western trade goods such as metal tools, cloth, soap, kerosene, matches, tobacco, tinned beef, rice, flour, sugar, mosquito nets, chairs, and even "Singer" sewing machines. In the southern islands, where no land has been alienated, the copra industry remained in the hands of the natives. Each clan supplied labor for its own plantations, and as the natives began to acquire a taste for western goods, the men, women, and children worked on the plantations. [651] 439

The sudden wave of material prosperity had a serious effect on native life. Gardens, fishing, crafts, and native trade were 178 245

[37] The development of the copra industry in Fiji by four year periods since 1877 is as follows:

Period	*Total copra shipped* (tons)	*Total value* (£)	*Value per ton* (£. s. d.)
1877-81	33,474	457,776	13. 13. 6
1882-86	27,782	312,213	11. 4. 9
1887-91	22,322	195,056	8. 14. 9
1892-96	34,827	309,543	8. 10. 11
1897-01	50,571	492,603	9. 14. 10
1902-06	50,083	621,799	12. 8. 3
1907-11	69,884	1,122,976	16. 1. 3
1912-16	60,040	1,057,058	17. 12. 1
1917-21	91,193	2,294,517	25. 3. 3
1922-26	121,286	2,345,205	19. 6. 8
1927-31	128,532	2,212,958	17. 4. 4
1932-35	87,280	714,447	8. 3. 11

(*Handbook of Fiji*, 1937, p. 73.)

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

competition with the whale oil industry, the market price of copra fell from £25 to £8 per ton between 1920 and 1935.[89] 439 245 [435]

Copra production was also severely curtailed in the early 20's by the spread of the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) from Viti Levu, where it had been known for at least sixty years, to Ovalau, and thence to many parts of Fiji including the Lau islands. The colonial government introduced a two-winged parasitic fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) from the Federated Malay States, which by 1929 had brought the pest under control and by 1936 had caused its almost complete extinction. Moreover, plantations were attacked by the coconut scale (*Aspidiotus destructa*), which is being successfully combated by a coccinellid beetle imported by the government from Java. [654]

The great depression that struck the western world in 1929 did not affect Lau until 1931, but in that year the demand for copra fell away sharply. Communication with the outside world practically ceased, and most of the trade stores were abandoned. The natives suddenly found themselves deprived of the easy means of obtaining western trade goods on which they had become dependent. Their only recourse was to their old life. Neglected gardens were cleared and replanted, native crafts were revived, and inter-island trade was resumed. The southern island once more became the center of canoe building, woodwork, barkcloth, and mat making in Fiji. Involuntarily 439 178 434

[89] Annual copra exports from the colony since 1922 are shown in the following table:

Year	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)	*Year*	*Quantity* tons	*Total value* (£)
1922	21,987		1930	23,882	369,524
1923	24,161		1931	16,917	177,786
1924	25,137	484,496	1932	15,076	170,240
1925	24,133	497,713	1933	22,597	195,788
1926	27,868	573,475	1934	23,526	125,941
1927	26,560	534,416	1935	26,081	220,478
1928	27,947	567,254	1936	34,581	406,393
1929	33,226	563,978			

(*Annual Reports*, Fiji, 1922-36.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

"bush" timber which costs little more than the labor required for construction has also been introduced, but the natives prefer the more finished sawn timber type. 245 439

The government is also stimulating the copra industry among the natives of Fiji by encouraging the planting of coconut palms, by supplying seedlings for planting in areas where seed nuts are not readily available, by carrying on experiments in the breeding of early maturing types of coconuts, and by assisting in an attempt to start the manufacture of dessicated coconut in Fiji.[41] [654]

The upswing in the copra trade has naturally had an effect on the southern Lau islands where the advance and retreat of western influence depends to a large extent on the market demand and current price. On these isolated and land-poor islands there are practically no natural resources of commercial value except the coconut. The well-being of the natives and their attainment of a new adjustment depend in a large measure upon the extent and the rate of recovery of the copra trade. Too rapid expansion of the copra industry and with it western influence had a detrimental effect on the culture. Time and slow growth are necessary to absorb new elements into the old life patterns and to establish a new adjustment to the environment. 178 245 439

The most significant effect of the introduction of western economy into southern Lau, however, has been a devitalizing of the native economic life due to the clash of the fundamentally opposed economic philosophies. If this is to be overcome an adjustment between the two systems must be found which will bridge the gap between them. Since, as a result of recent changes, the whole tendency has been from the old communalism toward growing individualism, the new adjustment must lead the native slowly in this direction so that he will eventually become strong enough to protect himself in the modern economic world. 178 182

[41] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, pp. 9-10.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 636 656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

197 The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the
[944] *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

621 In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly
565 lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

614 The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are
656 described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

[576] The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

621 It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

643 The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times. 262 231

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet. 224 [136] [656] [231]

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp. 222 [262]

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only. 231 262

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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656 431 439 and large ceremonial exchanges were discouraged. The exchange of property between related groups and the amount of tribute which a chief might extract from his people were limited by regulation.

178 656 431 439 These regulations have, of course, proved largely unsuccessful since the abuses they attempt to correct lie deep-rooted in the native economic system. Such rules cannot bridge the wide gap between western competitive capitalism based on money and credit, which emphasizes the accumulation of wealth by the individual, and native competitive communalism, which emphasizes the distribution of wealth by the group. They have, however, had unexpected results. The attempt to limit the exchange of goods between related groups has resulted in sapping vitality from the economic life. Distribution by competitive exchanges between related clans or villages, with its accompanying ceremonies and feasts, is a necessary stimulus to production under the native system. Moreover, instead of being curtailed, the soliciting of western trade goods has been extended outside the boundaries of the related group. Whereas formerly a man solicited only from his relatives, now he solicits trade goods from whomsoever he pleases. The effect of the limitation of tribute has been to cause the people to question the demands of their chiefs and to pay only the barest minimum. It has directly undermined the authority of the chiefs.

439 245 The development of western economy in southern Lau, as in many parts of Fiji, is closely linked with the rise of the copra trade. Between 1900 and 1920 the market price of copra rose from £9 to £25 per ton, chiefly because of the increasing demands for coconut oil in the manufacture of vegetable butter and good quality soaps. The industry in Fiji expanded rapidly, the number and area of the coconut plantations increased, and the production of copra in the colony practically

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, [657]
but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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794 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed
668 by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos,* and *mbulis,* in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those [illegible]nected with Christianity, have become a part of the ac[illegible] code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

We were running along the coast in smooth 123
water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the [648]
little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the 123
engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy- 115
headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds [673]
of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
.OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

241 311 461 tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

241 461 The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. [674] He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, [558] or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The natives collect fruits, and greens, hunt, and set traps only in the bush adjacent to their own villages. 423

Formerly, besides clearing land, a clan could acquire garden land by marriage, war, or by gift from a chief. Occasionally, when a woman of the lower class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *sovisovi ni ndraundrau* (place to collect leaves.) The woman was responsible for gathering the daily supply of edible leaves. The land remained in the man's clan unless after his death his children were adopted by their mother's clan, when the land was returned with the children. If the children remained with their father's people, even though the widow went back to her people, the land was kept also. Sotchiana of Rasea clan, Fulanga, married Tchone of Vandravandra and brought a piece of land to her husband's clan. After his death she stayed with his clan and the clan kept the land. Vunise of Sau clan took a piece of land to Vunikoro when she married Lote. The land remained the property of Vunikoro. When Semitchi of Mbete subclan, Kambara, married Kalavu of Lomatchi, she brought a piece of land. Land is no longer acquired in this fashion. If one village conquered another the victors class married a noble she brought a piece of land to his clan. This was called *ka ni mbula* (thing of life). Land was also given by one village to another in return for help in warfare, but it has been several generations since land has changed hands through warfare. 425 [565]

Today a clan may acquire the ownership of new garden land only by clearing bush. Newly cleared land belongs to the man who clears it. This means that it is used by him, his household, and his children. The clan has no right to deprive him of this land, though the land is considered to be the property of the clan. If the land is cleared by the combined labor of a subclan its use belongs to the subclan.

Small, uninhabited islands are also clan owned. The clan claims exclusive ownership of all the land and fishing rights of its island. For example, the Naivotavota clan of Kambara claims ownership of Wangava; clans of Undu village own the island of Marambo; Vuanitavola clan owns the island of Tavunasithi; the islands of the central Fulanga lagoon belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and to Naivindamu villages. 423

Cultivated fruit trees in the village—such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut, banana, and *ndawa*—belong to the man who plants them, and no one but the owner is allowed to pick the fruit. Fruit trees are inherited from father to son. If a tabu has been declared on the fruit crop, the owner of the fruit trees is not allowed to pick the fruit until after the first fruits' ceremony. If the owner's right over the fruit of his trees is not respected he marks them tabu by tying a coconut leaf round the trunk. This is called *tambu*. It serves to check but does not eliminate pilfering of ripe fruit by children during the [428] 423 674

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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423 [674] day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau,* located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova,* is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging [184] to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

422 *I yau* is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

422 556 436 The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the 755
patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine 278
(called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57] 753

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor 755
spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a 783
patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. 755
Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after 753
a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily 755
worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly [674]
afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water. [824]

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
683 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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754 Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this [683] reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

754 Now, all the instances I have mentioned above
184 occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

597 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

584 543 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of
184 one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko,* to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau.*

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest
[835 tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the
684 woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

593 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini.*
605 A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.

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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of [177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance [867] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or 558 eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged
618 with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
188 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela- [184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly [689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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696 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, how-
554 ever. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are
626 handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau,
673 came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet
602 potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not [illegible] minded the loss, if the person who took them had onl[illegible] his permission. We asked if he knew who had tak[illegible] He said he did not. He would not confide even his s[illegible] to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.
[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognised as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony. 648 692

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which consists of over two hundred police officers divided into twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A [625] 696 554

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat. 722

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably describe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The following account has been received: 726 757 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

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621 Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair.
133 Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several
houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the
[312] nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabi-
621 tants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau,
133 before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to
712 Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south
133 of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara con-
[31 cerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

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the cliff above the village. Nggalinggali is situated toward the north end of Kambara within easy sailing distance of the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. With 154 inhabitants, it is the largest village on Kambara. Its 32 sleeping houses are near the beach in two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. Most of Nggalinggali's garden lands are on Wangava, but some are found on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, in the interior Kambara basin, and on the ridge above the village. A path leads from the northwest corner of the village, up the steep cliff into the interior basin, and across the island. It connects Nggalinggali with Ndelaioloi, and the villages of Tokalau and Lomatchi. These villages, as well as Undu, may also be reached by skirting the island in a canoe or on foot at low tide. 621 133

The reservoir is out of repair, but brackish water is obtained from two water holes, one at the north end and one at the south end of the village. [312]

On the sandy flat north of the village, are house sites of the old village of Tanggu, occupied immediately before the present site. On the limestone cliffs above Nggalinggali are the ruins of Nakoro (p. 218), a walled fortress which was used by the Nggalinggali group. Adjoining Nakoro on the southwest is Matanaiundu, a small fort which supplemented Nakoro. [361 712]

At Naimarai near Naikeleangga on the north point of the island is a cemetery and village site, which, according to the natives, was formerly occupied by Tongan canoe builders. The ditch across which the hull of a double canoe was laid while under construction may still be seen. The natives say that near this spot was situated an assembly house (*vale ni mbose*), used as a meeting place for representatives from the two hostile sides of the island. 172

UNDU

Undu is the most isolated village on Kambara. Located on the east shore about two miles south of Nggalinggali, it is farthest from the island's anchorage at Tokalau and least touched by western influence. In Undu are concentrated the descendants of the land people (*kai vanua*) of Kambara, the aboriginal inhabitants of the island. The village has 120 inhabitants occupying 24 sleeping houses. Its title is Raviravimbalavu. 621 133

Undu is connected with Ndelaioloi, Tokalau, and Lomatchi by a rough, narrow path, which ascends the steep precipice above the village and leads through the bush across the island. The village garden lands are located on Ndelaioloi and on Marambo, a small uninhabited limestone island about seven miles east of the village. 487 133 621

The reservoir is in repair. On the northern outskirts of the village, fresh water drips from the cliff and is caught in wooden bowls. There is also a fresh water hole about 250 meters south of the village in the cliff. On the beach a mile south of Undu lies a salt water hole about 12 meters deep and 2 meters in diameter, used for fermenting food. 312 621 133

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

621 133 Paths connect the villages with garden lands along the coast and in the valleys. The landing opposite the passage on the east coast may be reached from the villages at either high or low tide by walking along the beach, which partially surrounds the island.

[312] Fresh water is obtained from the island creeks and from a large reservoir in Nasau.

[712] There are two important fortresses on Mothe: Ndelaimakotu, crowning the summit, and Ndelaimothe on a hill southwest of Ndelaimakotu.

Little information could be obtained concerning movements of the Mothe groups. According to informants. the Kamali clan has moved as follows:

166 621 At the time of Mirakilangi, seven generations ago, Kamali was living in Ndelaimothe with the Nasau, Nggali, and Vanganduku clans. Mirakilangi moved with the Kamali group to the hamlet, Tokanga, on the beach. At the time of Mbatchinimalungu, five generations ago, the Valelevu subclan lived at Wanggathiri and the Vunikavika subclan at Kauyawa, two hamlets on Kamali land in west Mothe. The two groups moved to the hamlet, Nggali. At the time of Siasi, three generations ago, they moved to the present site of Nasau. In the last generation Korotolu people have moved from Nggali to Vanganduku, thence to Leva, and thence to Korotolu, the present village site. Natives say that each move was made because of a hurricane or a tidal wave.

Fulanga

621 133 Fulanga is a horseshoe-shaped limestone island 5 miles long and about 3.5 miles wide, surrounded by a fringing reef. A ridge up to 79.2 meters high forms the backbone of the island. The island itself almost encircles a large, central lagoon, rich in fish and dotted with 300 to 400 mushroom-shaped islets.

Fulanga is a "famine" island producing insufficient food to cover the needs of the population. The soil is poor, and practically the only garden products are manioc and breadfruit. Fulanga raises a relatively large number of chickens. Her main resources are hardwoods, fish, shellfish, and pandanus of good quality.

Salia, the narrow, shallow passage to the central lagoon, is difficult even for small craft. The only anchorage is at Yawalevu on the south shore of the central lagoon. A path from Yawalevu runs southwestward over the island ridge through Muanaithake, one of the three villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake is located in an indentation on the south coast of the island. The same path connects Muanaithake with Muanaira village on the beach half a mile westward. At Muanaira the path turns northward to Vatuolo, a canoe landing at the southwest corner of the central lagoon. From Vatuolo it skirts the central lagoon through the bush to Naivindamu village on the northwest shore of the lagoon. Paths also connect Muanaithake with its meager garden lands, most of which lie east of the village on the southern horn of the island.

The large central lagoon provides Fulanga with the best fishing grounds

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in southern Lau. The islands in the main lagoon, used mostly for fishing, belong to Nasava and Vandravandra clans and to Muanaira and Naivindamu villages. The central lagoon is divided into three sections and each village owns the section adjacent to it. Each village holds exclusive fishing rights over its section which cannot be used by members of other villages without permission. Muanaithake's fishing grounds extend from Salia to Ndranukatava and from Nawautu to Matainiunga. Muanaira's fishing grounds include Yanuyanualou, Narakuraku to Nanggere to Salia. Naivindamu's include Lanaki to the reef, Yakaulau, Nggilanggilalevu and Nggilanggilalailai. 621 133

I estimated the population of Fulanga to be about 350. According to census reports, the population was 310 in 1921 (4) and 390 in 1936 (5).

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake is the largest and the ranking village on Fulanga. The census of 1936 (5) records that Muanaithake had 23 sleeping houses. The number in 1934 was not recorded. The sleeping houses are set in rows on either side of a wide path. The house mound of the chief of Fulanga faces the ceremonial ground in the center of the village. Thick, high house posts are still standing on this site, but the chief, who is old and feeble, lives in a smaller house behind it. Inhabitants say that the title of the village is Lomatchi, but the inhabitants of Muanaira also claim this title for their village.

When mosquitoes become troublesome in Muanaithake during the rainy season, most of the inhabitants move to Taluma, a windswept islet at the southeast end of the central lagoon, or to the islands of Mbaumbau and Nukuveilauvuraki. They sleep in temporary huts and leave the islets only to procure food and to attend ceremonies in the village. [221]

Informants of Vunikoro, the ranking clan on Fulanga, say the clan formerly lived at the hamlet Naiunduundu near Muanaithake. The title of the clan is Naiunduundu. They used the fortress, Nauluvatu, on the hill above Muanaithake and were the first settlers at Muanaithake village. [712]

MUANAIRA

Set in garden lands on the beach west of Muanaithake is Muanaira, a small village of 16 sleeping houses clustered about a central ceremonial ground.

The people of the village say that they lived at one time in Nauluvatu, the fortress on the cliffs above Muanaithake, and that from there they separated and formed the hamlets Narara, Nggilo, and Tawali, situated in the garden land between Muanaira and Muanaithake.

NAIVINDAMU

Naivindamu, a little village of 16 sleeping houses on the central lagoon, is one of the most isolated villages in Lau. The garden lands, behind and on

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear
[411] (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges
● 712 of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass [751] a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every ●712 island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mba vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

NAISEVOU

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, pro-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tected by two outer walls (fig. 21, 1, 3). The walls consist of undressed limestone which supplements the natural protection afforded by the cliff. All four walls are parallel and extend inland from the edge of the precipice. They are well preserved. On the surface of the ground in the fortified areas (fig. 21, 1, 3) were found potsherds, an adz blade of Tridacna, and irregular lines of stones which the natives said marked burials.

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FIGURE 21.—Naisevou fortress site, Kambara. a, sketch map of site which occupies three levels (1, 2, 3), separated by rough limestone defense walls 1-2.60 meters high, 0.30-1 meter wide; 1 and 3 were outer fortified areas, house sites were located in 2. Measurements: 4-5, 37 meters; 6-7, 95 meters; 8-9, 60 meters; 10-11, 55 meters; 12-13, 20 meters; 7-14, 70 meters; 17-14, 32 meters; 15-16, 17 meters. b, profile of site (from west) showing three levels (1, 2, 3) and location of stone defense walls.

NAKOROVUSA

On the ridge about 28 meters above Naisevou is Nakorovusa, surrounded by a wall of undressed limestone. On the west this wall follows the edge of the cliffs, in places reinforcing and supplementing them to a height of about 10 meters. The wall on the south side is about 2 meters high and 65 cm. wide at the top. Much of the ground inside the wall is rocky and broken, but the level land has been made into a manioc garden. Most of the house sites have been destroyed but one site, an oval earth mound about 38 cm. high, faced with large stones, is well preserved. It is 8 meters long and 6 meters wide. The long axis of the platform is perpendicular to the shore line. Potsherds were found on the ground inside and outside of the house sites. Some sherds had incised designs on the outer wall surface or on the flat edge of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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the slightly outward bent rim. A piece of brain coral, apparently used as a grater, was also found.

Ndelaioloi

Another fortress site, Ndelaioloi, is situated southeast of Tokalau village at the summit of Ndelaioloi, the highest hill on Kambara (143.3 meters) and the only one of volcanic formation. The site commands a view of the island of Kambara as well as 17 other islands. It is entirely surrounded by a well-preserved wall of basalt. About two-thirds of the site is used for a garden of yams and manioc; the remainder is overgrown by bush. A few of the house sites which have not been destroyed are roughly rectangular in shape.

Nakaka

North of Lomatchi village on the southern spur of Ndelaioloi is Nakaka. The site is surrounded by a well-preserved wall and is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut, *vala,* and Tahitian chestnut. On the steep hillside each house foundation forms a terrace, the south side built up with stone to 65 cm. to 1 meter high and the remainder of the mound filled in with stones to level the floor. Most of the house sites are elliptical in ground plan but one is square, 5 by 5 meters, with slightly rounded corners. A coconut tree estimated by its rings to be at least 75 years old, is growing in a stone-marked house mound of the Nakaka site.

Nakoro

Located on the edge of the ridge 60 to 75 meters above Nggalinggali is Nakoro, a natural fort. It follows the line of the ridge which forms a cliff wall. A break in this wall to the north of the fortress affords the only approach from the sea. About 4 meters below this break, a limestone wall has been constructed to guard the approach. The site of Nakoro, built up in terraces on the steep inner slope of the ridge, is now used as a garden; but many house foundations are well preserved. Informants say burials were found in some house mounds when they were disturbed for gardening. The skeletons were reburied. A group of five or six house mounds at the south end of the Nakoro series, called Matanaiundu, are said to have been used by the Undu group who were allies of the Nggalinggali people. Matanaiundu is separated from Nakoro by a high point and can be approached either from Nakoro along a razor-backed ledge, which forms the eastern edge of the point, or up a steep path leading from the interior. West of Nakoro and Matanaiundu the cliff drops abruptly from 10 to 25 meters. Here a flat, ovate section of the interior basin which forms the island has been isolated by cliffs. The fortified approach to Nakoro leads also to this plateau which has only one

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

other entrance, located at the northwest end and protected by a limestone wall. A path leading into the interior joins the two entrances. It is forked by another path leading to the Sautambu, an isolated burial mound (p. 222) located at the northeast end of the plateau. Between the rocks on both sides of this second path are pits, 2 to 4 meters deep, from which the soil for the house mounds at Nakoro was taken, according to the natives.

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Thaukenaloa

A strong fortress site, Thaukenaloa is situated 75 to 80 meters high on the ridge southwest of Undu. The site is said to have been named after four conspicuous ironwood (*thau*) trees crowning the point which commands a view of the surrounding ocean. Thaukenaloa occupies a steep, narrow slope between the edge of the cliffs and an inland ravine 8 meters deep. The site forms a natural fort, and protecting limestone walls have been built up only at the entrance. The site, which varies in width from 10 to 25 meters and extends about 120 meters along the ridge, is very rocky and somewhat overgrown so that it was difficult to determine to what extent house foundations had been built up. The house sites were formerly supported on the west side by a retaining limestone wall 1.5 meters high. Two foundations, situated on high points, apparently served as look-outs. Thin potsherds and one small Tridacna shell were found at Thaukenaloa.

Ndengei

The strongest fortress site on Wangava was Ndengei, built according to tradition, by Nggileso (table 2). Ndengei is located on the cliffs above Saurai near Wangava's highest point (100 meters). The only approach to the site is by a path leading from the north end of the beach on the northwest side of the island up the narrow, steep ravine to the top of the cliff and down again into a narrow valley surrounded by high inaccessible cliffs. The path up the cliff is protected by a series of three limestone walls. Each wall runs across the narrow ravine, a distance of from 4 to 7 meters. Ruins of the first wall (4 meters long) are located 5 meters above the sandy flat and about 35 meters from it. Its former height cannot now be determined. The second wall, 7 meters long, 3 meters high, 2.5 meters wide at the base, and about 30 cm. wide at the top, is located about 70 meters from the first and 10 meters above it. The third wall is 70 meters from the second and 6 meters above it. It is 6 meters long, 2 meters high, 1.5 meters wide at the base and practically pointed at the top. The natives say that formerly a hamlet was located at the top of the cliff in a level space about 8 meters wide, now covered with thick bush. No house foundations were seen here. The cliff rises rapidly northward to the highest point on the island where a round flat stone marks

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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a look-out point, according to informants. Here the entire island and surrounding ocean can be seen. From the edge of the cliff, the path descends gradually through another rocky ravine. About 150 meters from the edge of the cliff grow wild yams, and 50 meters farther, at the blind end of the ravine are two coconut trees over 100 years old. No definite house foundations were found although many possible sites were examined. Gorges to a depth of 15 meters were common, many affording protection against the rain. It is possible that these were used as shelters.

Korombalavu

The only fortified cave visited was Korombalavu (Long-fortress), also called Koronggara (Cave-fortress), located in the limestone cliffs at the north end of Wangava. The natives say the cave extends to the north coast of the island and opens high in the cliffs above the sea at Naivakevu. The inland approach to the cave through a deep, rocky ravine is protected by a series of eight limestone walls. Only the entrance to the cave, which is fortified with limestone walls, was examined. It was filled with flying foxes and dung.

HAMLETS

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Hamlet (*tokatoka*) sites are located in or near the garden lands on all the inhabited islands. Their names and locations have been discussed (pp. 22-27).

Nawarowaro

Nawarowaro, located in the garden lands of northeast Wangava, is an example of a hamlet site. On this site, which is now used as a garden, many potsherds and shells were seen. The house sites have no mounds but consist of elliptical rings of stones, usually about 8 by 7 meters. Informants say that Nawarowaro was once occupied by the land people of Wangava.

Vakawangga

Vakawangga, a hamlet site which resembles a fortress, is located about 40 meters above Undu in a pocket in the cliffs, midway between the sandy flat and the top of the ridge. The hamlet, situated on a level space about 100 meters long by 30 meters wide, is surrounded by cliffs that rise on the east side about 10 meters and then drop to sea level. The cliffs on the west side rise abruptly 40 meters to the ridge. A path leads from the site southward and joins the path from Undu to Thaukenaloa and the interior. The entrance to the hamlet has been walled with limestone, probably in recent times to pen pigs. No other stone walls were seen. Since the site was overgrown with bush and fruit trees, including coconut trees, it was impossible to examine the house foundations without clearing, but one 5-meter by 6-meter house

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

13 22. NAIAU is a high limestone and volcanic island, 16 miles N.W. of Lakemba and 20 miles S.W. of Tuvutha'. (S.17° 58', 179° 04' W.) The island is 3 1/2 miles long by 2 miles wide, and is surrounded by a fringing reef. The high marginal ridge of upraised coral limestone, which rises percipitously on the north to 580 feet elevation, surrounds a dry central volcanic basin, carpeted with grass, scrub and Pandanus. The ridges are well forested.

There is no anchorage for vessels, but boats can cross the reef opposite the village of Salia on the east side, and also on the N.W. side, at high water.

312 Water is not abundant, but may be had at the villages, together with limited supplies of staple groceries and vegetables.

361 [366] 177, [161] There are three villages on the island. Salia on the east side has a native population of 140 and two chinese stores. Narothivo is located about a mile and a quarter to the N.N.W. and has 117 people. Liku, with 59 natives is on the south-east side. There is no landing at Liku, and all supplies and copra has to be carried 487 13 by trail over the ridges and across the central basin. Gaps in the limestone ridges on each side, with gradual slopes of volcanic material leading up to them, make this trail more accessable than 181 245 that on Tuvutha'. The people appear to be prosperous and produce quite a little copra from the extensive coconut groves.

172 361 712 On the high ridge S.W. of Salia there is the site of an ancient fortified village, perched at the top of a cliff.

[p.56]

13 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a
[103] cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of cocoanut palms, and there are
[241] cultivated areas on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located
368 on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The
312 island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village
487 occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The vol-
172 canic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.
712
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38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by
13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly
[241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.
[361] The small sand islet of Nukulave, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with cocoanut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA' I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1030 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the [172] [?12] ruins of a fortified village are located.

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of coconut palms in pockets around 423 the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned 361 by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial home- 245 stead is located on the west side. Copra is produced.

13 Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. 502 side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon.

964 There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. 161 Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 312 241

[p.88]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekewa;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*). 631 651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals; the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu. 36 56

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.) 621 [602]

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*a vanua ka koto nga*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *nggali vaka-veitambani* or *nggali veitambani*, the word *tamba* means side, wing; *veitambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *nggali veitambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that 636 721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme: 173

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji. 636 641

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni. [614]

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain. 142 144

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on. 651

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi. 721 621

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono. 166

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*). 565

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata: Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha, Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds. 133 621 614

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins. 622 614

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vuta*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson. 622

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

WARFARE

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War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

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could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat.

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

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If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably de- 726
scribe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The follow- 757
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Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears, which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 = OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

PREPARATIONS

648 When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauri-tambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

411 The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

726 European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children, allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i vakathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga.* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu,* one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [31]

> You are like this
> We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi,* and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi.* Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu,* from *sau,* chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu,* standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

From Matuku, Moala Islands, comes the following account of proceedings after the battle:

The clubs of the manslayers, on the day on which they were presented with gifts, are called *ngandro;* the manslayers run with them to the temple. For four nights they slept in a separate house. If one of them wanted badly to see his child, he would go up to his house, touch the child with a reed from outside, kiss the reed, and go back to the common house.

The chief then called Tumbunimalungu, now called Vaka (p. 223) would call out in the night, "The clubs are turned over." Then the conch was blown and all awakened. The clubs were not turned over; that was merely their way of doing. After four nights they went to bathe when everyone was asleep. The clubs were carried by Tumbunimalungu and the conch was blown. The people might not exclaim; if anyone did, he was *mokau*, that is, he would be killed in the next battle. On that day they carried the club round and slew any pig they chose, even though it belonged to the Roko Sau.

Of old, only the old men, not the women and children, ate men.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
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Kambara

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RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

[769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and 778 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they 618 had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
"One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself
793 and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu*, one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [331]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouri* or *thovi*, and the gifts are termed *i thouri* or *i thovi*. Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu*, from *sau*, chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu*, standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola*, a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 THE most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 130.

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Kambara

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The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga,* a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

643

The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

643
778

The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*udonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

731

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [325] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

621 Fresh water is scarce in Tokalau. The village reservoir is out of repair.
133 Rain water is collected in small tanks or barrels from the tin roofs of several
houses, and from a fresh water hole (named Nai Mariko), located in the
[312] nearby bush. Two concavities in the village mark the dry sites of brackish water holes.

Old informants say that at least some of the ancestors of Tokalau inhabi-
621 tants lived in Nakorovusa (p. 217), a fortress on the cliffs above Tokalau,
133 before moving in Christian times, when Manoa was chief of Kambara, to
712 Nakoro, the old village of Tokalau. Tokalau people also occupied Ndelaioloi (p. 218), the fortress at the summit of the hill above the village. Naisevou (p. 216; fig. 21), a fortified village just below Nakorovusa, was built by the nobles of Tokalau; and Korokoroilulu, on the slopes of Ndelaioloi, was a hamlet of the Katoka clan of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kambara.

LOMATCHI

621 Lomatchi, the lowest ranking village on Kambara, lies half a mile south
133 of Tokalau on the west coast of Kambara at the foot of Ndelaioloi. Its title is Numbaravi. Lomatchi, the smallest village on the island, has only 47 inhabitants, occupying nine sleeping houses. Most of the houses are built directly on the ground, since many houses built on stone-faced mounds were destroyed by a hurricane a few years ago. The houses form two rows, one on each side of the road, which runs parallel to the shore. A path to the gardens on Ndelaioloi, where Lomatchi owns a relatively large amount of good garden land, meets the road at the north end of the village. The village fishing grounds, which extend along the adjacent shore from Vatu Loaloa to Salia, are the best on Kambara.

[312] A concrete reservoir provides fresh water for the village, and brackish water is obtained from a hole 250 meters northward.

Informants say that formerly the natives of Lomatchi occupied Nawi and Old Lomatchi hamlets in the garden land above the present village site. They used two fortresses on the cliffs above the present village, Nakoroyangai to the south, and Nakaka (p. 218) to the north. In Christian times they moved to Vuniviavia (also called Vuninggalaka), a village site between Lomatchi and the cliffs. There is a dispute between the elders of west Kambara concerning the name of this site. During the epidemic of measles in Lau (1875) [731 they moved to Naisauvesi on the sandy flat north of the village where the house sites may be seen, and thence to the present village site.

NGGALINGGALI

Nggalinggali (called Tanggu by the natives) is the ranking village on the east side of the island. Its title is Na Koro, the name of the fortress site on the cliff above the village.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusiwi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half-coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

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501 When the hull reached the shore a large feast was held. The hull of the small
396 canoe was prepared in the same way. Next the head- and stern-boards were constructed. The two canoes were connected by booms called *i kaso*. If the double canoe was built by a *lemaki* carpenter the small canoe (*thama*) was attached on the right of the large canoe (*kata*). A wide deck was constructed over the booms and a small canoe house (*vale wangga*) was built on
[354] deck. A fireplace (*mata ndravu*), at the end of the canoe house toward the stern, was shifted according to the tack. It consisted of a large hollow block of *puko* wood or a large kava bowl. Sand or clay was placed in the hollow, then earth oven stones. A wood fire was built on the stones and removed when they were hot. Food wrapped in green leaves (banana, breadfruit, or *evuevu*) was placed on the hot stones and covered with leaves.

While the canoe was under construction it was tabu for any person unaccompanied by the carpenter to look at it. If the tabu was broken the offender had to make atonement (*ore*).

A Fijian double canoe of the *sauthoko* type, belonging to Percy Turner of Suva, has been described by Hornell (16, pp. 319-324).

A great feast was held at the launching of a double canoe. The chief, standing on the float, directed the race. Then the carpenter presented property consisting of woodwork collected from his clan, together with the canoe itself, to the chief. This was called *musu wangga*. In return the chief gave craft articles, a piece of land, or a woman to the carpenter.

On the double canoe parts of the deck called the *nggela tambu*, the *thaku*
[622] *thamba*, and the *vale wangga* (canoe house) were reserved for the chief. A chief's canoe carried a flag of *masi* attached to the yard.

Tambetembete

501 Double canoes exceeding the length of a single tree (at most about 13 meters) were made of planks built up on a keel. This type was called *tambetembete*. None is found in Fiji today, but a double canoe believed to be of the *tambetembete* type is described and illustrated by Williams (27, vol. 1, pp. 73-76, fig. p. 86).

An old informant, Semitchi of Mbutonikoro, Mothe, told me of a *tambe-*
[731] *tembete* double canoe called Tangimautchia. It was built on Fulanga just before the measle epidemic in 1875 by Setareki, *matai* (carpenter) *Yalona*, from Tonga, for Tupou, a Tongan chief. Tupou remained in Tonga and sent his herald, Hala Hafihafi, to Fulanga. Hala Hafihafi and his wife and children remained on the island during the two years required to construct the canoe. The *tambetembete* was of greenheart with mat sail. Semitchi, who was about 16 years old at the time, was a member of the crew which sailed her to Tonga. Ten of the crew were Tongans. There were about 25 men and women aboard. The canoe carried a load of mats from Fulanga. They sailed north-

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stones. It is covered with green leaves and earth and steamed 252
for an hour or more. With the "true food" is served a dish consisting of fish, if possible, and edible green leaves boiled in coconut cream. The ingredients for the boiled dish are gathered and prepared in large imported iron pots by the women. Formerly earthenware pots made in Lau were used, [323]
but pots are no longer made.[2] Without fish the meal is considered very poor indeed.

Most families have sufficient initiative to cope with the food 731
problem in years of normal rainfall, so that the islands are practically self-sufficient. But when a violent hurricane sweeps over the islands, destroying harvests and habitations—or a long, searing drought withers the crops—even the coarsest edible jungle roots will not cover the needs of the famine island inhabitants, who would starve without the rice and flour which are rushed to their aid by the colonial government in Suva. Such a hurricane occurred in 1936.

Fortunately catastrophes of this kind do not occur often, 312
but drought is a constant menace. Rain is quickly absorbed 271
through the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and only a very few water holes, which are usually brackish. Practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and wooden bowls from roofs of imported sheet iron or of thatch. The natives, however, require amazingly little fresh water. They drink the sweet milk of the young coconut, steam their food in the earth oven or boil it in coconut cream, and bathe in the sea. Only since they have
donned *lavalavas* of cloth have they needed fresh water for [296]
laundering. The government has aided the natives in building
small cement reservoirs roofed with sheet iron for each village, [657]
but the natives are so little concerned with the lack of fresh water that they do not repair the reservoirs, and few of them are in use.

[2] L. Thompson, "The Pottery of the Lau Islands, Fiji," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 1938.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

439 the natives regained most of their economic independence.
178 However, a few trade articles such as bush knives, metal axes,
434 trade cloth, soap, and cooking pots, have so far proved indispensable, and in 1934 enough copra was produced to exchange for these bare necessities which were still obtainable at a few centers. By this time there was no regular transportation to and from southern Lau. Most of the traveling of the natives was done by sailing canoes which had been revived. Otherwise an occasional visit by a Chinese owned trade cutter to replenish the supply of trade goods, a government ship for inspection, or a wandering scientist were the only contacts with the outside world.

731 The situation caused by the depressed market of 1931 was
439 aggravated by a hurricane which hit the Fiji islands in that
435 year. Actually the lowest point in the copra depression in
245 Fiji was not reached until 1934, when the local price fell to £3.12.6 per ton.[40] Since 1934 the price and the production of copra has increased until 34,581 tons were produced at about £9.5.4 per ton in 1936. However, the price of copra was still barely high enough to cover the cost of production.

439 It is estimated that two-thirds of the 1936 copra crop in
245 Fiji was produced by natives. This indicates that the native production of copra is increasing rapidly, but native methods of drying are primitive and tend to produce a poor quality of copra which sells at lower than market price. For some years the department of agriculture has been experimenting with small cheap types of hot air dryers in an effort to perfect a type suitable for use by native producers. A type of sawn
[654] timber kiln costing from £5 to £6 was first erected for demonstration purposes at the Agricultural Station at Navuso. This kiln produces copra which sells at a premium of 10s. per ton. Under government encouragement the natives are gradually becoming interested in it and this interest is spreading throughout the Fiji group. A satisfactory kiln made of

[40] It is estimated that 50% of the crop of 23,536 tons was produced by natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 731 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

161 164 731 In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic of measles. For the next six years the population remained

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 La OQ6
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stationary. In 1911 it began a slow but steady increase which has continued to the present, with the exception of the influenza epidemic in 1918, which reduced the population to the lowest point, 82,000 in 1919-20. In 1936 the native population of Fiji reached 97,651.[63] 161 164 731

The colonial government has been directly concerned with the Fijian population problem, and has made great efforts to prevent depopulation and bring about an increase in the numbers and health of the natives. In 1893 a commission was formed to study the problem of remedies for depopulation, and its monumental recommendations have formed the basis for modern health and medical policy in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific.[64] 168 744

The death rate has fallen from over 50 per 1,000 in 1891 to the lowest point of less than 18 per 1,000 in 1933. Chiefly because of dysentery, enteric fever, and pneumonia it rose to 28 per 1,000 in 1936. Dr. S. M. Lambert, director of the Rockefeller Foundation work in Fiji, states "historically the death line shows, to my mind, what constructive medical work can do for a native people. The gradual fall in the death rate can almost be measured in terms of the expansion of medical effort."[65] 165 744

[63] In 1936 the total population of Fiji was as follows: [162]

	Persons	*Percentages*
Europeans	4,028	2.03
P.E.N.D. (Anglo-Fijians, Anglo-Polynesians, and others)	4,574	2.31
Fijians	97,651	49.22
Indians	85,002	42.85
Polynesians	3,553	1.79
Melanesians	1,616	.82
Chinese	1,751	.88
All others	204	.10
	198,379	100.00

(Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.)

[64] For recommendations of this commission see *Report of the 1893 Commission on Fijian Depopulation.*

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

● 732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

[775] Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

388 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandra-
vandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41)
737 in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

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874 in the late nineties, and today the Fiji medical service consists
759 of sixteen medical officers under the control of the director of medical service. Their work in native health and sanitation control is assisted and supplemented in the country districts by sanitary inspectors, nurses, and by native medical practitioners trained at the central medical school in Suva. The former Fiji medical school founded in 1883 was replaced in 1928 by the central medical school which receives native medical students from Fiji as well as various island groups in the South Pacific. After successfully completing a four-year course[66] the students receive diplomas as native medical practitioners. These modern native doctors are attached to provincial hospitals and receiving stations. They have a high social prestige among the natives, and by interpreting modern hygiene and medical practices to their own people they bridge the wide gap between native custom and western science.

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744 Administrative health and medical work among the natives may be divided into three main phases: the control of infectious diseases, sanitation and housing, and child welfare.

The natives have developed some immunity against measles, whooping cough, and chicken pox which, however, still raise the infant mortality rate. Since 1911, lepers have been segre-
[743] gated on the island of Makongai which receives patients also from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook, Gilbert and Ellice islands. A systematic campaign against yaws, especially during 1929-31, and hookworm, especially since 1922, control of epidemic dysentery and the treatment of ankylostomiasis have had marked results. Today, of infectious

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13 24. THITHIA (pronounced the-the-a) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, 60 yards wide, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Buli is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [161] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W.

177 [143] [159]

[p.60]

7 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

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Kambara

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Great efforts have been made to improve the sanitation and housing in the native villages. Attention is placed especially on purification of the water supply and on soil sanitation through the installation of latrines. The village headman is responsible for the enforcement of regulations dealing with sanitation, and the building and spacing of sleeping and kitchen houses.

TABLE 1. INFANT MORTALITY AMONG FIJIANS 165

Year	Under 1 month	1 month to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Total
1929	111	379	281	771
1930	125	500	549	1,174
1931	107	267	251	625
1932	90	236	140	466
1933	88	244	174	506
1934	99	368	290	757
1935	99	462	358	919
1936	98	424	514	1,036

(Annual Reports, Fiji.)

One of the most important native health measures is the child welfare service initiated by the government in 1927. It has spread gradually through the colony until child welfare committees consisting of native mothers have been established in nearly every Fijian village. They are instructed in child care by the child welfare worker in charge of the district.[67] The child welfare service is laying a foundation for a higher standard of infant and maternal care. The results of the work can only be seen over a considerable period of time, since they may be counteracted by epidemics such as those of whooping cough, dysentery, and measles, which have increased the infant mortality in the last few years (see Table 1). 746

[67] Four trained European nurses and fourteen native nurses are engaged in this work. They are aided by district medical officers and native medical practitioners.

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744 Having reviewed the medical and health work being done in the colony and its effect upon the native population as a whole, let us turn to the specific region of southern Lau. These islands are perhaps the most isolated in all Fiji, and as we have seen are far from the nearest native medical practitioner, nurse, or hospital. The natives, therefore, have never had constant medical attention from doctors trained in modern medicine, and depend upon their native system of therapeutics for their daily needs. However, the government's systematic campaign for the improvement of native health has had a marked effect upon the natives of southern Lau. Since epidemics of infectious diseases have a tendency to spread throughout the colony their control has naturally reduced the death rate in the southern islands. Furthermore, medical officers visit each island at least once every year or two. They have organized the women into child welfare committees and instructed them in modern methods of child care. They inspect village sanitation and housing, and instruct the natives in hygiene and the village headmen in their duties as health administrators. However, housing conditions have not kept up with the population increase in Lau. The six islands studied show an average of 4.04 persons per sleeping house in 1921 and an average of 5.10 persons per sleeping house in 1936 (see Table 2), which is less, however, than the general average of 6.31 persons per sleeping house for the natives of the whole Fiji group in 1936.[68]

161 The population of the six islands studied in southern Lau has increased during the 15 year inter-census period (1921-35) at the rate of 154.99 per 1,000 (Table 2) as against 155.97 per 1,000 for Fijians in general.[69]

When we study the vital statistics in detail we note a great variation in rate of increase between the six islands. For Kambara the increase rate per 1,000 is 92, for Fulanga 258,

[68] Colony of Fiji, Census Report, 1936, p. 4.
[69] *Ibid.*

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TABLE 1. INFANT MORTALITY AMONG FIJIANS 165

Year	Under 1 month	1 month to 1 year	1 to 5 years	Total
1929	111	379	281	771
1930	125	500	549	1,174
1931	107	267	251	625
1932	90	236	140	466
1933	88	244	174	506
1934	99	368	290	757
1935	99	462	358	919
1936	98	424	514	1,036

(Annual Reports, Fiji.)

One of the most important native health measures is the child welfare service initiated by the government in 1927. It has spread gradually through the colony until child welfare committees consisting of native mothers have been established in nearly every Fijian village. They are instructed in child care by the child welfare worker in charge of the district.[67] The child welfare service is laying a foundation for a higher standard of infant and maternal care. The results of the work can only be seen over a considerable period of time, since they may be counteracted by epidemics such as those of whooping cough, dysentery, and measles, which have increased the infant mortality in the last few years (see Table 1). 146

[67] Four trained European nurses and fourteen native nurses are engaged in this work. They are aided by district medical officers and native medical practitioners.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

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make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
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their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

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2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Concerning food gathering in the past, Moto, an old man of the Matasoata clan in Undu, gave the following information: 222

When I was a boy we always gathered our food. Men, women, and children gathered fruits and nuts, and the women and children gathered leaves. Our everyday food was the *wangiri* nut. It grows on a vine in the bush. The black, shelled nuts were roasted and eaten right in the bush. If we had some nuts left after satisfying our appetites, we took them home in a basket of coconut leaves and sank the basket into salt water to make fermented food (*mandrai*), as we do now with manioc or breadfruit. [415] [252]

When I was a boy about the size of Nggauna [who was fifteen] we had no real garden land on Kambara. Where the gardens are on Ndelaioloi near Tokalau, trees were growing, mainly the Tahitian chestnut and the *ndawa*. We had no manioc except *manioka ni India*, which was poisonous, and the poison had to be extracted before it could be eaten. We had the white and red sweet potato; the brownish ones came later. When I was a boy we did not have as many sweet potatoes as we have today. We planted very small patches only, usually among the trees where the bush did not grow too thickly. Gradually the fruit trees on Ndelaioloi died away and the land was used for gardens. We had no real yams, only the sweet yam (*kawai*) and the *kaile* and a very few wild yam (*tchivoli*). We planted wild yam and *kaile* only in the bush where we found them growing wild. We did not need to search for wild yam because we knew where they grew and also knew to whom they belonged. Sometimes we planted from three to four sweet yam plants together. We dug no real holes and never made mounds as we do today.

Fishing

The waters surrounding the islands of Lau are rich in fish. On clear days, as one passes by canoe over the colorful lagoons, large schools can be seen moving over the white bottom and slowly drawing around the coral limestone formations, which stretch under the water like colored hills and valleys. 226 [136]

Fishing techniques differ on the various islands, due to the character of the coast, the lagoon, and the reef; to the depth and clearness of water; to the currents; and to the kind of fish prevalent in the vicinity.

Women catch most of the daily supply of fish in nets. Only when fishing becomes a sport, as in spearing, or when it is connected with a ceremony, as in communal fishing, do men participate. The master fisherman has charge of communal fishing and the fishing grounds (p. 51). There is less organized fishing today than there was in the past. Usually fishing is done by small groups, who disturb the fish so that actually fewer and smaller ones are now caught. The master fisherman of Kambara says that if the people do not ask permission before they go fishing they do not make a good catch.

FISHING WITH NETS

Tatanga. The *tatanga* is a rectangular net not quite one fathom wide and about one fathom long. It is spread out by two sticks, 3 to 4 cm. in diameter, one attached to each short side of the net. Three to six women blacken their faces with ashes, especially the region around the eyes, as a protection from sun. Each woman takes a *tatanga* net, rolls it around two sticks, and carries it on her shoulder or in her hand. On Kambara the women use diving goggles, called *suvimarini* (submarine), which are said to have been introduced about ten years ago. The nets are unfolded on the beach. Women prefer [302] [751]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

172 The southern Lau islands offer a rich and virgin field to the archaeologist. Overgrown by jungle and ravaged by weather, most of the archaeological sites are avoided by the natives. If one finds it necessary to approach or pass ●[751] a site he stops singing and joking, removes his turban and face paint (worn as protection against the sun), and frequently says a prayer. The bones of ancestors are tabu and may not be touched.

A few sites, mainly on Kambara and Wangava, were examined in order to check the historical data, but no attempt was made to study the archaeology systematically, to clear land, to excavate, or to remove skeletal material. The following brief notes, which indicate the types of sites found on the islands, may throw light on the culture history of the islands.

FORTRESSES

172 712 Fortress (*koro*) sites, situated on strategic high points, are found on every island which is or has been habitually inhabited. They were formerly occupied by the inhabitants of neighboring hamlets in times of war. On the limestone islands they were protected, as at Naisevou on Kambara, by a series of undressed limestone walls (*mba vatu*) designed to reinforce and supplement the natural advantages afforded by cliffs or caves. On the volcanic islands they were fortified, like Ndelaimakotu on Mothe, by means of a series of earth ramparts surmounted in times of war by wooden fences. Each had house sites, a cemetery, and a ceremonial ground in the walled area. The names and locations of the fortress sites connected with each local group have been noted (pp. 22-26). A description of several fortresses located on limestone islands follows. No fortress sites on volcanic islands were studied.

NAISEVOU

An example of an unusually strong type of fortress is Naisevou (fig. 21) on Kambara. According to tradition it was built by Ndaunisai (table 2) and was never defeated in warfare. Naisevou and Korombalavu on Wangava (p. 220) are reputed to be the only fortresses that were not destroyed by fire in olden days. The site is located on a level ledge (about 197 by 60 meters) in the limestone cliffs about 38 to 41 meters above Tokalau village, and 28 meters below Nakorovusa, another fortress site on the edge of the ridge. The site commands an unobstructed view of the ocean and the Tokalau passage. Except for a garden clearing at the southwest end, the site is overgrown with bush and fruit trees, especially coconut trees. The fortress consisted of an inner village on high ground, protected by walls on the northeast and the southwest (fig. 21, 2), and two outer fortified areas on lower ground, pro-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be 757
nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; 755
four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add
oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [784]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and [752]
sinu leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of 758
reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. 757

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they 755
will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into 757
faito. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are 177
supernaturally effective. 755

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757 The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278 is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752 sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842 scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278 a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757 The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753 superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the [824] patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area.

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 593
a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614
ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 844
and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane* which is caused by the husband 753
cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843
more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine 753
as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844
birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

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Lakemba

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The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

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Lakemba

chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (*kuita mangimangi*); witchcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before, and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *vitiviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

Ramberambe tu i kete (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa;* strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 757

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

755 757

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the [171] name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that [828] he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in [753] the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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755 and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later
757 he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

753 Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

756 There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water,
[777] elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went [775]
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent [837]
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

539 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra ḳala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai ḳoto ra vuaḳa
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vaḳasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding.
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady. 759

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called *lialia*) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages. 828 753

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the "windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "windwomen" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured. 776 753 828 755

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him 755 753

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824] [53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59] 753

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely. 755 774

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery 754 [753]

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278
is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

753 rooted in the Lauan fundamental psychological set, for on matters dealing with the vital forces of the clan—life, sickness and death—the natives are naturally very slow to change. Hence the introduction of modern hygiene and medicinal measures is bound to be a painstaking and difficult process.

539 BIRTHS EXCEED DEATHS

Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au!
Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!

Alas, my chief, alas!
He has gone along the path and will never return!

Death chant for the chief of Fulanga.

164 BEFORE the coming of the white man the Fiji islands, like
731 other South Sea groups, had a limited variety of disease germs. Yaws, ankylostomiasis, leprosy, and elephantiasis were present, probably also tuberculosis. It is doubtful whether or not there was dysentery. Malaria, venereal disease, and infectious fevers such as measles, influenza, and whooping cough were absent. As in other parts of the Pacific new varieties of disease germs, brought by the white man, were fatal to the natives who had no resistance or immunity against them. The most disastrous epidemic recorded in Fiji was that of measles in 1875, one year after annexation of the islands by Great Britain. It is estimated that this epidemic wiped out one-third of the entire population of Fiji, and aged Lauans who survived it still tell how they helped to bury the dead of their villages. The people of Muanaithake, Fulanga, say that a row of skeletons on the beach some distance southeast of the village bears witness to this great tragedy, during which the living could not find time to bury the dead.

In 1881 the native population had fallen to 114,748, in 1891
161 to 105,800, and in 1905 to a low point just under 87,000, mainly
164 because of dysentery, whooping cough and a second epidemic
731 of measles. For the next six years the population remained

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 773 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka*,'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And [753 778] after that the stone was set up on end and left there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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244 [254] as a surprise. To guard against witchcraft red *rewa* (*rewandamu*) and horse taro are planted on the borders of the field. In Lomaloma *lata* is planted against "raw eyes"; if a person with "raw eyes" sees yams they will not grow well.

A yam field should not be visited after rain, the reason being if legs or hands touch the leaves when wet, they will become *karatha* because water remains in yam leaves. Leaves, when *karatha*, look burnt, fade, and drop.

The crop depends on the weather. If there is too much rain the ground is cold so that the yams do not penetrate far. If there is sunshine till Christmas the interior of the pit is warm and the yams do well. If there is a prolonged drought, yams that are planted early do not come to much because the sun eats up their strength; the yams planted later retain their strength.

When Orion is in the west the yams are mature. Early yams come in in January if there is plenty of rain; but they are few. As the last year's stock is exhausted the young men are sometimes sent to the fields in January to get immature yams for feasts. They dig them up when the bottom is still white, cut it off, leaving about one hand's length and cover up the heads again; these heads produce long yams that very same season. This process is called *vakarete*. The bulk of the crop comes in about March and April, months known as digging months (*vula ikelikeli*). First yams for immediate needs are dug. When the yams have definitely ceased growing they are stored in little huts next to the plantation and called *lolo*.

242 244 Sometimes yams are planted two years running in the same field. This is called *lothi*. In that case they must be planted in June or July. They do not yield much. Usually yams are succeeded by sweet potatoes, bananas, or some other crop. Sometimes bananas are planted in a field of yams immediately after the yams have been put in; being small, the trees do not injure the yams. After sweet potatoes or other crops the land is allowed to lie fallow (*voovoa*).

244 Wild yams are called *tikau* and are eaten, except the poisonous kind.

Sweet yams (*Dioscurea aculeata*) are called *kawai*. They are not planted in Lakemba and are not esteemed. They are abundant in the bush and people sometimes come from the Southern Islands and beg leave to dig them up. They are generally fibrous and not to be compared to those cultivated.

Taro Planting

Taro is not planted on so large a scale as are yams, but is more esteemed. Only wet taro fields are cultivated in Lau, and these by irrigation along the streams. Such land is called *solove*. Swiftly running streams are most

1: Hocart Y 5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[775] It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

[754] "Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa, sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish] sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri, lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai tauthoko mai thoka i ei.	Sinu . . . . . . sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence, come before, come behind, come inside, come outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The [643] biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
[302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramatabi*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
[754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
> 64 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> 85 panions played with dolls (*vakatalulwe*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
> 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754
Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 757
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and fore- [824]
finger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [776]
charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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787 754 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 754 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

Various Kinds of Witchcraft

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called *"sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vari a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakaliolewakalou.* I take a young branch of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to leeward. Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to." 754

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *sila*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula;	Beat without killing, beat without killing;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva.	Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

Chop leaves, add water, heat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much. [755]

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausau*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrance in Yandrana.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate. [755]

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (Mbulu). They call that a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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754 dream. He stood to attention and said, 'After three nights her eyes will recover.' It was a soul; I don't know whose."

Tongan Witchcraft

Tonga is said to be a land of powerful witchcraft. It is also said that no European physician can cure a Tongan disease; on the other hand, it is said that Tongans are afraid of Fijian witchcraft, and should even a child in the house feign to do witchcraft, a Tongan, even though he be a person of quality, will walk out.

In a form of Tongan witchcraft called *fokotuu tapu* (to set up a tapu) leaves are prepared to infect (*manati*) those who come and take without leave. In Tonga it is hereditary. The difference between Tongan and Fijian witchcraft is that the Fijian charm is buried, while the Tongan is hung up, formerly where everyone could see it.

A Lauan learned from a Tongan how to cause *fulumingi*, a disease in which the penis is pierced and the urine comes out at the sides (another informant says it occurs about the anus and calls it piles).

Chew four leaves of *seasea*, four of *vue*, four of *molou*, four of *kura;* mix them with turmeric, wrap in a bit of bark cloth, and hang up wherever you choose.

A Tongan will mention the name of all the leaves and then ask the spirit of the charm (*kalou ni wai*) to be gracious and make the charm effective (*mana*). Who the spirit (*kalou*) is the informant could not tell. The Christian God is now prayed to to make it effective. When the charm is removed it may not be thrown into the sea, or the owner will get piles. The owner must himself put it into a dark place, where the sun does not shine, or he will get piles. The refresher is as follows:

Two twigs of the plant used for the witchcraft; these are scraped a little, and water is added; it is used for dabbing. Tapu: pig, dishes prepared with oil, scented oil, sea water.

Other Tongan forms are *kulakula,* which is quick to take effect, but is not always effective. *Lolokumete* can be produced in the same way.

Witchcraft on Fishing and Gardens

From Naiau come the following witchcraft for the sea:

If women are going along the beach, to fish, the owner of the charm comes along secretly in the bush and taking a reed one and a half fathoms long, he rubs the point and the whole length with four leaves of *wazusovuso* turned alternately tip to stem. When the women are all in the water he secretly throws it at the back of the last one; she must not feel the reed or she will look back and the charm will not act. He then turns away and may not look back. The effect is that no fish will be caught.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i valu na luvenggu. A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Death of a young man

764 A Namuka boy, 21 years old, was visiting in Nggalinggali, Kambara, where his sister had married into the noble Naivotavota clan, when he broke his toe [754] and contracted tetanus. The natives thought the stiffening of the body due to sorcery. On the eighth day his relatives realized that he was going to die, so they moved him from the small house where he had been lying into a large house belonging to Naivotavota. The boy died the following morning.

When I arrived about noon the village was under a tabu of silence. If anyone laughed or sang he had to pay a fine of property or food. The body of the deceased, with hands folded over the chest, lay on a couch (*vuta*) 30 cm. high parallel to the main axis at the upper end of the house. It was resting on a piece of Tongan tapa, placed over fine mats bordered with bright wool. The deceased was dressed in a shirt and kilt of cloth and covered with Tongan tapa. On this lay white oiled tapa. Over the head was a piece of white oiled tapa and a wreath. The upper part of the house was separated from the lower by a large piece of tapa, hanging from the ceiling to within 2 meters of the floor. Six young girls, relatives of the deceased, sat or lay near the bed, weeping silently, and fanning the body and themselves. They wore no special mourning clothing. Older women, wearing black kilts covered with old mats, sat along the walls toward the center of the house. Occasionally a man or woman entered and presented gifts of mats, tapa, cloth, and kava. Before they presented their gifts ceremonially, close relatives kissed the hand of the deceased by placing it against the nose and inhaling. Gifts of cloth and tapa were placed over the body.

Soon the young women, a few old ones, and one or two youths began to wail. The wailing had begun after the death but had been discontinued for a few hours in the middle of the day. It reached a climax when the body was being wrapped for burial in fine tapa and new mats, tied with sennit, and moved out of the house. The wailers beat their foreheads and the walls and house posts with their fists. Four men lifted the large mat on which the body lay, carried it through the door at the upper end of the house, and placed it on a stretcher made of rough boughs tied with sennit which resembled a ladder. The stretcher was carried to the cemetery shoulder high, by six men chosen for their strength. Behind the body walked the native missionary and two or three older men. Most of the women followed, those of high rank leading. While the procession moved to the cemetery the formal death beat used for all funerals was repeated slowly six times on the village gongs. It sounded first on one pair, then on another pair of different pitch at the other end of the village, as shown in figure 4, *b*.

The close female relatives remained in the village and continued to wail, but during the funeral ceremony they arrived, silently, one by one, at the grave, knelt by the body and buried their faces in the mat wrapped around it. The native missionary conducted a twenty-minute Christian funeral service in the Mbauan dialect. The body was lowered into a grave, 3 meters long, 1.3 meters wide, and 1.6 meters deep, by means of the large outer mats, and the sennit fastenings were untied. Three handfuls of sand were tossed into the grave, then beach sand from a dozen freshly made coconut-leaf baskets was poured into it. Finally, the sand which had been dug out of the grave was shoveled back and a mound was formed over it and covered with beach sand brought in the same baskets by young women. No children and no young men except the pall bearers attended the burial ceremony.

On the afternoon of the following day the death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held. Food was provided and prepared by the relatives of the deceased and eaten by the village. For two nights after the death a group of women watchers (*tonitoni*) slept in the house (*vale ni tangi*) where the death had occurred. Early on the morning of the third day the watchers lifted the tabu on noise by beating the *vakataratara* (fig. 4, *a*) on a tapa board. They bathed in the sea and fished for the first time since the death. A small feast called *vakataratara* was provided them by the relatives of the deceased. On the tenth day a

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 On our first visit to one of the Kambaran villages the natives
754 were suspicious because they had heard that we wanted to take away their land and build a sawmill to export hardwood. This they feared because the land titles had not yet been established by the lands commission. One night most of the inhabitants of the village crowded into my native house. About midnight when they had all left, we noticed through the darkness two men (whom we recognized as two high ranking persons in the village) a few yards from the house. They were describing a circle on the ground. When they disappeared we examined the spot and found a piece of pandanus, knotted in the form of a cross, lying in the center of the circle. We found the pandanus had been extracted from the mat on which we had been sitting.

754 The next night, when the natives had again assembled in the house, we showed the pandanus and asked what it was. Suddenly there was a silence. The dark faces became serious and frightened. Finally a hereditary carpenter, who had been educated for the ministry in a mission school, said: "It's a bad trick." The two men had been so afraid of losing the land that they had practised black magic on us.

754 Since the practise of witchcraft is forbidden by the native
431 regulations the whole village was upset, and the next day the
621 natives ceremonially presented to us a large sea turtle, weighing over 150 pounds, in atonement. This was the most valuable gift they could give. We returned with the turtle, lying on its back so that it was helpless, aboard our canoe to Tokalau, whereupon Tokalau, not to be outdone by its rival, immediately presented us with a still larger turtle.

423 Jealousy over land titles reached its highest point regarding
578 the valuable, uninhabited island of Wangava. This island with its rich timber and garden land, fishing and turtle breeding grounds, is claimed by a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu. A noble clan (Vuanikathu) of Tokalau also claims the west side of the island, but acknowledges the Tanggu

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the 753
husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The
treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so
strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had
gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59]

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health 755
if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be 774
captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his
body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman,
was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called
wai ni thavuyalo) but she grew worse. Then the doctor
decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new
shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land.
He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on
the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out
in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly
the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like
the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced
him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been
facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture
her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul,
he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered
the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden
on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village
he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction
of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter
the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he
knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave
her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The
patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had
re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered
completely.

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal 754
swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery [753]

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

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being one of the most common, as the Polynesian Lauan—true to type—is by nature more light-fingered than his semi-Papuan brother of Fiji.

I asked the man what he saw; and, seating himself cross-legged in the attitude of respect, he politely answered, "It is nothing, sir, I was but thinking of Filipi, a man formerly of my town."

"And what about Filipi? What did he do?" I inquired.

"He is dead," he answered, looking down at the deck.

Knowing from the man's attitude that there was something behind all this I asked him freely to tell me all. No one enjoys "spinning a yarn" more than a South Sea islander when he really gets started, and many interesting old legends, and, incidentally, helpful facts in my work, have I picked up in this way on some of my lengthy sea-journeys about the group.

"It was this way, sir," he began. "It was said that *dua na vakadraudrau ca* (some evil magic) was performed at that place there," pointing with his chin—the same gesture his Malayan ancestors had used thousands of years before—at the little bay we were passing. "I know nothing of it myself," he hastily added. "It is only what I have heard, and it happened years ago, just before you, sir, first came to Lau. Now, Filipi and a man of Nayau Island were doing

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some weeding for the Chief of Lomaloma, on his plantation here, at this place called Takaniu. It was said that Filipi was well versed in magic, which, of course, is a forbidden thing, and which, as you know, sir, none of us natives believe in nowadays."

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I nodded and tried to look as credulous as I could.

"But it happened," he went on, "that the man of Nayau was also a *taukei* (past-master) in that sort of work. Now, whether due to the heat of the sun or whether some sickness caught them, or what it was I don't know, but they were angry with each other on that day; and when they rested for their mid-day meal a great dispute arose between them, and their talk ran upon magic. Then he of Nayau looked at Filipi and said slowly to him, 'There is one thing that I truly know, Filipi, and that is that my magic is more powerful than yours.'

"'Your talk is but lying talk,' retorted Filipi. 'It is well known that we of Daku town are very strong in this thing—a thing that our forefathers have taught us, and no one can surpass us in this matter.'

"'*Sa vinaka*' (so be it), replied the Nayau man; and he grew very angry then. 'Here are food-scraps from your meal and food-scraps from mine. We will each take the other's away

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*539 and see in very truth whose is the stronger
● 754 magic.'

"Now, Filipi did not quite like this; but he was too *madua* (ashamed) to withdraw his words, so he answered, 'Let it be so,' and making a palm leaf basket he gathered up the food-scraps left by the other and went off to Daku, the Nayau man retiring to a hut just above the beach there.

"Now, you must know, sir, that the way of it is this: One takes some little thing that belonged to one's enemy, such as a bit of his hair, or his nail parings, or a bit of his clothing, or scraps left from his meal, and after certain workings with these in secret one takes them and buries them under the house, or, perhaps, in the thatch of the roof, of the man he hates."

"And what are the secret workings," I asked, with assumed indifference; for I had long been anxious to know how it was carried on, and had I asked judicially in Court I should never have known in a month of Sundays, whereas in this casual way it was possible that it might be disclosed. "Truly it will be a most useful thing to me when I get back to my own land," I added jokingly.

He grinned, showing a magnificent set of white teeth, in contrast to the smooth brown skin of his face. "But this magic cannot affect you white chiefs," he said, laughing, "for you

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eat different sort of food from us natives. That is the reason. It is well known that some evil-minded person tried thus to kill the magistrate's clerk,[1] when the British Government first came here in the times of our fathers, but it availed not.

"The way of working it is this," he added, "though, of course, it is only what I have been told. He who wishes to perform this magic must first prepare himself in certain ways. He must keep away from the sea, and must have a small fire continually smouldering on his hearth for four days, and the flame of this must never die out during that time. He must also abstain from eating certain foods, and especially the two fish known as *matumatu* and *volo*, for should he eat of these his magic will strike back upon himself. (And here, sir, is a sure test to find out a worker of these evil deeds. For, as you know, we natives always sit round our meals together, and should we be having fish boiled up with herbs the rich broth is first of all handed round in coco-nut shell cups, and we drink this before the women turn the fish out on to the leaf plates in our midst. Now, a worker of this evil magic dare not drink the soup until he knows of what sort the fish is, so he will abstain, and make some excuse, and thus there will be great suspicion cast

[1] Mr. H. L. Tripp.

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*539 upon him.) And having prepared all things he
754 next takes the scraps that I have spoken of before and mixes them up with the juices of certain plants, secretly and at night. Then he takes a bottle or a gourd or a short piece of hollow bamboo, and thrusts the mess inside; and as he does so he whispers into it the name of the person he wishes to kill, and then at once stops up the neck of the vessel with a plug of coco-nut leaves and fibre, and takes it away and conceals it at his enemy's house. And just before dawn on the fourth day he goes to purify himself in the sea, and from that time the magic starts to take effect. And so it was with these two. On the fourth day Filipi became unwell, and on the seventh day he died.

"Now, you must know that it is a most necessary thing to set the evil free from the body of the dead man before a further four days shall elapse, or once more it will surely fall back again upon him who caused the evil. So that one must take a spear or a sharp stake and transfix the dead body, or else one dies oneself. But the Nayau man had not thought his magic would act so quickly, and had not made inquiries, so that it was over three days before he heard of Filipi's death, for Daku is at the other end of the island. Very troubled in his mind he set off at once to the house of the chief of Lomaloma—which, again,

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is at the front of the island, across the hills— pretending to be going there to help mourn for Filipi. And that night he went out, no one knew where; but on being called for some purpose by the chief, he could not be found. And in the morning he was asked where he had been, but he would only say that he had not been outside the compound, but had slept in a small shed by the yam-house all through the night. But one could see that his spirit was heavy within him, and there was something pressing down on his soul. He went back, indeed, to the plantation, but the next day he lay down in his hut, and from there he was carried into the town, but nothing could do him any good, and he was dead within a week.

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"That was a bad affair, sir," he went on, shaking his head. "Before he died he confessed the whole thing, and he told the people that he had gone over to Daku on that last night in the dark to find the grave of Filipi. But he was a stranger there, and he did not dare to ask for the grave to be pointed out to him. And having seen a mound which he thought was the one, he had thrust a stake deep down into it, and then waited behind the trees till daylight. When the dawn came he found to his dismay that it was an old grave which he had *suaka'd* (pierced); and there was the new grave, not far off, too late now to pierce,

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for the four nights were past. It was the worst case that had happened since the evil Lord Turuku had in like manner slain the Ravunisa in the early days of the government."

"What was that?" I said. I had heard some rumour of this old tragedy before, but I thought I might glean some fresh information about it from this man.

"I know nothing of that, sir," he replied. "I was but an infant at the time. But I have heard that it is all written in the great books at the Court House. The only thing I know is that the name of that Ravunisa was Ratu Mudu."

When I returned to head-quarters I looked up some of the dusty old books of record at my office, and discovered in one (containing reports for the year 1881) a full account of the happenings at the death of the Ravunisa of that time. It appears that there were two great families or clans at Lomaloma (the capital of the Lau Islands) dating from very early times, called the Galà people and the Buca people. A third clan, called Na Turuku, lived on the borders of the same town, but though strong and important were always regarded as "outside the pale," and not quite as belonging to Lomaloma. The heads of the two inner tribes of Galà and Buca bore the hereditary titles of the "Ravunisa" and the "Rasau" respectively. The head of the Na Turuku

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people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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175 565 614 [763]

custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

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Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

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afterwards transpired that Tui Na Turuku had, with two men called Bavatu and Vili, been tried by the Government of Maafu (the Tongan conqueror of Lau, who handed over his kingdom to England when Fiji became a Crown Colony) fifteen years previously for "killing a man by *vakadraudrau* at Cicia Island," and that Bavatu had been found guilty and executed; and further, that Vili on his death-bed in exile at Levuka had acknowledged that he had been the cause of several deaths by *vakadraudrau* at Lomaloma. And further, that since that time Tui Na Turuku had been under strong suspicion of being the cause of the death of a man named Livai at Lomaloma, through whose body a stake was found pierced after death! The people dismantled and removed Livai's house, and found a small vessel, containing the ingredients mixed with a piece of Livai's clothing, buried under the doorway of the house.

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In a case happening within recent years it is said that the suspicious relatives shrewdly placed a sheet of iron under a thin layer of earth covering the grave, and that the murderer, on trying to spear the grave, was so upset by the mysterious power that broke his spear that he was turned insane. But this happened before I came to Lau, and I can find no authentic record of it.

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754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] [262] white men "eat different food" (which, to a native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 175 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

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the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

175 754

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*). [262]

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Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

[Two Kinds of fish.—Analyst]

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754 Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this [683] reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

754 184 Now, all the instances I have mentioned above occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially 754
"Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the 184
fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; [177]
even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very 174
well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, 177
or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, 695
and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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when there is an undetected crime, but especially when a man falls ill and declares that he must have been *vakadraudrau'd*, a secret meeting of the people is held, and all are more or less compelled to go through the *Yalovaki* practice, only *Regui Vola* ("smelling the Bible"—Polynesians do not kiss with their lips, they sniff with their nostrils) is used. This *compulsory* ordeal is not, of course, a thing to be approved of, and is not allowed, though only last year the *Roko* (native governor) of the Lau Islands wanted my permission to use it to detect witchcraft!

Various coincidences have much served to strengthen the people's belief in the efficacy of *Regui Vola*, especially the famous case of Emili (the sister of Luki, the great chief of Matuku Island), which, though it happened twenty years ago, is still talked about to this day. She was strongly suspected of having *vakadraudrau'd* to death her own brother; and on the day of his death she was made to *Regui Vola* by the native missionary in the presence of all the people, and she swore on oath that she might die if she had done this deed. She was then a young woman in perfect health. That afternoon she died!

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851 Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644 their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751 make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758 some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758 their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753 and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753 for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757 the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755 patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timea lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

759 The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things 757
and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755
boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431]
feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758
the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757
some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755
natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262]
(b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before th[illegible] can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at [illegible]est ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262]
fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262]
and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu, thangolaya, yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu, yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide
[262] into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndavuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it
[262] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uzuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
[262] days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *evuevu,* scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda,* chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [262]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[23] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 834]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[23] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

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754 chewing octopus (*kuita nggurु moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus
755 (*kuita mangimangi*); withcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *miriwiri* or *vitiviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient
[262] bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt
[264] water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

757 *Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has
758 many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa;* strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment: four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water.

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck.

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective.

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete.* Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda.*

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu,* that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe,* octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *ennerru,* make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 757

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vatívati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vatívati*, four leaves of *vatívati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and [illegible]non leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the u[illegible]al way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession.

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came 755 757 [171] [928] [753]

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and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Witchcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

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787 754 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 754 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

Various Kinds of Witchcraft

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakalialewakalou*. I take a young branch of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to leeward. Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to." 754

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *sila*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula;	Beat without killing, beat without killing;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva.	Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

Chop leaves, add water, heat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much. [755]

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausau*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrance in Yandrana.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate. [755]

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (Mbulu). They call that a

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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

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755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *ḳanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824] [53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *ḳura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *ḳanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

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given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59] 753

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely. 755 774

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery 754 [753]

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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755 and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later
757 he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

[753] Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

756 There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water,
177 elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created 558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was 622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* 178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has ●756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows 554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing 622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan 712
could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat.

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably de- 726
scribe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The follow- 757
ing account has been received: 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851
Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644
their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751
make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka.*

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758
their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753
and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, osó, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753
> for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757
> the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755
> patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Waileva means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timea lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

[759] The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things 757
and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a 755
boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing [431]
feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to 758
the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, 757
some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by 755
natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. [262] (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum; strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *walcanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, [262] fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *walcanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food [262] and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu, thangolaya, yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu, yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt
[762] water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndavuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it
[763] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uvuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
[764] days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *cuwcu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain person. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [262]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[a] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vopo ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 534]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[a] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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757 chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus
755 (*kuita mangimaggi*); withcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *vitiviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasāla*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient
[264] bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck
[Dw2] with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

754 *Ramberambe tu i ketc* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has
756 many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa*; strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyazi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saivula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndeniñana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water.

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck.

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective.

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *walcanggio* and *waroworo;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *rongā* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used.

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches:

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wazula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*):

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei;* heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

The Children of Water

There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water, elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *soutu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib [824 or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the 757] penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu,* was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

88 Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair
302 over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These
836 are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared [177] recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Paper mulberry

248 The paper mulberry (*masi*) is found on all the islands of Lau. *Masi ntchina* is the most common variety and the best for making barkcloth. It is cultivated extensively in the gardens of Namuka. On the other islands it usually is found in moist, damp places near the village, the trees scattered, not planted in rows as on Namuka. Ongea, Fulanga, and Kambara have grown the paper mulberry only for the last 10 years. Old people say that it grew on Kambara a long time ago, but died out, and that 10 years ago plants were imported from the island of Totoya.

The paper mulberry is planted by men only, preferably during the dry season. Women cut down the trees when they have reached a diameter of about 6 cm. and make barkcloth from the inner bark.

Tobacco

249 276 [177] Since tobacco was introduced into Lau in historic times, the demand for it has been great and constant. However, though it will grow on all the islands, little tobacco is planted. Namuka produces more than any other island of the southern group.

The tobacco seed is planted by men only. When the plants are about 7 cm. high they are transplanted and laid out in rows about a meter apart. The leaves are cut by men, but women hang them up to dry. They tie the leaves together in pairs and hang them over a cord in the house, for they must not dry in the sun.

Tobacco is smoked by both sexes. Usually the leaves are rolled into a dry banana leaf and smoked like a cigarette.

Fragrant plants

249 303 Several plants are cultivated for perfuming coconut oil. *Makosoi (Cananglum odoratum)* is a small shrub which usually grows on the sandy flat behind the village near the limestone cliff. It is planted at any time by either men or women. Women pick the flowers and extract the oil from them.

Langakali (Elacocharis articulata) is a shrub which grows wild in the bush but which is planted in the villages by women. The wild plants bloom from March to July but the cultivated ones bloom all year round. The flowers are used for perfume.

Makita (Parinarium glaberrimum) is cultivated on Mothe and Kambara by men and women. The fruit is used for perfuming oil, for dyeing the hair, and for medicine. The natives claim it cures sores on the skin. [157]

Sandalwood (*yasi*) is the favorite perfume. The tree does not grow well and the bark is not very fragrant in southern Lau. The women plant a few trees by seed, but the best sandalwood comes from Mbua on Vanau Mbalavu.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Rarama!"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchicpe, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278
is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851 Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 649 their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751 make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758 some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758 their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753 and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *rambcrambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbura a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753 for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757 the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755 patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum; strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*). The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for the bowels are loosened by ꞗ and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timca lulu ki sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has continued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

759 The leech is called *vuniwai,* which may be translated "the origin of medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chewing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight. Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with oil. Fumigation is called *kuvui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by applying leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*). The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*) is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER VI

SORCERY AND SCIENCE

599 THE WITCH DOCTOR AT WORK

Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,
Ka ulia na sivaro,
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka
Iri mbula, ra mbula,
Iri mate, ra mate,
Iri vakasanggalenggalo—
A iri mbula, ra mbula,
A iri mate, ra mate.

Oh, Sir Rat,
Stir the pudding.
Sir Pig is down.
Fan of life, Sir Life,
Fan of death, Sir Death.
The sinking fan—
Oh, fan of life, Sir Life,
Oh, fan of death, Sir Death.

Ancient spear dance from Kambara.

759 ON THE ISLAND of Kambara, situated fifty miles by sailing canoe from the nearest native medical practitioner at Lakemba, and 200 miles from the nearest European doctor and hospital at Levuka, the natives are still dependent upon their own methods for treating the sick.

753 759 The Kambarans believe that illness and death have various superhuman causes such as the possession of the body by an evil spirit, the loss of the "good soul", black magic, the infraction of a tabu, or the smell of a dead body. Every doctor, male or female, is a specialist in one or more of these types of illness and uses his own secret medicines which he has acquired by inheritance from a relative, by a dream from an ancestor, or by a guardian spirit through the "Water Baby" cult. A doctor holds an important position in the community, and medicine is used by many as a means of increasing social prestige.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

744 The expansion of the European medical staff in Fiji began
874 in the late nineties, and today the Fiji medical service consists
759 of sixteen medical officers under the control of the director of medical service. Their work in native health and sanitation control is assisted and supplemented in the country districts by sanitary inspectors, nurses, and by native medical practitioners trained at the central medical school in Suva. The former Fiji medical school founded in 1883 was replaced in 1928 by the central medical school which receives native medical students from Fiji as well as various island groups in the South Pacific. After successfully completing a four-year course[66] the students receive diplomas as native medical practitioners. These modern native doctors are attached to provincial hospitals and receiving stations. They have a high social prestige among the natives, and by interpreting modern hygiene and medical practices to their own people they bridge the wide gap between native custom and western science.

742 Medical work in Fiji has been greatly aided by the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, which has contributed funds both for the erection of hospitals and a training school and for experimental research in the control of infectious diseases.

744 Administrative health and medical work among the natives may be divided into three main phases: the control of infectious diseases, sanitation and housing, and child welfare.

The natives have developed some immunity against measles, whooping cough, and chicken pox which, however, still raise the infant mortality rate. Since 1911, lepers have been segre-
[743] gated on the island of Makongai which receives patients also from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook, Gilbert and Ellice islands. A systematic campaign against yaws, especially during 1929-31, and hookworm, especially since 1922, control of epidemic dysentery and the treatment of ankylostomiasis have had marked results. Today, of infectious

[66] The curriculum includes chemistry, physics, biology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, surgery, midwifery, and child care.

13 24. THITHIA (pronounced thē-thē-ā) is a moderately large, nearly circular island of volcanic and limestone formation, 17 miles N.W. of Naiau and about the same distance S.S.W. of Mango. The island is about 4 miles in diameter, with the interior undulating grassland, rising in several peaks to a height of over 500 feet. Delana Bo, east of the center of the island, is said to be the highest point, but two peaks on the west marginal ridge are as high or higher. As usual, the ridges of upraised coral limestone are marginal, but here they are somewhat reduced in extent, there being also volcanic ridges [312] on the south, west and north sides. A moderately large stream, flowing to the N.E., drains the central portion, and there are numerous smaller streams. Good water is plentiful.

The island is surrounded by a fringing reef, 300 to 800 yards wide. There is a good anchorage off the village of Tarukua, at the N.W. point, with the prevailing S.E. to E. winds. Here landing is good at any time of the tide. There is also a temporary anchorage off Tambuta Plantation, a mile to the south. There is a small break in the reef opposite the village of Lomati, 60 yards wide, but as there is very little protection from the prevailing wind, vessels seldom anchor here.

Snakes are said to be abundant. There are numerous lizards and land crabs. Besides the usual land birds, introduced mynas and "magpies" are abundant.

There are several caves in the N.E. cliffs, some containing bats, [135] and one said to have a deposit of low grade phosphate.

361 Thithia is one of the most advanced and prosperous islands of Lau. [161] There are five villages with a combined population of over 400. [622] The residence of the Bula[1] is at Tarukua, at the N.W. end, which has 75 [61] natives and a small Chinese store. The district hospital, with a [366] native practitioner in charge, is located here. Mambula', at the S.W. 119 [143] [759]

[p.60]

1 [Buli or chief -- analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929. OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 761 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief. It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 787 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 - Kambara

after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after childbirth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness. Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Witchcraft on plantations is called the destroying of gardens (*i vakatha ni teitei*). 754

Take leaves of pig's hoof in any number, and black ants from a grave; rub on a reed point and cast at a garden and turn away. If the yams sprout finely till the soil is hidden with leaves, yet when it is dug up there will be no tuber. The charm is effective, owing to the ant from the grave.

The counter charm is called a refresher or bather, as is as follows:

Place five or six fruits of *kaile* in pairs in a row; chop them with a knife and bury them in four holes. No words are spoken; there are no spirits. The bathing consists in going to the sea. The refresher of the crops is thus: eight leaves of *walai*, and scrapings from a stem of *i vombo* are used for "washing the crops"; an infusion (*vusoi*) is made in a cup and a libation (*sevuka*) is made in the garden by sprinkling it at the bottom of the plantation. This is used for any crops.

Another remedy is to infuse leaves of *tokatolu* for washing off witchery.

DEATH

Dying or fainting is expressed by *thimba*. A man who is unconscious 763
is said not to perceive his soul.

A dying man is dressed in a shirt and white kilt. Of old if he was a nobleman the house would be filled with his train. As the dying man's eyeballs begin to turn upwards the people press down the eyelids. This is called *vakandromuthi* (cause to set).

Of old they sometimes called back the soul (*yalo*): "Tiosese, eh! come back, come back." This was termed *kathi yalo*, calling the soul. Some came to life again.

Not until the man is dead do they wail. I once was present at the death 763
of a child: there was not a tear or a sob. As soon as the child had expired 565
the body was brought out to be photographed, it was then wrapped in oiled bark cloth; then the wailing began as if by word of command. The wailing of the women is loud and vehement, "Woe is me! my child!"[25] The men wail, but in low tones. Only the close relatives wail in the house upon the death of a nobleman. A noble youth then comes and blows a conch, and the wailing ceases, though weeping may be done quietly. The conch is blown that it may wail. A nobleman who wants to wail does it by blowing a conch. It is tapu to wail; only the conches may wail. For a Tui Naiau of old there were ten to thirty conches which were blown without ceasing day and night, the men relieving one another until the burial. For Ratu Finau's little daughter, three or four conches were blown inside the house; heard from outside the dissonance of the low toned conches produced a

[25] *A i valu na luvenggu. A i valu* means war; it has become an exclamation of distress.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Of old, Narewandamu and Tandravula handled the body of the Tui Naiau, anointed it and watched over it (*yandrava*) and kept driving away the flies; they were called sacred hands (*lima tambu*), and might not touch their foods with their hands, being fed or using a fork. At the present day the wife and those who fan the body sit at the upper end.

Women come in to watch and sit at the lower end, all the kinswomen assemble in the house where the body is—a custom called *tonitoni*. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by [828] a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra'tangi na turanga;* at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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custom, he *was* dead, because he was "as good as dead."[1] But he lingered on for another day, in a semi-comatose condition, and died on September 13, 1881, having refused to be sent to hospital "as he knew it was hopeless."

He was given a great funeral, and for four nights all his followers slept in a solid ring round his grave, with some of them doing sentry-go up and down all night, armed with axes and clubs. They were determined that the worker of the witchcraft should not be able to *suaka* the grave.

His brother, the heir-apparent, Jioti Sugusugu by name, was away on the day of the death, but immediately he returned he gave orders for all trees and shrubs to be cut away for a good distance in the vicinity of the grave, to give no chance of concealment to anyone. And Tui Na Turuku was kept under close but secret observation all through the critical period. He actually visited the Magistrate (Charles R. Swayne, C.M.G.) and asked him to remove the grave-guard "as it hurt his feelings," but Mr. Swayne very wisely refused, as that would have only cast still further suspicion at the time on Tui Na Turuku, without giving any certain proof of crime.

Nothing further happened at *that* time, but it

[1] Curiously enough, much the same thing happened about the present Tui Na Turuku, an old man of about seventy-five, only a month ago. I was told that he was at death's door; and on going to see him I found him laid out in his grave-clothes! But I gave him some simple medicines and I saw him only a few days ago amusing himself by vigorously digging in his garden.

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him. 539* 776

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food. [782] [526]

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe [763]

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764 the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304] to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766 if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764 occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177 nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoni ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764 penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
006 Lau 006
Lakemba

A B C

D E

FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAU'AN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI.

[End Plate 2]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra tangi na turanga*; at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Death of a young man

764 A Namuka boy, 21 years old, was visiting in Nggalinggali, Kambara, where his sister had married into the noble Naivotavota clan, when he broke his toe [754] and contracted tetanus. The natives thought the stiffening of the body due to sorcery. On the eighth day his relatives realized that he was going to die, so they moved him from the small house where he had been lying into a large house belonging to Naivotavota. The boy died the following morning.

When I arrived about noon the village was under a tabu of silence. If anyone laughed or sang he had to pay a fine of property or food. The body of the deceased, with hands folded over the chest, lay on a couch (*vata*) 30 cm. high parallel to the main axis at the upper end of the house. It was resting on a piece of Tongan tapa, placed over fine mats bordered with bright wool. The deceased was dressed in a shirt and kilt of cloth and covered with Tongan tapa. On this lay white oiled tapa. Over the head was a piece of white oiled tapa and a wreath. The upper part of the house was separated from the lower by a large piece of tapa, hanging from the ceiling to within 2 meters of the floor. Six young girls, relatives of the deceased, sat or lay near the bed, weeping silently, and fanning the body and themselves. They wore no special mourning clothing. Older women, wearing black kilts covered with old mats, sat along the walls toward the center of the house. Occasionally a man or woman entered and presented gifts of mats, tapa, cloth, and kava. Before they presented their gifts ceremonially, close relatives kissed the hand of the deceased by placing it against the nose and inhaling. Gifts of cloth and tapa were placed over the body.

Soon the young women, a few old ones, and one or two youths began to wail. The wailing had begun after the death but had been discontinued for a few hours in the middle of the day. It reached a climax when the body was being wrapped for burial in fine tapa and new mats, tied with sennit, and moved out of the house. The wailers beat their foreheads and the walls and house posts with their fists. Four men lifted the large mat on which the body lay, carried it through the door at the upper end of the house, and placed it on a stretcher made of rough boughs tied with sennit which resembled a ladder. The stretcher was carried to the cemetery shoulder high, by six men chosen for their strength. Behind the body walked the native missionary and two or three older men. Most of the women followed, those of high rank leading. While the procession moved to the cemetery the formal death beat used for all funerals was repeated slowly six times on the village gongs. It sounded first on one pair, then on another pair of different pitch at the other end of the village, as shown in figure 4, *b*.

The close female relatives remained in the village and continued to wail, but during the funeral ceremony they arrived, silently, one by one, at the grave, knelt by the body and buried their faces in the mat wrapped around it. The native missionary conducted a twenty-minute Christian funeral service in the Mbauan dialect. The body was lowered into a grave, 3 meters long, 1.3 meters wide, and 1.6 meters deep, by means of the large outer mats, and the sennit fastenings were untied. Three handfuls of sand were tossed into the grave, then beach sand from a dozen freshly made coconut-leaf baskets was poured into it. Finally, the sand which had been dug out of the grave was shoveled back and a mound was formed over it and covered with beach sand brought in the same baskets by young women. No children and no young men except the pall bearers attended the burial ceremony.

On the afternoon of the following day the death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held. Food was provided and prepared by the relatives of the deceased and eaten by the village. For two nights after the death a group of women watchers (*tonitoni*) slept in the house (*vale ni tangi*) where the death had occurred. Early on the morning of the third day the watchers lifted the tabu on noise by beating the *vakataratara* (fig. 4, *a*) on a tapa board. They bathed in the sea and fished for the first time since the death. A small feast called *vakataratara* was provided them by the relatives of the deceased. On the tenth day a

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held. and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island. [554]

Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

757 Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

388 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandra-
737 vandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41) in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the 726
concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire [721]
for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of 534]
the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a* 726
lali ni mbakola. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden 834

mound was noted. The level platform was built up of limestone with a retaining wall 60 cm. to 1 meter high. Two corners of the walls were practically right angled. House sites here were larger and higher than those at Thaukenaloa.

Several coast sites, occupied by groups of clans in post-Christian times after the evacuation of the hamlet sites, have been noted (pp. 22-28).

On Wangava, about 30 meters above the northeast coast near Savana Point is Nambakua, an example of this type of site. It is said to be the first Christian village on Wangava. Although the site is used as a garden, several house mounds remain intact. A stone-faced mound with elliptical ground plan, called Valevu, is 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 30 cm. high. Two other mounds are 4 meters long, 3 meters wide, and 60 cm. high. A stone-faced mound with circular ground plan is 8 meters in diameter and 45 cm. high. Potsherds were taken from the house sites. A limestone wall 2.3 meters high, which the natives say belonged to Nambakua, is located 40 meters from the coast. It joins and builds up the natural wall of limestone. A second stone wall—2 meters high from the lower (Nambakua) side, 30 cm. wide at the top, and 2 meters wide at the base, also said to belong to Nambakua—reinforces the natural gateway of limestone rock. The path ascends through a break in this wall up the cliff. Both walls appeared to defend a fortress (probably pre-Christian) higher up on the cliff rather than Nambakua, but this could not be located. A few meters above the second wall on the point where the path begins to descend, stands a single upright stone, 1.3 meters high, 25 cm. wide at the top, said to be the seat of the guard (*niandra*). The path towards the interior leads through openings in two more walls, about 50 meters apart, of natural limestone reinforced by built-up stones. Lower and less carefully built than defence walls, these are said to form pigpens.

BURIALS

BURIAL CAVES

Skeletal remains as well as bones and parts of canoes are found in many caves in Lau. [illegible] located in the interior of [illegible] of Singambongi, who [illegible] Lakemba. Noaruarua co[illegible] meters above the ground. [illegible] Eight conch shells, partly [illegible] about the ledge.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1933)(1)(2) 000 Lau 000
Kambara

Isolated Burials

172 Unique in southern Lau is the Saitamba or chiefs' burial mound near
174 Ngaliinggali (p. 209). It is an isolated truncated cone-shaped burial mound
181 faced with unworked limestones. Built on a steep slope, it measures about
12 meters high from the lower side of the base and 5 meters high from the
upper side. Its large circumference, about 63 meters in diameter, is growing
on the flat, circular top of the mound. Here were found four conch shells,
a bundle of dry kava, and a withered wreath. The Saitamba is tabu and is
carefully avoided by the natives. Some say it is the burial place of Wesasa,
Kelei, Mbuaoka, and Tawakecham (table 2). According to tradition, it was
built by a thousand men from Thakaundrove, each of whom contributed a
stone and a handful of earth.

Cemeteries

Some informants say that each hamlet had a cemetery (called *mara* or *mbulumbulu*) in pre-Christian times (p. 102). The natives can locate a number of these, as for instance Tuvatuva, said to be situated on a point jutting into the Wangava lake not far from Vanuwai. Rasolo says that burials at Tuvatuva are marked by stone-faced mounds. No hamlet cemeteries were examined.

Isolated House Mounds

172 Isolated house mounds (*yaru*) are rare in southern Lau. West of Ngaliinggali on the sandy flat, however, is located Naivilou, an isolated, circular mound of earth 1 meter high and 8 meters in diameter. It is faced with large slabs of undressed limestone. The flat surface of the mound is covered with beach sand. The natives say that Naivilou was the house mound of Mbuaoka (table 2). The mound contains two rectangular stone-faced burial mounds. One burial mound is 3.5 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 30 cm. high above the foundation. It is faced with a wall consisting of rectangular blocks of limestone dressed with right-angled corners. The mound surface is flush with the top of the wall and is covered with fresh beach sand. Eight conch shells, symbols of chieftainship, have been placed along the inner side of the east wall. The other burial mound has a ground plan similar to the first but it is faced with a single row of thin slabs of dressed limestone (about 10 cm. long, 30 cm. high, and 8 cm. deep) placed endwise, then long edge parallel to the ground. This is reputed to be the grave of Sinala, a grandchild of Mbuaoka.

3:Thompson E-5(1933-1934)U 949 006 Lau 006
Kambara

302 at least once a week, on Saturdays or Sundays before church. To conform with the Fijian mode the whole head of hair is shaped box-hedge fashion by singeing the upstanding ends with a burning brand. Imported scissors are used when available. Formerly men wore their hair long as did women, but in recent years many men have adopted a short, modified European coiffure, while most women have retained the old
164 mode. When a relative or a high chief dies, however, both men and women cut their hair close to the scalp and wear old mats around the waist. Hence most old people have
142 closely cropped hair. Grey hair is common among old people, but few bald headed persons are seen.

302 As a sign of virginity, which is highly prized at marriage
585 in Lau, little girls of about ten years begin to twist a lock
177 of hair over one ear into twenty or more tiny two-ply strands. These "virgin locks" are allowed to grow and frequently they reach the shoulder. The rest of the hair is singed in the usual manner. Unless the girl becomes pregnant they are not cut until after the wedding night when a special feast is held. Some girls have broken away from the custom of wearing "virgin locks" and the most daring try to achieve a western bob by parting the hair in the middle and shingling it. The effect is lost, however, because the hair is so bushy that the part quickly disappears.

142 Although frizzly hair is the rule, many Lauans have wavy
142 hair due to Polynesian admixture. When cut according to the
302 Fijian mode, wavy hair becomes a problem for it will not stand on end. Untidy strands stick out in all directions or hang limp in defiance of all efforts to stiffen them. The unfortunate possessors of such hair however, never give up their efforts to conform to the prevailing style.

179 The Lauans are a brown skinned people. In general they are lighter than the Fijians and darker than the Tongans but they vary in skin color from very dark brown which is almost black to light cinnamon tan. Light skins like those of the

3: Thompson E - 5 (1933 - 1934) 940 006 Lau 006
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's dirt—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavulava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

755 The illness of Tomope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought
756 to have been caused by sorcery. Tomope was suffering from
757 paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him
758 medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice
[824] a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangalou*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the
[741] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

759 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama
760 [illegible]
761 [illegible]

13 32. [illegible] - I - LAT is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles S.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Tamna Vata. The eastern part is a steep hill with a core of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 The village of Thirombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, 1761 with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the 241 volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being caught 312 and stored in a cement tank at the village.

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good 13 both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto 987 the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave 764 containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau. 172

[p.76]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

is wiped all round the inside; the fiber is formed into a spiral, placed on the palm of the left hand and the right hand is laid upon it; the kava maker makes a sweep over the bowl (I think from left to right) and strikes the fiber with the right palm three or four times, making a hollow sound called *thombo* (like all ceremonial clapping). 574 272 276

The kava maker's assistant then says to the master of ceremonies, "This kava is ready" (*maa ae kawa ni*).

To the cup bearer, usually a girl, he answers, "Prepare to receive it" (*tokonaki o fakatau*). The cup bearer then takes a cup and holds it over the bowl; the kava maker dips the fiber into the liquid and squeezes it into a cup.

The assistant sings, "The kava is embarked" (*kawa kuo heka*), drawing out the last syllable but one and rising in pitch on the last.

The master of ceremonies calls out, "Bring to So-and-so," naming the most important person present. The person so named generally claps once or twice; the cup bearer brings him a cup and goes to fill another for the next person whose name is called out. Having drained the cup, the drinker spins it forward on the mat to be removed by the cup bearer. When the herald feels so inclined he calls out, "Bring for me" (*mai ma aku*).

After everyone has drunk the dregs (*kota*), kava collected from the first bowl is pounded again. It is used four or five times before being thrown away. In Viti Levu it is used twice, in Samoa once only; in Lau and Tonga it is forbidden to throw away the *kota* after the first time as they do in Samoa, because it is treasured as a chiefly thing. In Tonga should a lowborn man come and carry off the dregs of a nobleman's kava he is clubbed.

At these evening kavas things are done in a free and easy style; the assistant kava maker may also carry the cup round, and some one at the lower end may call out, "The kava is embarked," a cry called *ui*. The precedence is not strict; a herald or a landsman usually drinks next to a nobleman, and alternation described as *rambe*, to kick; this is generally observed for the first nobleman, but cannot be strictly carried out in a random gathering. The order of drinking, too, is changed at every round; if a person has brought kava, one round will be given him as a compliment (*i loloma*) and he will drink first though he may be quite a minor personage. Common as these parties are, some people do not know the ceremonial properly—bushmen who do not listen to the making of kava.

Formal kava ceremonies in Tongan style were held in the open at death-feasts (*i mburua*). When the Tui Naiau is present, he is seated at the top of the circle, and the rope of the kava bowl is stretched towards him. In his absence, Tui Mereke, since he belongs to the oldest generation, will take the place, or failing him, the noble next in rank. The Tui Naiau has a herald [177] 765 272 565 276

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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(*mata mi vanua*) or other elder (*matapule*) on either side. Between the heralds and the bowl on either side sit the titled elders, such as Land Chief, Lord of Tumbou, Envoy to Mbau, Moala. They form the *yalofi*. All the nobles sit "at the back of the *yalofi*," that is, behind the bowl. At the death feast for the present High Chief's little daughter, Semi, the head of the senior branch of Tanggalevu sat on Tui Naiau's left, the Lord of Tumbou being absent; on Tui Naiau's right sat Lemaki, the carpenter; but they exchanged positions because Lemaki did not know all the Tongan words. A little distance from Semi, on the right sat the herald; a lady of Narewandamu; the Land Chief; an old man of Levuka; the chief of the clan of nobles (who should not have been there, they said); Tui Yandrana; Tui Nasangalau; Tui Wathiwathi. On the other side sat Moala and others. A nobleman of Naivi made the kava, a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right sang out the *ui*; a young man of Naivi was on the left. Behind them sat the other nobles.

For King Edward's death feast, Semi again sat on Tui Naiau's right and called out the orders; the Lord of Tumbou was on the left. The chief of the clan of nobles made the kava, with a nobleman of Vatuwangga on his right, and one of Naivi on his left, each holding a strip of coconut leaf with which to drive away the flies. The great-grandson of the second Tui Naiau and a Tongan who is reckoned among the nobles, were cup bearers.

The following custom may explain how in the first place a nobleman came to be in the *alofi*:

If a nobleman is related on one side to the heralds he will "jump out" into the *alofi*. They accept Tongan names; thus Salesi will call himself Tiakumi, a herald of Haapai, and sit in the *alofi*. He is related to Tiakumi because of Henifanga of Tonga Tapu, of the family of Tui Tonga, because Tui Atehu (viz. *Tui Haateiho*) holds Tungua and Tiakumi is herald there. If Salesi goes to Tonga it is not right for him to sit on the sides, but he will remember some connection with Tumbou proper or Vale Lailai and present himself as Envoy to Mbau or as Lord of Tumbou. The herald will ask him before everybody,

"Why do you sit there?"

"As Tui Tumbou."

"How are you connected with them?"

Salesi explains and if his explanation is accepted he keeps his seat, otherwise he is driven out to the back of the ring. Salesi would not make use of the name of Tiakumi in Tonga because Tiakumi is a herald and a noble at the same time; only in Fiji it is useful to adduce that point because it is a foreign land. Moreover Tiakumi is a very small herald and will sit low down in the ring because the order of heralds is known; in Tonga he would be so near the bowl as to be exposed to making cigarettes and drawing water.

The ring is much preferred, for the nobles at the back are sent to get embers and water, but those in the ring may not be sent on errands, nor may they stretch their legs, but must sit with clasped hands and without changing legs though the kava last till early morning.

It is forbidden to step over the rope stretched towards Tui Naiau. One man who

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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did so was fined and sent directly to the store to get a tin of paraffine oil. Tui Yandrana and his men were fined for coming to a mourning kava without mourning mats (*kie*) tied round the waist; they gave a lamp and a looking glass which were immediately estimated by the ladies and valued three pounds. It is the women of the mourning (p. 178) who impose these fines. 276 765 272 565

The formulae and the method are the same as at informal kava parties, except that women take no active part. Sometimes the kava maker attitudinizes in the manner described by Mariner (10, vol. 2, p. 183), but I have not seen it done. The man who calls out the cups does so in a singing tone, drawing out the syllable *he* much more than at an informal kava. The first cup is not called out (to do so is punishable by a fine), but is taken straight to Tui Naiau; who always drinks first. As the cup is handed to him, fresh water is poured into it; this is called *twai ndroka* and done for no one else. The cup bearer after handing him the cup sits down cross-legged while Tui Naiau drains the cup. The next cup, the "kick" is called and goes to Moala or to Tui Tumbou. These two are called *fati;* it is a custom peculiar to Lakemba, and is not Tongan. Malani, the second Tui Naiau, gave one *fati,* to Moala, a Tongan, for piloting him through a difficult passage. Moala asked as a favor that he should get the cup next to Tui Naiau; since then the man who bears the name of Moala drinks second. Malani gave the other *fati* to Tui Tumbou. In Tongan style the kava is said to jump, which I understood to mean that it went from one side of the ring to the other, over to the back of the bowl, back to the ring and so forth. The order is left much to the discretion of the master of ceremonies. In Tonga the cup is received with both hands but the arms must not be stretched out to receive it. When an empty cup is returned, the cup bearers sit down while it is being filled again. When the name of one of them is called out he takes his cup to the back of the ring, sits down, drinks it and returns to do his office. The kava maker drinks last. 272 565 276

While the kava is being made, pig or bananas are sometimes brought and set before the people in the ring. In Tonga this is called *fono,* which the Fijians translate *i wase ni yanggona.* In Tonga a whole pig is brought. If a man sits in the ring, a grandchild or other relative comes and takes it away. It is not taken away at random; if a man sees his grandfather or father in the ring he goes up to him and takes away his share and eats it; this is called *kai fono, kai* meaning to eat; those in the ring merely drink. A man's share is called "his" using not the possessive of food *kena,* but the possessive of ordinary possession *ona;* in other words it is not his food, but his property; but that is only a way of speaking, as some nobleman at the back carries it away and eats it; but he will cut off a bit for the man from whom he took it. If a nobleman does not come and eat the *fono* it makes the man look foolish, it puts him to shame; he will stealthily stow it away behind his back, or call some one to carry it away. [171]

Lauans admire the Tongan way of making kava. In Tonga at meals it is difficult to say who is chief, but it is patent at kava. 272 276

Fijian Kava Ceremony

The Fijian state kava was discontinued under the rule of Maafu, the Tongan, but the native style was restored under the fourth Lord of Naiau.

The Fijian style is used in the wading ceremony and at installation of chiefs. It is held indoors. The High Chief sits at the top but with only one herald by his side. The rope of the bowl is stretched towards Roko Sau. The kava maker sits alone at the bowl. The choir sits huddled

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only. 527

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig. 765

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*. [177] [609]

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vakavanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
[589 were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were
304] sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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consisted of two oxen, eleven cases of tinned beef, and two pigs; there was one oven from each clan in Tumbou, and one from Levuka, each including a case of beef or a pig. For a man of Tanggalevu and Thekena there was one oven from Thekena, one from Vatuwangga because his sister had married into that clan, one from Naivi because of his natural son whose mother was of Naivi, one from Joshua and his brothers, one from Narewandamu because Emosi and the deceased were "slightly brothers." The feast held for the death of Ratu Finau's little daughter was attended by Tumbou, Nasanggalau, Yandrana, Wathiwathi.

When the feast is piled up (*kele*) kava is served Tongan style (p. 60). Everything is done in noble fashion because the dead are noble. The feast is divided in the usual way with this difference that only those who brought kissing gifts receive a share; each person who brought one is reckoned as "one path." The portions are divided according to paths.

This death feast is observed by distant kinsfolk or subjects upon hearing of a death. The whole of Lakemba held one for King Edward VII.

The ladies of the *putu* go on sleeping in the house of the deceased. Formerly they stayed a hundred days, but the government stopped it because of the expense; for the kinsfolk of the deceased have to feed them all the time.

As long as the body is there the company sing religious songs only, but afterwards they sing Tongan dances and altogether have a merry time. Outside men and women are drinking kava, chattering, laughing, or singing. Formerly men used to hit the ladies of the mourning with banana suckers, but if a lady got hold of the man she stripped him naked. For an important death (*mate yatho*) this went on every night; one quarter of the village would say, "Let us go and strike the *putu*."

A writer in the Native Gazette complains that "the young men of the village go to drink kava in the house; every night they foregather there with the women, and evil arises from it. If there is a woman who cannot be achieved when in her own house she can be achieved in the house of mourning." Another writer, a man of Viti Levu commenting on this says that this custom is not to be found in Lomaiviti or in the outer parts of Fiji, only in Lau; he had never heard the terms *putu* and *tonitoni* before (11, Feb., p. 16, July, p. 16, 1891).

Nowadays at the end of five or ten days this comes to an end. On the morning after the last night the *tilatila* (beating the cloth log) is held. A few rapid beats are struck on the log on which bark cloth is beaten, thus raising the interdict on this work. At one funeral this period was shortened because the High Chief saw no one to look after the ladies of the mourning.

The tenth night feast (*vakambongitini*) is larger than the burial feast, though smaller than the *i mburua*. While the men prepare the ovens the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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765 women of the mourning bathe, which they accomplish by going fishing. The "true kinsmen of the deceased" contributed one oven each group; one from Vatuwangga, one from Narewandamu, one from Tanggalevu and Thekena. The ovens are smaller than for the death feast, the pigs having been killed then, there is not much left for the tenth night; yet the oven for the tenth night is well attended to. While the young men pound the puddings the elders drink kava outside the house.

Of old the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula who watched and buried the body bathed on the tenth day. While ordinary baths were taken before, the ceremonial bathing was on the tenth day. This statement rests on the herald's authority only.

The morning after the death feast according to one, after the tenth night, according to another, sand is dug (*ta pata*). A layer of fine sand is spread out on the grave and over this a layer of coarse sand called *pata*. A small feast is made for those who take part in the work.

Later, it may be at the hundredth night, it may be earlier, pebbles (*kilikili*) are placed in a bowl of oil, and strewn on the grave to give a neat appearance. (See Pl. II, *E*.) The grave of a particularly beloved kinsman is spread with cotton cloth, bark cloth, and mats before the pebbles are strewn over it, so that the pebbles may lie well and the sand not touch them; calico and oiled bark cloth and scented necklets are laid on the top of the pebbles or hung on a horizontal stick over the grave, for anyone to take away. Bark cloth so hung up is called the fence (*mbai*) of the grave. That hung up for Ratu Isoa was given to the Methodist choir.

The feasts for strewing the pebbles was formerly a heavy charge. The dish in which to oil the pebbles had to be cut. The relatives of the deceased prepared gifts for the women who worked at the pebbles. The oiling is called *vakandranumi kilikili*.

The old style tomb consists of an oblong heap of earth with a revetment of slabs of the kind called *maka papa*, just like the foundation of a house, only on a smaller scale. Vaults are of Tongan origin and called by a Tongan name, *fonua loto*, "place within." They were only made for high chiefs. Formerly the walls and covering were made of slabs of *maka papa*. The late Tui Naiau's was made of cement and was opened twice, once to put in his widow, and once his son. The mound over his grave consisted of two tiers, the lower with a revetment of upright slabs, the upper with one of slabs laid horizontally.

Many people were buried inside the house of Matailakemba. The third Tui Naiau's eldest son was buried in the temple of Nautuutu.

If the deceased had many kinsfolk, they built a house on his grave to shade it. Portable houses (*vale siki*) were erected over the graves of nobles, consisting of a roof laid on the grave without walls or posts; three beams,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

including, the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with 765
cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or [2
in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the 505]
record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tum- [177]
bou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba*, the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu*, to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba*. The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [775] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not formalized. On Kambara the following cry is repeated over and over: "Ei valu vei au . . . valu vei! E a wei!" or "Wei, a wei, ai valu vei au!" (Alas, woe is me, woe, alas!) For an individual considered to be a great loss to the community—such as a young person, especially the first-born of a ranking clan—the wailing is very loud and lasts from the hour of death until burial. For an old and feeble person of low rank there is less wailing.

765 A widow (*ndawai*) cuts her hair close to the head and wears old mats for one hundred nights. She wears a string of hibiscus bark around her neck, which she knots every night in order to keep count (*mbongi*) or a pumice (*soata*) stone is rubbed white, and a black mark made with a brand every night. After the tenth night, she is allowed to fish. After one hundred nights she is allowed to remarry.

764 I witnessed six burials on Kambara and one on Lakemba. Several of these have been described in order to show variations of the death ceremonial pattern due to rank, age, and circumstance.

Death of the high chief

766 The death of the high chief is an important social, economic, and ceremonial event in the life of the Lauans. It is one of the few occasions on which all the islands of the group function as a unit.

When Ratu Finau, high chief of Lau, died at Lakemba word of the death spread by canoe throughout the Lau group, and preparations for the funeral ceremonies began immediately. On each island were collected whales' teeth, mats, tapa, and food if it was available. Members of the leading clans of the main islands (including men, women, circumcised youths, and young girls belonging to the upper class) were selected to attend the funeral ceremonies. About two weeks after the death had occurred they were picked up by a cutter belonging to the district commissioner of Lau. I accompanied the Kambara group. The cutter stopped at Namuka and Oneata to board representatives and tribute and landed at Tumbou, the village of the high chief at Lakemba.

Every house in Tumbou was crowded with natives from all the islands in the chiefdom of Lau, except the most remote, Fulanga, Ongea, Vatoa, and Ono. The whole village was under a strict tabu which lasted from the time of the chief's death until his burial. No one was allowed outside his house except in necessity, and everyone who appeared in the village was required to wear black. Men and women wore kilts and shirts or blouses of barkcloth, tied old, frayed mats around their waists, and cut their hair. The hair of the women, cut 2 to 5 cm. from the head, was shorter than that of the men. The village ceremonial ground was kept clear by the high chief's bodyguard, composed exclusively of men from Naiau. Dressed like warriors in kilts of tapa, with oiled bodies and blackened faces, they stood at attention with a club on the shoulder, guarding the entrance to paths leading across the ceremonial ground.

[534] The only sound to be heard was that of the nine conch shells blown continuously from the time of the chief's death until his burial, by men of the nobility of Lakemba. The conch shell blowers sat under a pavilion beside the Chief's House (Vale Levu), and blew the shells continuously in four or five hour shifts. This is called *a nondra tangi na turanga*: at a chief's funeral it replaces the usual wailing, for only the chief's nearest relatives are allowed to wail.

Between death and burial, the body lay in the chief's house in a closed coffin of

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

396 The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The [415] wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

[531 **Shell ornamentation.** Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility 622] are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

504 **Repair.** Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

396 **Launching.** When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

396 At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides 526 barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are [552 known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa* 765] *ni mate*—sail of the dead).

[504] The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

501 Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arrangement. Thus Taraivosa got the land of her father, Mburua of Natokatoka, for her son; Mburua on his death had given it to one Tokai of Vatuwangga; when Tokai died it passed to Rasolo, also of Vatuwangga, who was "brother" to Tokai; Taraivosa begged the land for her son, and Rasolo promised to give it as soon as her son began to pay taxes. 423 562

A man gets land through his mother, if he comes to live with his mother's people. 423

Though in some cases it looks at first sight as though land had passed out of the clan, this does not actually happen. Thus Joshua and his people lived on land which his father had begged from Lemaki, the hereditary carpenter; but Lemaki holds land from the nobles only so long as he lives in Lakemba. Tiope of the clan of Ndaulakemba in Levuka held the land of Osea of the clan of Mānukuira, because they had lived together, and Tiope was working off Osea's debts; nevertheless the land was spoken of as belonging to Osea's son, a boy of about thirteen.

If a member of the clan dies without issue his land reverts to his "edge of the oven." Ratu Finau however had all the edges of the oven put down as one in the Lands Enquiry so that now the land reverts to Katumbalevu as a whole. 423 614

It was definitely laid down that land could not go out of the clan except as *wa ni kuna*, the strangling rope, *ka ni mbula*, the price of life, or as *i thovithovi ni ndraundrau*, the wherewithal to pluck leaves for plates. The strangling rope is land given to kinsmen of a deceased nobleman's wife for strangling her at his death. The price of life is land given by a man to one who has saved his life. The wherewithal to pluck leaves is land given away as a woman's dowry; the land is supposed to keep her supplied with banana and breadfruit leaves on which to place the food. Such land is also called *i kaukau ni alewa* (that which is brought with a woman). 425 [766] [583]

It was indeed said that a lady marrying a "small man" would also bring a dowry, and I know of one such case where the father of a lady of Naivi gave some land when she married a man of Levuka; the land is now held by the man's son. But this does not appear to be a common practice, for I was told that the reason why a lady does not bring land to the "landsmen" is that her people have no land to give. The Chief of Nasangalau says the same of his village: the nobles there had no land but what they got from other clans through their mothers. 425 583 565

A nobleman will sometimes perform what is called *vakalutulutu*, causing to fall; this is a present of manufactured articles to his son's maternal uncles, in order to "make the land fall"—that is, to get land for his son. Meli, the head of Naivi, thus got land from his mother's clan, Tumbou; 425 604 565

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

men remain outside or in a neighboring house, coming into the house where 764
the body is for short periods only. The house where the women assemble is the funeral house (*vale ni putu*). The term *putu* is also applied to the women in the house; they are more commonly known as the ladies or women of the funeral (*marama, alewa ni putu*). If there are many people there will be several funeral houses. Sometimes an arbor is made outside where kava is made. I have seen no kava drinking or smoking in the house where the body lies. The more zealous women remain awake all night. Food is prepared by the "owners of the dead" for those who come: tea, bread, tinned meat, and kava, sometimes a small pig. Neither in the house where the body lies nor in the annexes is cheerful talk and jesting avoided.

While the body is lying in state and for six days after the burial the land is under an interdict (*tambu*). No noise is allowed or beating of bark cloth either in Tumbou or Levuka; religious music is allowed. The people are said to be in mourning; so I translate the expression *tiko vakailoloku*. The word *i loloku* is probably from *loku*, to appoint, promise, fix a time; it is something appropriated for the dead; it seems to mean primarily something sacrificed to the dead, thus a man killed [304]
to honor a nobleman's death; a little finger cut off at death. Formerly 766
if the Roko Sau died they burned one another with brands (*veitavu*); they would gash themselves saying, "Roko Sau, this is a return for the food you gave me on such and such a day." Those who chewed kava for him came and broke off a tooth saying, "Roku Sau, the day on which I chewed kava you gave me the rest of your food; here is a return for it."[26] All this is called "doing *i loloku*."

Nowadays the burial takes place the day after the death. Or, if the death 764
occurs early in the morning, burial may be made the same day. When one 177
nobleman died there were fifty sheets of bark cloth for strewing the coffin (*i thoro ni kato*); fine mats (*kie*) were put in the coffin with the body as gift for the dead (*i loloku ni mate*). He was followed to the grave by the choir of the Free Church, to which he belonged, and that of the Methodists, singing alternately.

I attended the funeral of the grandchild of Lemaki, the hereditary car- 764
penter (p. 55). The attendance was mostly Tongan. The coffin was wrapped in bark cloth and carried in a mat. After the first part of the service by the graveside, a mat was spread on either side so that half of the mat covered the pit; a third mat was placed over the two, the coffin was placed on the top and pushed down; the mats were folded over it, and the whole was pushed down to the bottom; a few handfuls of earth were thrown, then the service proceeded. At the end of it the women emptied baskets of

[26] The second person singular is used in addressing the deceased.

F. Hocart X-5 (ca. 1926) 1929 996 Lau 996 Lakemba

764 s[illegible] and into the grave; cloth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled d[illegible]. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mata*; the cloth, *wala* is *vakambu*, body cloth; n[illegible] *vakambu*.

If a man is buried on the day, he dies, the burial feast (*vakaqiri ni vola bulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua*. At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 565 562 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*). [587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-[589] vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows [304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process.

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child.. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*.

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony.

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him.

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two

B. Thompson E-9 (1922-1923) 1949 Gift Lau Gift Kambara

763 The female relatives of the deceased begin to wail. The words are not intelligible. On Kambara the following text is repeated over and over: "Ai ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu." (Also spelled "ai ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu ceu

was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni* or *mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanqiona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni vengqurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

[illegible] Cohen, conch shells, the women of the tonitoni and other [illegible]. Most of the guests waited at the burial ground.

The [illegible] was placed on the bier at the vault, and a [illegible] was [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible]. It was [illegible] with a [illegible] to a [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] was [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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766

people on the island. The herald [illegible] the district headman of Kambara [illegible] on, the chief of Tokalau, Matandravu subclan, Vuanitavola, was in charge.) The pall bearers belonged to the chief's clan and that of his herald.

The chief was buried in the village cemetery at Tokalau. A large, old whale's tooth was placed in the grave as a head rest. The grave was marked by a truncated pyramid earth mound with two stone-faced steps and a rectangular ground plan (pl. 1, *B*). Ten conch shells, blown between the death and burial, were placed on it. The village headman was in charge of the burial feast (*i mburua ni mate*), which was provided by the people of the whole island and divided by the chief of crops.

Informants said that the widow of the chief of Kambara was not strangled and that they had never heard of widow strangling in Lau.

The funeral rites for the chief of Fulanga are less elaborate than those for the chief of Kambara, who ranks far higher as an island chief. The following account of the death of Waisake, the former chief of Fulanga, was obtained from Kalo, the wife of the present chief.

[533]

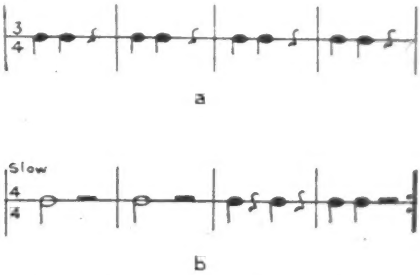


FIGURE 4.—Drum beats: **a**, beat to raise the death tabu, drummed on a tapa board; **b**, beat of the funeral march, drummed on pairs of large wooden slit-gongs.

When Waisake died no conch shells were blown, but the relatives of the deceased wailed: "Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au! Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!" (Alas, my chief! He has gone along the path and will never return!) Kava was provided by the chief's clan (now split into Vunikoro and Rasea) and served by middle-aged people in Tongan fashion for three or four days and nights. The *tonitoni*, composed of women from the village of Muanaithake, occupied the chief's house (*vale ni tangi*, house of wailing) and two or three other houses for ten nights. During this time they were fed by the chief's clan. Laughing and dancing in this house was tabu before dawn on the fourth day, when the sound of the *vakataratara*, beaten by many women of the village on a tapa board, lifted the tabu on silence in the usual way. The rhythm of the *vakataratara* is shown in figure 4, *a*.

The body was buried on the day of death. It was wrapped in mats and carried to the cemetery by men of Nasava and Vandravandra clans, who also dug the grave. The death feasts, provided by all the villages on the island were as follows: *i va kotokoto* for the mourners on the day of burial; *i mburua* for the island on the day after the burial; *vakataratara* for the mourners on the fourth day after the death when the tabu was lifted and the *tonitoni* went fishing; *i vaka mbongi tchini* for the island on the tenth day; and *i vaka mbongi ndrau* for the village on the hundredth day.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

small feast called the *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held by the relatives. On the hundredth day a feast called *i vaka mbongi ndrau* was held, and the mound over the grave was faced with oiled pebbles and hung with garlands of fragrant leaves. 764

Death of an infant

A female infant of six months, the first-born of a young couple of the noble Vuanitavola clan, died in Tokalau one day at about noon. 766

The close female relatives began to wail loudly after the death and continued until the burial procession left for the cemetery at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The immediate family of the deceased sat on a large piece of tapa at the upper end of the house and fanned the body, which was resting on a folded piece of tapa and covered with oiled white cloth. More distant relatives, weeping silently, sat in the lower part of the house. There was no talking aloud or laughing in the house. At intervals during the afternoon gifts of mats and tapa were presented ceremonially by relatives from Tokalau and Lomatchi.

Finally the body was placed in an imported camphor-wood chest, which served as a coffin. The chest was slung on a pole with ropes and covered with a piece of tapa. It was carried in the funeral procession by two men. The baby's grave was fitted into the cemetery where there was room near his relatives' burials. The funeral service was performed by the native missionary. After mats and tapa had been placed in the grave the coffin was lowered into it, the head toward the north. (Adults are usually buried with the head toward the east but informants say that orientation of a baby does not matter.) One of the men laughed when shoveling sand into the grave because the sand fell onto the coffin instead of onto the wrapped corpse, as is customary.

The death feasts were postponed for a few days because of preparations for the visit of a chief.

The death ceremonies for the child followed the same pattern as those for the young man, but differed from the man's in that the wailing for the child was louder and more prolonged, gifts were more plentiful, and the details of burial were less carefully executed. The child was a first-born of high rank and died in her own village, whereas the young man, although a noble, was born on another island. [554]

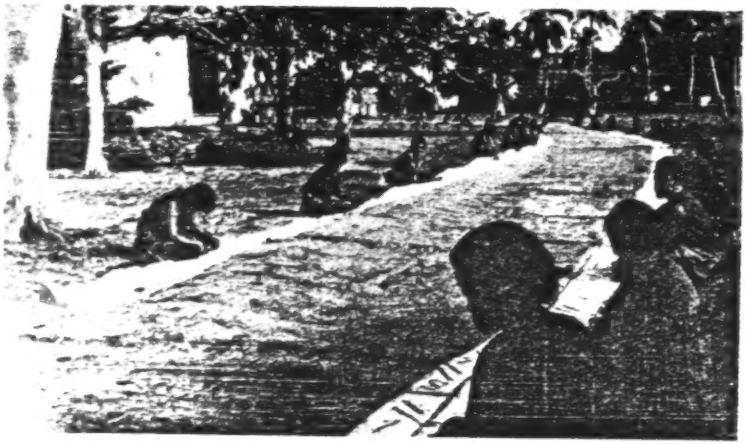
Death of an old woman

When an old woman of about seventy, belonging to the Mbete subclan of the noble Vuanikathu clan, died in Tokalau, the wailing and presentation of mats began immediately after death and lasted for about two hours. The funeral took place in the afternoon and was attended by a few old men, old women, and children. No young men or unmarried women were present. Before the grave was filled the mourners talked and joked freely. The death feast which was small was postponed for six days to allow the Vuanikathu clan (which neglects its garden land) time to collect the necessary food. 764

Disposal of the body

In pre-Christian times the dead were usually buried in caves. Skeletal remains as well as spears, clubs, grave sticks, and parts of canoes are found

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambàra



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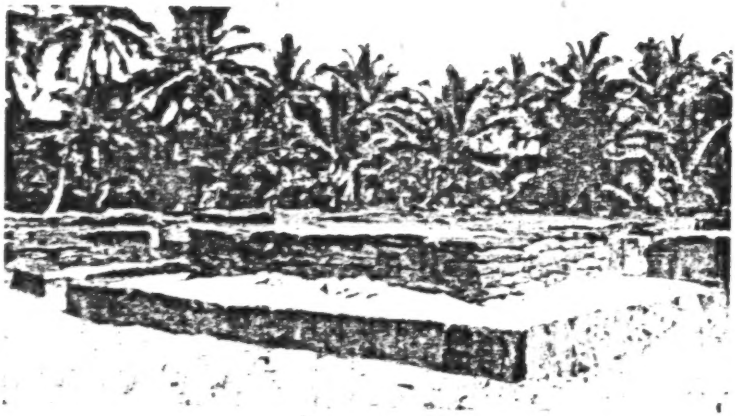

B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent [837]
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

●766
516

DEATH OF THE HIGH CHIEF

The route of the funeral procession is carpeted with long strips of tribute barkcloth and bordered by seated women of high rank.

[Facing p. 84]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

The Polynesians always had the idea of an 173
original home "across the seas" that they came *from, though in course of time this* became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly 766
buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by 178
hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a 174
true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively [273]
recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although
Galà considered themselves the more chiefly
people, Na Turuku had one great point in their
favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste
dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die.
Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large
strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies
for the death of so great a chief; and even now
it was a matter that would convulse the whole
island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa
said that he was convinced he had been bewitched
(*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [797] [428]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

769 ●

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 618 [771 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison, (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769? 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769? 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after child-
783 birth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness. Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

774 The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

[761] Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient
774 recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the
775 dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

775 There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Raramal"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 797 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 346 778 793 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 726 793 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspiciousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 793 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession. "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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173 825 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 824 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder 173 825 of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini,* a large hawk.

173 771 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Conch shells (*ndazui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 769 618 [771 ● 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?" 226 773

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given: 226

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent. 342

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

775 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tarukua ran away. That is why Tarukua is still waterless. Kendekende is the source of the stream. 773

In Tarukua they tell the following story: The *tupua* of the Lakemban villages went to steal the water of Kendekende. They went at night when day was drawing near. They each of them carried a water bottle. When they reached the spring the god of Tumbou, the owner of the spring, was not in sight; so they filled their water bottles. When they had filled them, the owner of the spring arrived. Then the god of Tumbou was very angry and drove them away, and the god of Tarukua ran, and ran fast, because he was glad that he had got water. He tripped over a big stone, as it was still night, and fell down flat, and his water bottle rolled away, and was cracked, and all the water was spilt, and so there is still no water in Tarukua at the present day. The various gods went and poured out the water in some places, and so there is plenty of water there to the present day.

Another story relates:

The people of Kendekende (it is not said that they were *tupua*) sailed to Naiau. There they found the bird called *kaisevau*, and they could not sleep because of its noise. When they were about to return, Tui Lakemba said, "You men of Naiau, go and catch the *kaisevau*." The people of Naiau, who were then very numerous, caught them, put them in baskets and landed at Wanggatalatha. The chief met them on the beach and told them to dig an oven; so they dug one large and one small one, which are still to be seen a little beyond Wanggatalatha just off the road. The chief on being told that the oven was dug, ordered to light it. The chief thought that they would throw the birds on the oven inside their baskets; but the people opened the baskets and poured out the *kaisevau* into the oven. They all flew away. Therefore the chief drove some of the people away and they are now in Tonga. The people of Lakemba were foolish to dig a huge oven thinking the *kaisevau* to be a big bird, whereas it is quite small, so that their labor was wasted.

Another version states that the birds were brought from Nukunuku, where they are plenty among the mangrove trees. This is probably not a fairy tale (*tala tupua*), since the evidence is there (*sa tu na kena i vakandinandina*); it may be true.

I received several accounts of places inhabited by spirits:

There is an island called Mburotu. It is the land of spirits (*tevoro*), namely, spirit women. It lies within the sea, and is not seen above. If it is about to emerge at any place and a boat is in the offing, it sinks again; if it sinks the swirl of it rises up. A Totoya boat came near it but it sank again, and a red coconut spathe (*mbarawa kula*) was cast into the boat. If the women of Matuku go out at low tide, at dawn they find red reeds that come from Mburotu.

There is a cave in Munia with two rocks, male and female; the breasts are visible on the female. These stones are memorials that Koroimbo lay with his wife.

There are also Children of Water in Munia. They are small and have white skins. They appear to women when they go to fish.

Tutumatua was in Munia with the god (*tevoro*) who lives in the Lomaloma passage. They were gathering coconuts. The other god said to Tutumatua, "What can you do? Climb or husk nuts?"

"Both," said Tutumatua, and climbed the trees and picked nearly a thousand nuts of a kind so hard that it can only be husked with an axe. They had no stick to husk them so the other god husked them on Tutumatua's penis. It hurt Tutumatua, who fled and said he would not be found again in Munia. It is supposed Tutumatua fell from heaven; he is Beelzebub.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *keketwa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *keketwa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *keketwa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 601
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word "*tauvu*" therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [826] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

775 776

> The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat."[776] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and follow-

[776] A kind of game?

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village 123
headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began 514
preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used.

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neigh- 136
boring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are 513
very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara 136
had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the 773
kekeo, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night ?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo,* the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

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Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272
is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276
water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291
waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304
The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197]
tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522]
jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173]
not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

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423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo,*
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

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Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their *clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.*

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

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Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster. 565 773 [825]

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead. 775 565

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba. 797

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula? 539
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[48]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian 797

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan *race seems to have done.* The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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773 me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a
177 red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of
123 common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

174 But here one sees the error one can so easily
171 fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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[p. 28 is blank]

A HAUNTED ISLE OF THE SOUTH SEAS.

LEGENDS connected with death and "the mysterious beyond" are the most likely ones in a primitive people to show in which direction their ancestral home lay, and thus we have the very clear legend of the "jumping-off place" (after death) of the Fijians (Papuans) and the north-west to which they jump, as the direction of their origin, their *Burotu* or Paradise. 773

Now in Lau, curiously enough, we have several legends pointing to *Burotu* in the south and south-east, the opposite direction. There are the queer little burnt-out fishing-torches, with curious twisted handles of the red-leafed *Qai Kula*, "which all know to be the great almond-tree that grows at *Burotu*." These were said to have been frequently seen in the olden times drifting up with the current towards Matuku Island from the south-east. Then there is the enchanted island of *Burotu* itself, that might be sometimes seen in those days shimmering on the surface of the sea at such times as there was a hazy calm, and out in the empty space of water towards the

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773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to ?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day *at Matuku, called* the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Ton-
773 gans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakabau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

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Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west. 171 773

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting, 773 539*

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others. 773 114 539*

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

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I must have been sleeping. That was a bad dream, that one. It seems to me it would be well to make a feast for Ligadua while I think of it.'

"So he turned to a man near by and told him to beat the great drum to summon a meeting of the people at once to discuss the matter of this feast. The man went over to the drum, and picked up the two heavy *yavayava* (mallets) and started to ring the call for a meeting of the people. But not a sound came forth. He looked at the sticks, and looked at the drum, and then he struck again. Still it was silent. Then he threw down the sticks in fear and fled. Tui Matokano was very angry, and shouted, 'Fool, why don't you do as I tell you,' and he himself went across to the drum and started to beat it. Still no sound came from it. Then Tui Matokano sat down in dead silence, and all the people waited, for they knew that it was truly Ligadua that they had seen. And as they waited they heard a faint sound from the direction of far away Tuvana Island, the home of Ligadua; and it was the ghost of their great drum that they heard, and it seemed to mock them as they listened.

"And never again would the true drum at Matokano speak, though often on a calm night one may hear his soul speaking from Tuvana, and it is said that Ligadua is summoning his

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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226 Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught
796 at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming
+539 was as follows," he went on. "There was a
•773 goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama*
776 *rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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when by herself. And one day Kubu-ni-vanua heard her weeping, and flew over to Tonga, and asked her what it was that troubled her. Then she said, 'Take me back to my home at Moala. I do not like this land. It is dry and bare, and there is very little food, and not even fresh water to drink. (For Tungua was like many of the Lau Islands in that it had no water; though Moala, as you know, sir, had always fine running streams.)

"'I cannot take you back to Moala,' said Kubu-ni-vanua, 'but I can bring you water, and perhaps even some Dalo for food.' At this she looked up and smiled, and Kubu-ni-vanua felt that he must do this thing for her at once.

"So he flew back to Moala and went to the place called Matamatakalou, which is near to Cakova town, and he took a great Dalo leaf and twisted it into a cup and filled it at the spring there. Then he flew off again with it to Tonga and left it on the ground outside the house of Roko-vaka-ola. And in the morning when she went out she found a beautiful spring just outside her door, with water clear and bright and very cold; and by the side of the spring, where the Dalo leaf had lain, there were already some fine Dalo plants growing up. Then was Roko-vaka-ola happy indeed, and from that day she ceased to pine.

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*539 "And this, sir, is a curious thing. You will
773 find exactly the same sort of trees and shrubs
776 at Tungua as you will find round Matamatakalou;
and further, only at Tungua in the whole of Tonga
will you find these things."

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THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

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*539 hold of one of the old pieces of native mythology
773 unadorned with the modern interpretations that
115 are so frequently put to them, and events proved that I was not mistaken.

"You must know, sir," he began, "that I am truly a man of Lakeba Island, but my grandmother was of this place, and from her, when a boy, I heard the tale of the god, Ratu Maibula, and the ghost, Ratu Koli. And this is what she told me:

*539 "In the very early days there were two towns
773 up on the hill-crest there, overlooking the sea towards the setting sun, and their names were Na Vuwai and Watika. Always were there great matters of dispute between these towns, till one day the men of Na Vuwai arose, and making their way by stealth among the trees they came upon the people of Watika, and slew them; so that none remained but some few of the Naibili tribe, who chanced to be out fishing on the reefs below. These were saved by a *Latui*,[1] who circled round and round the burning houses, and then swooped down to the men of Naibili, crying out in great grief, and calling their attention to the smoke rising on the hill-top. This, sir, was because the Latui was the Kalou Vu[2] of the Naibili tribe.

"And in the course of time they moved down

[1] Hawk. [2] Ancestral god.

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to the flat plain on the sea-coast—taking with them the remnant of the Naibili people—and there they founded a new town, which was first called Na Vuwai,[1] but which after the victory of Koli's ghost they named Maibula, in honour of Ratu Maibula, although in truth he was the god of Lagatea town, some distance away. And the change of name came about in this manner.

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"Ratu Koli of the Walakewa tribe was in his lifetime a hard man, fierce and angry, but of mighty strength and skilled in all weapons. Great was the fear of his people when Koli arose in wrath and smote whom he willed, and many were the whisperings in the *bures* by the fireside when the nights were dark and Koli slept, yet none dared to strike. One day, however, a woman taunted her husband so that he summoned up his courage, and with certain others went along to Lagatea town to consult the god, Ratu Maibula, whose temple was at that place.

"And it so happened that the men of Lagatea were at that time building a new home for their god, and the big posts of his house were being let into their pits. A great throng of people had gathered round, and with much shouting and straining the last post had just been lowered into place.

"Then advanced the Na Vuwai men, crouching

[1] To this day the people of Mabula town make use of the old name "Na Vuwai" in ceremonial feasts.

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and trembling at what they were about to do, and in great fear of the god. And they offered a root of *Yaqona* as is the custom. Then they prepared a bowl of it with all ceremony; and, kneeling, poured a libation into the post-hole, calling on the god to aid them against Ratu Koli. And after that they returned home, but told no man of what they had done.

"Now, that same night Ratu Koli was troubled with dreams and a fever entered into him. And in the morning great was his illness, so that within three days he died. But as he was about to die he opened his eyes and sat up, crying out, "I know you, Ratu Maibula, 'tis you alone that have worked this evil upon me." And then he fell back dead. And when his *burua*[1] was ended the people of Na Vuwai breathed again and their heaviness of spirit left them. And soon they went about their work as usual and had almost forgotten their fears of Ratu Koli. But when the *Bogi drau*[2] arrived they carried out the ceremonies proper to a great chief. And these were nearly finished when a boy came running and informed them that one of their great canoes that had been hauled up at a place some distance away from the town was in danger of drifting off with the high tide. So a party of young men was sent to see to it. And the place where the

[1] Funeral ceremony.
[2] Memorial ceremony on the one hundredth night.

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canoes had been left was called Nuku Nuku and was about half-way to Lagatea town.

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"And when they had hauled the canoe up into safety and were sitting down on the beach to rest, looking over the still waters, they heard a rustling in the bushes behind them; and a great fear filled them, for, on turning round they plainly saw in the moonlight Ratu Koli stepping out into a little clearing, painted, and armed as for war, with his great battle-club on his shoulder. And coming from the direction of Lagatea there appeared Ratu Maibula, who was also carrying his club, as was the custom in those days. And they knew him for the god, for they were again filled with a strange trembling when they saw him; and they heard Ratu Koli cry out, hoarsely challenging, saying, 'Ho, Ratu Maibula, whither goest?'

"Then Ratu Koli smote the ground in anger with his club, so that the whole earth shook, and said, 'Thou shalt surely die to-night.'

"And Ratu Maibula advanced and taunted Ratu Koli, saying, 'What is this small thing I see? Who is it that dares to speak to me?'

Great, then, was the wrath of Ratu Koli, and he fell upon the god and they fought furiously together. The noise of their weapons meeting was like thunder, and the swift gleams of the oiled clubs were like lightning flashes. Long lasted

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the fight, and the men of Na Vuwai lay looking on, prostrate with fear. At last there was a terrible crash and Ratu Maibula was stricken on one knee to the ground; and holding up his club with both hands to ward off the blows he cried out to Ratu Koli and *soro'd*[1], and offered to be the god for the Na Vuwai people also, and to assist them in war, if only he might be spared and still live in his temple at Lagatea. But the ghost of Ratu Koli answered, 'Nay. My law to thee is that thou shalt go to Na Vuwai and remain there as its god, and the town shall be called Maibula, that all may know I have ordered this thing.'

"And Ratu Maibula was forced to consent to this, and thus it is that we now know that town as Mabula—or Maibula, as it was called in the times of our fathers. Then Ratu Koli, with a loud laugh, turned towards Na Vuwai, and was seen no more; and when the men on the beach looked towards the place where Ratu Maibula had been he also was gone.

"Now, Lagatea town was in those early days divided into three parts, namely, Tarakua-leka, Yarovi, and Sawana. And after Ratu Maibula had left it was necessary for some one at Lagatea to take up the title of Tui Cicia, so Ra Salato of the Vunisea tribe did so. But it was not long before two chiefs of Yarovi, named Mataselia

[1] Craved pardon.

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and Laligavoki, plotted against him and slew him; and Mataselia was therefore *buli'd*[1] as Tui Cicia. And Mataselia well knew the power of Ratu Koli, and how he had defeated Ratu Maibula, so he *vaka rorogo'd*[2] to him as the *Kalou Levu*[3] of Lagatea, as by this time the people of Mabula had done also.

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"Mataselia was killed at the great battle at Nayau Island, when the men of Lakeba met the men of Cicia there; but of that I must speak on some other day. And on Mataselia's death Laligavoki was made Tui Cicia. He also was killed before long, as also was another Tui Cicia whose name I forget. And the killing of this same Tui Cicia was as follows:

"Some men of the Butoni tribe came for a *solevu*,[4] to Lagatea and many of them married Lagatea women and stayed on there, building a town for themselves at a place they called Butoni, just where the "Company's"[5] manager's house is now. And after a time they grew jealous of the Lagatea men, and a hatred arose within them. So they devised a scheme. They sent messages to the Tui Cicia to say they wished to perform a *méké*[6] and bring gifts to Lagatea, and on the appointed day they arrived and the *méké* was held at that place I showed you, where

[1] Appointed. [2] Acknowledged his supremacy. [3] Chief god.
[4] A ceremonial interchange of gifts; practically a trading expedition.
[5] The M.I.E.P. Copra Company. [6] Dance.

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*539 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always
● 773 of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka*,'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And
[753] after that the stone was set up on end and left
[778] there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.

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the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness, though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

"In the days before the first foreign ship came to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ita, an island to the north of Fiji.

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and in course of time they had two children, boys of great beauty and strength. So powerful were these boys that they were wont to pull up the *mamakara* trees by the roots to make their clubs of, which, as you know, sir, is not a thing to be done by the men of to-day. And when they played it was their custom to divide the island between them, and, standing at the two ends, to throw pebbles from one to the other in their sport, for they had no *dawa* fruit in those days to play with, as boys on other islands have. And Rasikilau looked on them with pride.

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"But there came a day when the boys disputed about a fish that they had caught, and their spirit grew hot within them, so much so that one of them took up a big stone and threw it at his brother in anger. And then they started to heave mighty rocks at each other from afar off, but the great stones merely burst against their heads where they struck. Thus it has become a saying amongst us, 'As hard as the heads of Rasikilau's children.'

"But Rasikilau had come upon them suddenly through the trees, and had observed all this, and great was his fear as he saw it. For, thought he, if my sons are strong like this when they are still but boys, they will surely overpower me when they grow up, and cast me out of my island. So, without further thought, he rushed in between

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*539 them and catching each by the hair he dashed
•773 their heads together, and they fell down dead.
776 "But after he had done this his heart was troubled within him, and going home to his wife, he said, '*Sobo!* A dreadful thing has just happened. Our sons have learnt to play with stones, and but now they have slain each other in anger with great boulders.'

"Loud was the wailing of the mother, and she refused to be comforted; and for many days she stayed in the house, only going forth each morning to tend the graves of her sons. And Rasikilau was sad at heart when he saw this; but he kept silence as to what he had truly done.

"Now, one day, Koroibo, the god who lived on Munia Island across the lagoon, heard of Rasikilau's troubles, and came across in a canoe to see him and bring him gifts. And when he landed on the beach he saw the *mamakara* trees for the first time—for he had none on Munia. '*Isa*,' said he, 'this is a fine shady tree to sit under, and the timber of it seems to me to be as fine as any wood I have yet seen.' And his longing to have the *mamakaras* for his own grew great within him.

"So he devised a scheme, and in the evening, after they had fed, he said to Rasikilau, 'Oh, Tui Cikobia (for he was also called Lord of Cikobia), if you had had the *dawa* trees on your island this evil would never have happened, for

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your children would have only thrown the soft fruit at each other, as other children do. And if you should have more children it is plain that the same thing will happen again.' 539* 773 776

"'True are your words, Koroibo,' replied the other. 'But what can I do? I have no *dawa* trees on my island, and where can one procure such things in these parts?'

"'My spirit is heavy within me for thinking of you, Tui Cikobia,' said Koroibo; 'and I, who have *dawa* trees will make you a present of all of them; and you shall give me your *mamakara* trees to take to Munia.'

"'So be it,' said Rasikilau. And forthwith they made the exchange, mixing a bowl of *Yaqona* to seal the bargain.

But of little avail to Rasikilau were the *dawa* trees, for his wife refused to be comforted, and soon afterwards she died. While Koroibo quickly lamented the loss of his fine fruit, and to this day he sits sorrowfully beneath his *mamakara* trees; and sometimes you may hear a sigh as you pass a cluster of them in one of the valleys of Munia. For never again did the *dawa* grow on Munia Island or the *mamakara* on Cikobia."

"But are these gods never seen nowadays?" 776
I asked.

"No," replied the old lady, a little doubtfully. "Have not the missionaries brought the light of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after childbirth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness. Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

159 558 622 178 Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship,* according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 756 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he [774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world. [187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 554 622 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows how one individual has met the problems caused by changing standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A..
..munduo!

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

539

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared. 776

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air. 774

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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774 to a depth of half-an-inch from walking barefoot. At sundown, Ravu had not returned, and we were worried, for night descends early in the shadowy tropical jungle. When the last rays of the setting sun still cast a red glow over the village, the forest is already in darkness. We called a few natives together and, armed with lanterns and flashlights, set out to look for him. The searching party, in a long line, followed the narrow path up the steep cliff and into the dense jungle.

We shouted at intervals but there was no response. Finally, from afar we heard a shot. Picking our way in the twilight off the rough path into the primeval forest, we followed the sound. Suddenly we came upon Ravu, his body shaking with fear, his face pale and terrified. When he saw us his expression changed to one of great relief. Finally he was able to tell his story.

For some time in the early afternoon he had looked for pigeons without seeing any. Suddenly he had come upon Wangga, a man from Tanggu. He told Wangga he was searching for fowl, and Wangga said: "I know where there are many. Come with me." So Ravu followed him. They walked a great distance through the pathless jungle and Ravu became very tired. But there were no fowl. Finally they reached cliffs which rim the island and drop abruptly into the sea. Wangga stood on the edge of a sheer precipice and called Ravu to join him, but Ravu was frightened and decided to turn back. His companion returned with him. When they were approaching the spot where they had met, Ravu heard our shouts. He fired a shot into the air and Wangga started to run away. Suddenly the man vanished. Then Ravu realized that it was Wangga's bad soul which had tried to lure him to death over the cliff. Ravu did not recover his composure until the following day.

577 As a motivating force, kindness and humanitarianism are still foreign to the Lauan. This was illustrated forcibly one

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."[59] 753

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely. 755 774

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery 754 [753]

[59] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (ndraunikau).

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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carried in the mat he had rolled himself up in because of the mosquitoes, to the top of Delai-dradramua Hill. Sorely was he troubled on opening his eyes just before cock-crow to see the stars above him in the open sky; and his father took great gifts to the home of the grey rat to ask the mind of Adi Mailagi as to this thing. But the only answer was 'Semesa is free—let him live'; so that we never really knew what was the meaning of it. For always is she hard in in spirit and one to be feared.

539 * 776

"Often does she take the shades of quite small children away with her in her palm-leaf basket, and then the children themselves fall sick in their homes; and unless their shades can escape from her and run home again those children must surely die.

[774]

"Tui Merike, the deaf-mute of Oneata Island, is known to you, sir—a man but ill-favoured in countenance and to whom, therefore, Adi Mailagi once appeared in the guise of an old woman; yet he escaped and is alive to-day. The tale of it runs thus: He was slowly riding at dusk one day on his pony from Loma Loma to Mualevu, when from behind a tree that he had just passed near Uruone town there came an evil-looking dame who called out, 'Whither goest?'

"At this the pony shied furiously and sweated with fear, so that Tui Merike knew that it was indeed the goddess, and without replying he

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

226 against the glare and set out with a big rectangular net provided with floats at the top and weights below. The net is put down with a curve facing the land. Some of the women, aided by any men in the party drive in the fish. The women at the net pick the fish out of the meshes, bite the heads, and put the fish in their baskets.

A variation of this method of fishing is called hauling (*yavi*): the net is put down in a semicircle with its ends resting on the beach, and is then drawn in. I believe this is done only at high tide. There must be no coral about. Special large nets called hauling nets are used; they are modern and made with European fish line.

Native informants say:

[773] [754] It is bad to go to a grave before fishing, or the fish will go up to the net and turn back because the souls of the dead want to fish; for going to the grave has a supernatural effect (*manata*); the souls follow the one who went to the grave.

"Raw eyes" drive away fish. To remove the effects of it before going into the water, nets are held as they are in the sea and whipped lightly on one side, then on the other several times with leaves of *sinu;* then the leaves are thrown into the net, it is raised and drawn in as is done at sea when fish have been caught. The operation *sinumi* is then repeated in the water, with the words:

Sinu matumatu, sinu nggitawa,
sinu vai [naming all kinds of fish]
sinu ika tauthoko sa rawa i na mba
lako mai i manda, lako mai i muri,
lako mai loma, lako mai sau, lako mai
tauthoko mai thoka i ei.

Sinu . . . . . .
sinu of all fish that are caught in the fence,
come before, come behind, come inside, come
outside, come all of you and strike here.

Then the leaves are thrown away and care is taken not to raise the net as was done on shore. It is forbidden, while fishing, to point at the fish. The [643] biggest *sangga* and the best fish are taken to the Roko Sau.

Yavi Rau

An entire village joins in the *yavi rau* (hauling in coconut leaves). In this the fish are brought to shore as with the large nets, but for the net a long rope of *walai,* as much as a half mile in length is substituted. The sides of the midribs of coconut leaves are stripped off with the folioles adhering and are wound spirally round this rope with the folioles sticking out like spikes. At high tide this rope is put in the water to form a vast circle. As the tide lowers, the men draw the circle tighter and tighter towards the shore leaving an opening on the land side which the women close with a net bag-shaped (*volu*). Outside the circle, the women stand with small nets to catch the fish that try to escape. The men close in upon the fish, which circle round and round and are driven into the net. When the net is full, it is folded over, and sticks are thrust through it to lift it up and put it into a canoe. It is opened in front of Big House, or if the Chief

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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765 The ceremony of permitting clothes is made an excuse for obtaining such goods as may be wanted. Thus one lady who wanted to exchange bark cloth for mats with her kinsmen of Moala went there to perform the ceremony in honor of the deceased Moala kinsfolk, as she had not been in the island for a long time.

Long after all the feasts are over the relatives sometimes hang scented necklets over the grave, for any man who likes to carry away. Sometimes on those occasions they make kava at the grave.

For one man who died at sea and whose body was never recovered two upright sticks were set up on the beach, a horizontal one laid on this, and bark cloth and garlands hung, just as over a grave.

Formerly songs called *lele* were composed about the dead man and his qualities. None is now known.

775 When a man of Tumbou dies, his soul goes to Namukalevu, a projection of the reef on the east side of the passage. This place is called *i thimbathimba,* the place of dying, and a man is said to die to that place. Opposite the Court House, Tumbou, a sandy spit which runs out into the sea is said to be the causeway (*i kawakawa*) down to Namukalevu. A path of souls (*sala ni yalo*) is believed to be located in the Old Village. This is for Tumbou people only. The resting place of the soul is also called Mbulu (the same word as *mbulu,* to bury); the soul stays there forever, living as a noble. It is said that there is a big village beneath the sea, and that when a man dies the ghosts in Mbulu build him a house there. Levukans have the same dying place as Mbauans.

Emosi says the clan of Naitombo is an exception; while the rest of Valelailai go with Katumbalevu to Namukalevu, the Naitombo people go to heaven. If one of Naitombo were buried the burial party were overtaken by a shower before they could get home.

In the West it is believed that all Fiji including Lau has its dying place in Naithombothombo, evidently a variant of *i thimbathimba.* The place which bears that name is in Mbua, at the western end of Vanua Levu. Some Lauans accept this view. At Naithombothombo lights may be seen in the houses at night and the spirits heard talking like men. An euphemism for [775] dying is: "His clothes have been carried to Naithombothombo."

There is a place in the West called "the dying place of pots" (*na i thimbathimba ni kuro*), because if a pot is broken its double (*yalo*) goes there.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green[1] grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere*.

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana*. If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana*. A thing done by spirits is *mana*. In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana*. A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

775

"Because the house is closed."
"It is not."
"Ghosts are afraid of the dog."
"And when I had no dog?"
"They were afraid of the cat."
"And when I had no cat?"
Silence. "Why are you not afraid when there are two of you?"
"We are bold because we talk."

One night shortly before cockcrow a boy got up and saw what looked like a man going from the assistant-master's house towards the graveyard; he knew it was a ghost because his own hair stood on end, besides the person's kilt was bright. Once we saw a light on the hills: there was much excitement and a discussion took place whether it was a spirit, a man, or a bushfire; at last from its immobility it was concluded it was a spirit. A boy thus describes his meeting with a spirit:

> We were sitting together as it was getting towards evening, when my back was hit by a stone. I thought some one had hit me; but when we set off for the village the spirit came and stooped over the oven and ate the sweet potatoes in the oven. Tuvukapa, an old man, took a spear and hit the *tevoro*, which turned into a spirit. This spirit was like a man, but green like the shade of a reading lamp.

Melaia once asked me if I had ever seen *tevoro* in Europe, "the souls of the dead you know." One night a half-caste who had perished at sea came and sat on Loata's chest so that she cried out and awoke.

The soul of a man that has been slain is called a soul of the slain (*yalo ni moku*). The place where he was killed is feared.

Spirits are believed to strike people. A Lomaloma boy had a scar on his leg which was due to his having been struck by a ghost: one day he was standing in a paddock close to a grave; suddenly he became dizzy, his sight became dim, and he fell; upon reaching home he found his leg was bleeding.

Spirits enter a man and eat him. Some spirits are called devouring spirits (*kalou kana*).

A boy once walked in his sleep. Upon being told of it, he shivered with fright and declared a spirit had entered him. Some men are mad because spirits attack their souls (*valata a yalondra*), they lead their souls astray. There is a madman in Yandrana called Taikiko. He once fell from a tree and wounded his head on a stone. My boy supposed a spirit had entered him; though weak, he could carry big loads; the spirit must carry them. When they heard Taikiko spoke to himself, they said, "Ah! It is plain the spirits are with him." If Taikiko sings or goes round Lakemba some one will die; some say a person will die on the side by which he sets

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

775 out; if a child is about to die he carries the stalk of a coconut bunch or leaf as firewood for the child's death feast.

Formerly a man's relative would enter him, and be embodied in him, (*vakatolo*, having a body), and would prophesy a famine. Of old a man at his death became the god of his son, his soul was the god of his son. The spirits of a medicine (*kalou ni wai*) are the spirits, the man's kinsmen, or whatever it be. Formerly feasts and many things were offered as supplications to the souls of men. If a man were ill, a feast would be offered with the words, "So-and-so is ill, etc." Then prayers would be made over it (*masulakina*) and the name of the father uttered. A house would be built over a grave as a supplication on behalf of a sick child.

The soul of Malani, the second Tui Naiau, "jumped on" (*rikata*, possessed) Mbeteninggalulu, a Yandrana man, who told the people to build a temple for Malani.

One boy was inclined to ascribe anything inexplicable to spirits:

> Turtle fishing with a sucker fish is considered spirit work, because if the fish sought out the turtle that fish must be a spirit, for to a spirit all things are easy; true a horse is obedient to the will of man, but the horse is a man-like animal; but, if you catch a fish and let it go again, will it know you again?—If a cock crows at the wrong time it is due to spirits. Perhaps developing negatives has to do with spirits.

The following animals were enumerated by boys as being spirits: the kingfisher (*sethala*), the black ant (*kandi*), the *mburongo*, the *sise*, and the owl (*lulu*).

It is believed that the spirit enters the body of an animal in order to attract man through his curiosity and to overcome his soul, rendering him mad and causing him thus to follow the ways of spirits.

Deities

INTRODUCTION

96 The word *vu* may best be rendered by the French word *souche*, it means the stem of a tree, the base, origin, cause, reason. It is added to the word *tevoro* or *kalou*, and the expression *tevoro vu* is defined as "the origin of the land, whence men originate", (*a vu ni vanua e vu kina a tamata*). The word is sometimes used alone, or in the expression *vu ni vanua* (origin or ancestor of the land). These gods however are constantly spoken of simply as *tevoro*, *timoni*, or *kalou*, and the word *vu* is only used to make it plain. I have some doubt in fact whether the world is strict Lauan. The Polynesian word *tupua* is largely used instead of *vu*, especially in the Southern Islands.

Temples are called *mbure kalou* (spirit halls), or simply *mbure*. As none is extant I must refer to Williams (18). His drawing of Nautuutu how-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 757
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 782
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

[775] Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Nai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

388 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandra-
vandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41)
737 in the lagoon and abandoned (*seno*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi

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Kambara

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after child-
birth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness.
783 Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

774 The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

[761] Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient
recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul
771 goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the
775 dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

775 There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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775

Thimbathimba of Fulanga is at Vatu Iri, a rock on the beach south of Muanaithake. There the soul stands on the sand near the rock, and if he is of the chief group he calls, "Lele mai na mua vesi" (Carry me home, canoe of hardwood)! A noble calls for a canoe of greenheart because on earth he has used the chiefly canoe of the dark wood of the greenheart. Then a hardwood canoe in the form of a dark wave comes and carries the soul to Nai Thombothombo. A soul from the lower class also goes to Nai Thimbathimba, but he calls, "Lele mai na mua uto" (Carry me home, canoe of soft wood)! A commoner calls for a canoe of soft wood because he has used such a canoe on earth. Breadfruit (*uto*) is a light-colored, soft wood. A canoe made of soft wood in the form of a light wave comes and takes the commoner's soul to Nai Thombothombo. As the soul departs the widow of the deceased sees the smooth trail of the canoe and pours oil onto the water.

Kalo of Fulanga, who belongs to the sea people, says that souls from Muanaithake village go to Tetesawa, a rock at the end of the beach. From there they jump into the water. A smooth water path forms between the waves so that the soul can pass on the same day through Salia (fig. 2, 42), the passage at the main entrance to the Fulanga lagoon. Kalo does not know where the soul goes afterward but assumes that it enters a fish or something that lives in the water.

Nai Thimbathimba of Ongea is located at a place named Lau on the northwest end of Ongea Levu (fig. 2, 45). Informants on Ongea say that formerly footprints of a man or marks of a crawling child could be seen in the sand there after a death, but they do not know where the souls go from Thimbathimba.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Namuka people is a tree which leans over the lagoon from a small island about 500 meters from the village (fig. 2, 27). From the tree the souls leap into the water and onto a wave. Each time a soul leaves a small branch of the tree withers, so that sailors returning from a long journey know how many Namukans have died in their absence.

Nai Thimbathimba of Mothe is a *sinu* tree in Vanganduku. From there the souls go elsewhere but their destination is not known.

Ono has two Nai Thimbathimbas, one for the souls of the villages of Lovoni and Nakui and one for souls of the villages of Marakawa and Ndoi. Natives say the souls of the first two go to Tuvana-i-tholo, a small island, and from there they go to Mbutundromu, which was later called Mburotu; the souls of the last two go to the island of Tuvana-i-ra and thence to Mburotu.

The legend of Mburotu, an island paradise or land of the dead, located under the sea and filled with beautiful women, is common in Lau. The belief in an island paradise is apparently unrelated to the beliefs of either the early

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

775 inhabitants or the immigrants in Lau. Similar concepts are found, however, in Tonga and other neighboring parts of Polynesia.

The Kambara people say that Mburotu is an island situated between Ono and Matuku. In olden days it was above the water but now it is submerged. The trees, like everything else on this island, are red so it is called Mburotu Kula (Red Mburotu). The island is inhabited by beautiful women so it is called *vanua ni alewa* (land of women). They are clean and light skinned like Tongans and Samoans. The women are spirits who never die. Many men have tried in vain to find Mburotu. In olden days Kumbunavanua, a chief, lived on the island. He had two canoes. He went to Totoya in one while his two sons went in the other to Moala. When Kumbunavanua left Mburotu the island disappeared.

The land people believed in a local abode of the soul after death. According to Moto of Undu, when a man of the Kambaran lower class died his soul went with a hissing sound to Nggara Levu (Big Cave), a burial cave located near the *ngingia* tree. Nggara Levu is the abode of the souls of the early inhabitants. The following tale is told:

> When Ramatau, a man of the lower class who lived near Lomatchi, died he said, "Take me to Nggara Levu." The people took him to the beach and decided to bury him there, but he said from beneath his cover, "This is not Nggara Levu." So they took him to Vatoa because Nggara Levu was far from Lomatchi. At Vatoa he said again, "This is not Nggara Levu." So finally they took him to Nggara Levu.

Moto says he has heard that the souls of the land people went from Nggara Levu to the highest rock on the reef, which is shaped like the roof of a house. He has not heard whether or not the souls of the land people go to Mburotu, but he says that this rock faces Mburotu and is connected with it by means of a submarine coral formation.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Nanga

575 Moto says that the commoners of Kambara formerly had a secret society called Nanga, which was "very, very old" and had ceased to exist before his time. All Moto knew about it was that it was secret and that it existed before the migration from Viti Levu to Lau. No other information regarding the Nanga in Lau was obtained.

A secret society called Nanga was formerly found in a limited area in central and western Viti Levu. According to Fison (7, pp. 14-30) the Nanga was a secret society consisting of three age groups, into which all the males of the community were initiated. The purpose of the society was induction of the grown men into full tribal membership. The rites took place in a sacred rectangular stone enclosure and consisted of offerings to ancestral spirits,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[48]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side. 614 565

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are: 621 614

Vandravua	Lomai Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala Naivikatavio Natambuika Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits. 602 622 766

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are: 621 614

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu Nambulailai Nasea
Matakei	Matakei Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naiviloaloa Nauturoaroa Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god. 602 776

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka. 602

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakawundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

602 776 The *tautu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tautu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tautu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of [197] kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, "*Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!*" (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, "*Tingga, tingga, tingga.*" 524

The others cry "*Mate, mate, mate*" (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Lakemba

WARFARE

FORTS

Few Lauans have seen heathen warfare. Lau did little fighting. 721

War is called *i valu*, which also means battle, army, battalion. It is also called the Evil (Tha), and the expression "the land is bad" means it is at war. Civil war is *veisei* (to migrate apart).

The villages of old were very small, surrounded by a moat. The plan 712
could best be seen at the old village of Waitambu, which was known as Korotikindua (One-sided-village). It stood on a rocky eminence, Vatulinglingi, by the sea. It was rather difficult of access, especially on the sea side, at which there was no moat; on the land side the moat was broad and semicircular, from the middle outwards branched off another ditch, which may possibly have communicated with an outer moat.

Defences seem to have been repaired only when an attack was expected, when a stockade (*viri mba*) was made, and the water bailed out. Besieging parties set up a rough fence of reeds called a white fence because reeds are white. For "besieging" Lauans use *kamba* (to climb).

ORACLES

If questioned about the ancient gods, a man will almost invariably de- 726
scribe how they were consulted before a war was undertaken. The follow- 757
ing account has been received: 776

Upon going to war, the ancient Lauans prepared large quantities of fermented food (*mandrai*)—the whole of Lakemba made a feast for the god Tui Lakemba, and each clan made a feast for its respective spirits. The people offered up a bunch of coconuts in the usual style (p. 70). The priest took them and rubbed them up and down and said:

"What are these coconuts?" They said:

"The coconuts of the war against Thithia. They are impudent. Let us have an answer whether they can be overcome or not."

The priest would say, "All right, I will go on ahead; three of the enemy will die in battle," and as he threw down the bunch, three nuts would fall off, or one or two as the case might be. Sometimes he said, "You will not kill (*ravu*); some of you will die."

It was so with all the spirits. In Waitambu they would offer kava to the Wind Women (Matangi, p. 192); they lay down the kava root and clapped, and touching it said, "We have come, sirs, we who are in distress, because, sirs, of the army which is about to come. Be gracious and help us in the war. That is all we have come to you for." Then they clapped again, inclined the head and listened for an answer. The women said, "Go that you may conquer," at which they all clapped. If the women were angry they would speak evil and rate them: "You will be smitten," at which the people also clapped; they might not be angry with the Matangi.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yanga*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient club of the type called *vunikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *nona langakali a alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

Spirits and Medicine

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevoro*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he
755 is not embodied in it.

757 The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

754 Witchcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Vola declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754
Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 783
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and fore- [824]
finger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [176]
charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

BELIEF IN THE SUPERNATURAL

Spirits

The usual word for spirits is *tevoro* (devil), a word evidently imported 775
by the Tahitian missionaries as *tevolo*. Another word is *timoni* (demon) [177]
which seems to be more particularly a Moala word.

Three kinds of *tevoro* are recognized: *tevoro* proper; souls of the dead; *vu*, or *tevoro vu*, the ancestor spirit (*tevoro vu*) of old; Luveniwai, or Children of Water, which are like men, living in the home.

The word for soul (*yalo*) also means mind, disposition, intention; it 774
takes the suffixed possessive—*yalona*. Reduplicated, it means shadow, reflection in the water, picture; it then takes the *O* possessive—*ona yaloyalo*.

A boy defined the soul as that whereby we live, move, and speak. Some boys place it in the midrib. The boy who defined the soul also thought that it goes away in sleep and returns in the morning; he did not know where it went, "Sometimes we dream that we shake hands with a person, but we wake up and find he is not there; we have shaken hands with his soul. The souls, though not visible, can see one another (*veirai vakayalo*)."

Another boy believes that when a man is weak and about to die, his 763
soul goes away, either by day or night; it dislikes the body because it is nearly dead, and so refuses to stay in it. A soul that wanders away from the body is called *yalo mbula* (living soul) as opposed to *yalo ni mate* (soul of the dead).

It is believed that wraithes sometimes appear shortly before the death of the person, and that if the wraith is called, the person does not die. It is thought that the large green grasshopper (in Mbauan, leaf grasshopper) bears the wraith, and appears to a kinsman when a person is about to die.

It was a moot point whether or not the word *tevoro* applied to wraiths. Wraiths are opposed to true spirits or spirits proper (*tevoro ndina*)—that is the souls of the dead and the *vu*; the true *tevoro* are also opposed to the Children of Water.

The word *tevoro* appears to be used of dead men, not their souls only. 775
My impression is that it is used of the dead lying in the grave, though I 196
have recorded no definite instance. It is sometimes used in the sense of "heathen"; the adjective *vakatevoro* (heathenish) is used of anything which is condemned by the Church from a heathen temple (*mbure vakatevoro*) to free love, which is described as living in heathen style (*tiko vakatevoro*); anything in which *tevoro*, spirits, are concerned is heathenish.

The old word which *tevoro* and *timoni* have displaced is *kalou*, which is 776
now chiefly used to designate the Christian God, sometimes the Fijian gods 196
(*kalou Vakaviti*). The word *kalou* is not now used of ghosts; but when

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere.*

196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana.* If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana.* A thing done by spirits is *mana.* In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana.* A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 782
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai. Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their
782 return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the priest divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him,
793 "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

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Lakemba

Emosi gives Tutumatua as the god (*kalou*) of Naitombo. His name is compounded of *tu* (to stand or chief), and *matua* (old). He is not embodied in any animal.

He is a well known personage and his name is familiar to all throughout Lau. He is a *tevoro* everywhere; there is no place where he has not a seat. He is identified with Ndauthina of Vanua Mbalavu Ndakuwangga of Thakaundrove; a writer (11, p. 172, 1896) identifies him with Komainatavasara of Thakaundrove, Randikendike of Ngau, Rathinathina of Namuka.

Tutumatua is an ancient god who lives on the shore and is often seen.

He has a long penis. If a woman bending forward exposes herself and Tutumatua sees her, and say he is on the reef and she on the hill (about a mile and a half apart), he will have connection with her. Tutumatua was once in Totoya and saw a woman in the sea, busy fishing; he erected his penis; it was a hard as wood. He saw the woman naked, and saw her private parts, and erected his penis, and then patted his testicles. The woman came that way. His penis missed her and struck a stone; where it struck there is a hole; there it is to this day, the mark of the penis as it hit the stone. In a certain island the women were fishing; Tutumatua saw a woman lying in a canoe: he erected his penis; it struck the woman's privates, that she fell into the water and died.

Sometimes Tutumatua looks like a man; he is handsome; sometimes like a boy; sometimes like an old man with elephantiasis and white hair, who walks leaning on a staff. If he is like a boy, there is not as good-looking a boy in Fiji; if like an old man there is not as weak a man in Fiji. If he desires a woman he is a fine man with no one to surpass him; but if he once achieves a woman he changes into an ugly old man. Many women die of it, some don't. He killed Saro of Nasangalau and others.

Seini Otu, a woman of Waitambu, gave me the following account:

Once when I was lying ill in my house, I heard a noise like a whistle, then Tutumatua entered into the foot of a post and kept on calling my name, "Otu, Otu, Otu." He did not cease for a minute, night or day. Nine months he kept assailing me. If I lay down in the daytime he called me. I could do nothing but religious exercises (*lotu*). I read my Bible continually except when asleep. As I kneeled in prayer he called out: "It is false. It is false." I was ill about five months. When I prayed the spirits said, "Amen." I only heard their voices, did not see their bodies. I used no medicine, only religion. There were Tutumatua and others. I alone heard them, not the other people. I know by experience the devil (*tevoro*) is strong, that when the World was created the devils came down from Heaven to inhabit the World.

Ndroka is mentioned by Emosi alone as being the god (*kalou*) of Tandravula. Should a big fire for a feast be built, though all the food in the oven might be burnt, one root would be raw (*ndroka*). It is said this was for Ndroka.

Thekena had as gods (*kalou*) two young girls, known as the Two Children (*koirau na ngone*). One was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha, (Bad).

They are the children of Tui Vakano, a god of Vakano. Their ship is a small bird called *kaisevau*, that bird was the god of Thekena. The two birds sometimes enter a house where there is a sick man; if they fly away and one comes back it is Good, and the sick man will recover; if she does not return he will die. If Good

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TTG carries away anyone (his soul) he will recover; but if Bad carries away a child it will not recover. They once came into the native medical practitioner's house; the people shut the door to kill them, but they could not find them. The Two Children are always about. There are plenty of *kaisevau* about, but only two goddesses (*vu*) are the Two Children. They continually come into the house of Poasa of Thekena. If he is ill they come to see him; in his sleep he sees them standing beside his bed as small girls.

The people of Thekena may not speak of a child in their own clan or the Two Children will be angry and they will kill the child; so the people of Thekena call their children rats (p. 215).

Thekena were the priests of the Two Children. Their house was Nailangombakola in the old village; the name means "the log on which the body of the slain rests," and it is explained that dead bodies used to be offered there, and the name referred to the laying of the body at the door. If a chief ordered a man to be killed, the body was brought and offered up (*vakathambori*) before the door. Bodies were offered to the Two Children because they were goddesses (*tevoro*) and gods were chiefs. If the people were about to go to war, they went to the god's temple and offered up food there (*vakathambo*). The priest would say: "Go ahead; they will be beaten." If an enemy were killed, he was brought and offered up at the door. This was spoken of as taking a thing as *i singana* to the temple. If a child were killed, they would entreat and entreat on its behalf and it would recover; if it recovered they knew the soul had been taken by Good; otherwise it would not recover. The Two Children did not teach any medicine; the priest just said, "Go, all of you; it will recover." Then a big feast (*i mandrali*) was made to offer up at the temple where was the priest, and presented as their thanksgiving, because their wish was accomplished.

The Two Children are the children of the goddesses that go by the name of the Two Ladies (*koirau na marama*), the Two Women (*koirau na alewa*) in various parts of Fiji. In Lau they are known as *koirau a alewa matangi* or simply *matangi;* Lauans interpret *matangi* as the Tongan for wind.

If they desire a man they kill him, for they follow the ways of Tutumatua; if they have connection with a man he becomes pregnant. They appear as white ladies or as Fijian ladies, or as old women; if they desire a man they appear as girls with neatly hanging tresses. They caused the death of four men in Waitambu where they dwell. One Apakuki met the Wind Women among the mangrove trees; they had black skirts on; one had her hair combed in European fashion, and one wore it fuzzy in Fijian style. Apakuki took them for Tongan women; afterwards it occurred to him they might be the Matangi Women; he inquired in the village: no one had seen them, so he concluded they were the Matangi. He was stricken and died after four years.

One man was carrying a letter in Thithia. The two Matangi Women stood by the way; he desired them. The spirits (*timoni*) proposed that they should smoke; the man complied. As they were standing they disappeared in the ground and the man died. A woman in the village went and found him, and came to tell her kinsfolk. They came and carried him to the village.

In some island in Lau is an eel: which if anyone kills, he will die; if it appears it means someone will die in the village.

The god (*kalou*) of Tanggalevu is Ulupoko (*ulu*, head; *poko*, body).

He is all head and no body. His appearance signifies that someone will die. If he bites a person's hand in sleep, the person will die. If Tui Tumbou's eldest son were in Matuku and dreamed that Ulupoko was biting his hand, he would know someone is about to die, and it would come to pass within one or two months. One morning

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Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yanga*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *kamakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 778
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

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sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

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776 Ndauthina is the spirit of Nautu and is also a god of war. His priest at the present day is Eliesa who uses much dreaded medicines which Ndauthina gives him. His abode is in Ndalithoni. Ndauthina is the same as Ndakuwangga, a god (*vu*) of Taveuni.

Ko mai Naisoipu is a spirit in the clan of Mualevu. He is incarnated in a snake. There are many people who dream of him and nearly die of fright.

The god of the island of Munia is Koroimbo. His rafters are made of a fish, the *loulou*; he uses octopus for halyards and his pig is a fish. These abound around Munia.

Ndimailangi is a *tevoro* who is the goddess (*kalou*) of Uruone. The reason why they have her as goddess is this:

One day an old man was working in his sweet potato field in the place which is their graveyard at the present day, when Ndimailangi fell from heaven, and turned into a monitor. The old man said, "That monitor which has fallen I shall roast and eat."

The monitor said, "Will you roast me, or I roast you?" The old man went and seized it and went to light a fire. The monitor said, "Let me live, and I will be your goddess of sailing."

The old man said, "When we sail it is I who am pilot."

She said again, "Let me live and I will be your goddess of wealth."

The old man said, "If we compete in wealth it is I whose wealth is greatest."

The monitor said, "Let me live; let me live to be your goddess of war."

The old man said, "War indeed! See! by my might I have bound you."

The monitor said, "Let me be your goddess of war."

He said, "It is well," and released the monitor.

Ever since Lomaloma never fought, only Uruone slew men; but the nobles of Lomaloma just came and ate the dead men.

The goddesses of the clan Sau in Yandrana, Iloilokula, and Ra Marama, live on a promontory called Nggaraileka in Vuniyavi. No one may go there without cause, or they take him and have intercourse with him; if a handsome man goes they kill him. It used to be forbidden to be impudent near their abode, as by wearing a turban. They appear in human form. Those who consulted the goddesses brought a bunch of coconuts; the priest rolled on the mat, grunting as he did so. The gentlemen said, "Give us an answer," but he only grunted. Then he would assume a woman's voice and lifting up the bunch shake it; if one fell down, it meant a man would be killed.

The clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana has a god called Rereakalou.

He is useful at reed throwing. His name comes from the fact that if a reed thrown by a man of Mbaumbunia lies, the next one, though it come with speed, turns aside on approaching the Mbaumbunia reed; hence he is called The-god-is-afraid. The priest used to touch the patient and he recovered. Fijian gods were true: if a man failed to present the first-fruits to the god, the god made the man's child ill. Rereakalou was incarnated in a dog.

The god of Yawalevu in Yandrana is Tutumatua.

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He was turned out of heaven; he is a fallen angel. He is a brave god; he is fond of women. If they were preparing to go to war they went and twirled the sacred coconut (*vakawiri mandingi*). This coconut was kept in the temple; the people offered it up; then they twirled it, and divined what would happen. If Tutumatua carries off the soul of a man Ananaiasa cures him by touch because Tutumatua is Ananaiasa's god. The temple is Nautuutu. He is incarnated in a white crane.

There is a god Semo in a side of the oven of Yawalevu, who is incarnated in a grasshopper. They say in jest it is a low-born animal because it is small.

The god of Thenu is Eleilakemba.

The *tauvu* of the clan of Mbaumbunia in Yandrana is Lauthala by reason of Rereakalou. Another is Vatoa; the ancestor-god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, especially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

There is a stuffed stone (*vatu sososo*) at Muanivatu at Yandrana.

A man puts a leaf in and says, "Plate of my food, I go to Vakano; let me not be late; let me come in time for the pudding." It is also good for women: "This leaf I stuff in that I may meet the woman I am going to see. May we meet alone in the path to talk." It is no use for fishing. Sometimes it is true, sometimes it does not come true. It is effective (*mana*) through a spirit; a supernatural being (*metha tani*) lives there, a demon, Tutumatua.

Mbatininggaka (Crab's-claw) was an ancestor-god of Narothake, given to planting. In proof of this the following story is told:

Once there was a famine in Lakemba. The ancestor-god of Lakemba went to Kendekende and ate pounded cinders, but Mbatininggaka had breadfruit in Wamalutu. The god smelt the ripe one and looked for them. He was found with a ripe one and driven away. You can still see his footprints. He leapt into the sea and the place into which he jumped became a great pool. His temple was called Valetho (Grass-house).

One man says he was embodied in a *nggaka* crab. If such a crab pinches a man of Narothake in the arm he will die; another says he was embodied in a hawk and they used to salute the hawk. He was the god (*tupua*) both of Narothake and of the nobles of Tumbou.

The god of Lomanikoro, Nukunuku, was Leka (Dwarf); his abode, the frontier; his embodiment, an owl. Formerly a round stone called Vakasaova was worshipped, in Nukunuku, a share of the fishing was put on it. "Doubtless the spirit entered the stone." He was the god of the whole village.

The god of Vandravua, Vakano, is Mbulakambiri, a rat with white stripes. That is why in Vakano the children were called rats, not children. The temple was beside a big chestnut tree; in former times a female rat came out from there followed by her young.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Tui Vakano is the chief god of Vakano; that is why no man was formerly a Tui Vakano; the title was forbidden to men since Tui Vakano dwelt in the Nether Regions (Mbulu). I do not know what clan was priest. He was the god of the village, not of a clan. He is said to have been the child of the High Chief, an abortion, and he came to live in Atapu.

His temple was called Atapu and the battle cry (*i vakathovu*) of Vakano was, "The offering lies in Atapu." He was the father of the Two Children of Thekena. He was a strong god, a fighter; if a god came from some other state it was he who drove him away.

Lewandranu is the goddess (*tevoro*) of the clan of Nakambuta in Nasangalau. It was not certain whether she was Tokairambe's sister or mother. If they were brother and sister, Tokairambe was the elder. She enters into a dog. If she is angry with anyone she makes his child ill.

Thurutangitangi is the god of Nauto-nggumu, Nasangalau, and is embodied in an owl. There is no relationship of *tauvu*.

The god of Ndreketi, Nasangalau, is Mbatingasau. The hawk is his ship like Tokairambe of Katumbalevu. Ramasi supposes that Ndreketi and Katumbalevu are kin, for both are heralds.

The gods of Loma, Nasangalau, are two women called Raluve and Koilasa [? *kuilasa*].

They are flirts (*wendewende*). They still appear. If they like a man they have tresses and look pretty; if they dislike one they are covered with rash. They are dreaded goddesses. They sometimes order a skirt to be made and hung in the house to be their skirt; if anyone takes it he falls ill.

The god of Wathiwathi was Nanduruvesi Raisorovi, also called Weleilakemba; his temple is Nasavanithangi (Temple-of-the-wind). He was questioned if a war or a voyage were preparing; his priest trembled and spoke. Veikau had the same god. No animal of Raisorovi's was known.

The clan of Mataivungalei in Wathiwathi had as god a big stone some five feet high and round, and called Taindreve.

It is surrounded by small stones. If the people of Mataivungalei make an oven they do not remove all the food; for if they do so the big stone comes and embraces (*ronggota*) all the stones in the oven and carries them away. The people dare not go and get them back.

Ulunawale (Head-only) is the god of Tarukua, Lakemba. He is evidently the same as Ulupoko in Tumbou.

Tui Oneata is the god of Oneata. His incarnation is partly snake, partly eel, partly sea-snake.

Once he appeared in the path, was picked up, wrapped in a leaf and placed at the foot of a post. The priest began to shiver and called for hot embers which he ate. When he had finished the snake was not to be found. The priest said Tui Oneata wanted a big feast to be made; it was made and taken to the priest's house, who ate

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *kekewa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *kekewa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *kekewa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 60!
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word "*tauvu*" therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits [776] (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [826] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

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Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. 602
The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging 776
to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might 794
be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko tunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 Ka turua a wai ni sosou. — The milk of the coconut drips.
794 Ka tangi a kena nggolou. — And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta, — The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula, — The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya. — To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits.

The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka, — The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua. — The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduvu* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him.

The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the
794 beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduvu*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduvu* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.

Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

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The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark. 776 794

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri manjingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man. 797

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TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka*, or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[20]

WAITAMBU

776 539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[20] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaiota a tevoro*).

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that is the home of the dead. The two women dislike for the fruits to appear in the world. There are also two *sese* trees which bear fruit. Their other trees which were used for necklaces, the *vono*, the *uthi*, and *nggori* trees are gone, but the *lemba* and red *Dracaena* remain.

The neighboring taro plantations contain the implements of the Matangi: mosquito nets, conch, board for beating cloth, latrine, spring where they wash away their menses; all these are merely the names of little patches of land; the two told the priest to give these names to the fields. Down by the shore below the old village is a broad flat stone which gives a hollow sound when struck: it is also called the cloth board of the Matangi. Another big stone is their mallet; their conch is a stone with a small hole in it, and their kava bowl is a hollow in the rock; and their kitchen is under the overhanging rock.

Inside the Matangi's house in Rakuta there used to hang a basket of food for the Matangi; if any one bumped his head against it, he became bald. Two conches lay on the floor facing each other; they used to be rubbed with oil; bark cloth anointed with turmeric and oil was spread out. If there was a war impending the priest went to see the conches; when he uncovered them they lept as high as the roof, clashed, and fell back into their places.

The Matangi Women are good for war, sickness, all things that men are in need of they bring to pass. It is said at reed-throwing they used to seize the reed and run with it, remaining invisible.

The Matangi Women are always in Waitambu and are called The Two Ladies (*ko i rau a marama*). The name of one is Taindomondomotha, of the other Taindomondomovinaka, Mother of Bad Desire, and Mother of Good Desire. They used to object to the children of Waitambu being called children because of their own two children one of which was called Vinaka (Good), the other Tha (Bad). Therefore Waitambu children were called mice; if any one was called child the Two Ladies came and killed it.

They still appear where the road goes through the taro fields. They appear to this day to young men as young and beautiful girls, to old men as old women. Luke of Rakuta, the grandson of a priest, sometimes hears them laugh and talk. They also appear embodied, one in a pigeon, the other in a duck, or both as pigeons or both as ducks. They are known by their being always in pairs. If any one is ill and they both appear he will not recover. Melaia says their ships are a black and a white crane; which is why the women out fishing when they see a crane cry out, "Hullo! the black bird" (*Vekaveka, a manu uli*), for *uli* in Tongan means black.

The spirit of Nggawaleka is called Ulupoko. It is a head without a body. It rolls about. He lives on a hillock and rolls into the village and makes a thundering noise as he comes. He is embodied in a white dog, as white as a tropical suit, and the tail stands in the middle of its back.

The connection of Waitambu with Mango is accounted for thus: It is said that if the Two Ladies dig taro fields in Mango the muddiness will reach unto Waitambu, to Rakuta, for the water goes underground and comes up in Waitambu with roots of the grass dug up. Even so if they dig taro fields in Waitambu the muddiness will reach right away to Mango. For there is one Holy Spring in Lakemba, and one in Mango, thus: Lakemban Waitambu and Mangoan Waitambu.

Vakano and Waitambu are *tauvu* to one another because of two stones.

A woman of Waitambu, a *tupua*, or ancestor goddess, met the *vu*, or ancestor god, of Vakano on the path between the two villages. She desired him, so they lay down and slept together. At dawn they turned into stone. The two rocks are still to be seen, one on the top of the other in Natuiniika, a gully near Waitambu. The rocks are known as Vatuveivavai or Pick-a-Back Rocks. Others make it a man of Waitambu and a woman of Vakano.

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823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*tu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea; and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

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643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6 Kambara

tion, came to southern Lau from northeast Viti Levu (p. 38). Most clans in this phratry trace their pedigrees nine to twelve generations directly to Ndaunisai (table 2, following p. 32). The group is believed to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, Ndengei, the great snake god of Viti Levu. Ndengei is believed to be the forefather of Ndaunisai. 615 618

Members of the chiefs' phratry are considered to be taller, fairer skinned, less frizzly haired and finer featured, in short more Polynesian in racial type, than the members of the land phratry.

The chiefs' phratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter phratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' phratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors. [565]

The village of Tumbou, Lakemba, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' phratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Mothe and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter phratry (*matai sau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather. [776]

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saumua clan of Undu. The people of Kambara say that the Saumua clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the *lemaki* carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Namuka and Fulanga. Seven generations ago Matakali of the Saumua clan, Undu, founded a chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga which is now a part of the Nggalitoka clan. A chiefs' carpenter line in Fulanga, belonging to the Nasava clan, Muanaithake, also traces its ancestry back seven generations to Matakali of Saumua. As Matakali does not appear in the pedigree of the Undu group, which extends back only six generations, this information cannot be checked. The headman of these three clans (Saumua, Nggalitoka, and Nasava) hold the hereditary clan title of *matai sau*, a ranking island title. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116). 173

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods. 776

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house. 776 539

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*. 776

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another.

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Kambara

575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of 782] new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) 195 are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic 538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are 539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)

Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wanggayko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.

(Drum beats)

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Kambara

CHAPTER I

A HAZARDOUS WORLD

KAMBARA, A FAMINE ISLE

A mate na rawarawa 539
Me mbula—na ka ni thava?
A mate na thenggu.

Death is easy.
Of what use is life?
To die is rest.

Fijian proverb.

SILHOUETTED against the sky, Kambara presents the 133 long, low outline of a basin-shaped limestone island, about 4½ miles long by 3½ miles wide. It is broken at the north-west by a volcanic hill. From the summit of this hill, one sees a world of sky, sea and forest. Below lies the dark green ghoulish jungle, stretching to the edge of the island. It is encircled by a turquoise lagoon, which is framed with a pink and purple coral reef fringed by dazzling white surf. Beyond lies the deep blue sea.

Here and there along the shore are sandy flats covered with 133 coconut groves and brush, and on these flats are situated four 361 villages: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Undu and Tanggu (officially [311] designated Nggalinggali). Tokalau and Lomatchi, half-a-mile apart on the west side of the island, communicate easily along the beach on foot, as do Tanggu and Undu, a mile apart on the east side. Contact is more difficult between the two sides of the island, separated by the rough and thickly forested limestone basin. It can be effected through the bush on two [487] rough narrow trails, or around the island by canoe, and also at low tide on foot. The two sides of the island are separated not only by physical barriers but also by invisible ones, for [776] the jungle and lagoon are 1 peopled with spirits, frequently hostile and malicious.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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Kambara

CHAPTER V

HOW A FIJIAN SEES THE WORLD

WHERE GHOSTS HOLD SWAY

Mana! E....ntchina! A....munduo....A.. ..munduo! 539

Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!

End of a Lauan prayer.

THE LAUANS still live in a world of magic peopled by ghosts, spirits, and the disembodied souls of the living, for the Christian cosmogony, introduced by the missionaries, had a place for local gods. Even today these superhuman beings are just as real as human beings, and play as important a rôle in their lives. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in plants, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in their struggle for success in life, but many are hostile and greatly feared. 776

The Lauans believe that each individual has two souls, one good and one bad. The bad soul occasionally separates itself from the body of a person (who remains unaware of its absence) and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the person to whom it belongs, so that the victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner. The bad soul then lures him into danger, and at times death, and can be discovered only by its ability to vanish into air. 774

One afternoon our native boy, Ravu, went into the jungle to shoot wild pigeons for the evening meal. Although wild fowl are plentiful on Kambara, they are difficult to shoot because they perch in the high tree tops where the fruit grows. Moreover, the floor of the limestone basin is full of pits and so rough that it cuts even the natives' tough feet, calloused as they are

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

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Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
●776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai,* literally meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
●776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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THE DEMONS OF TUVANA ISLAND.

*539 776 "He awoke to the sound of voices, and thought that the people had returned, for it was now dark and he could not see their faces. He called out, and asked them why they had done this thing to him. But only a mocking laugh greeted him, and he heard more clearly the talk, and it was in a strange tongue. Then Tui Liku was greatly afraid and edged nearer to the wall of the house, hiding his face. Thereupon one spoke to him: 'Tui Liku, Tui Liku?' 'It is I, sir,' he replied, in a frightened whisper.

"'We have come for you,' said the voice; and thereupon he felt himself clutched by unseen hands in the dark and dragged outside, where there was a new moon just rising. Then he became very troubled indeed, for he knew that they were the demons of Tuvana; and their leader—whose name I do not know—but who was a little humpbacked man (*Daku-pusi*, 'pussy-cat's backs,' we call them), snatched him up with terrible strength, and, laughing, threw him to one of the others. And this one threw him up in the air and caught him again, and then others came up, and so threw him up and down, as the children play with the *dawa* fruit, all through the night, tossing him from one to the other till he was nearly dead. And as morning

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came, the leader said to him, 'We will not quite kill you now. Go back, Tui Liku, and sleep well to-day, for we will fetch you again to-night.' 539* 776 ●

"Whereupon they all fled, and Tui Liku crawled back wearily to the house at Butoni. Now he was sorely troubled in his mind about this thing; but after sleeping for a while he woke up feeling a little easier, and after he had eaten he thought of a plan to hinder their will. For Tui Liku was a wise and cunning man, sir, as I have mentioned before. So towards evening he gathered great heaps of firewood, and built them up in a ring round the house, and set fire to them, and lay down comfortably to sleep, for he knew that even demons would not venture across such a fire. Presently he woke to the sound of shrill laughter, and to his horror he heard a hissing noise, and saw that the demons had fetched water in big banana leaves from the sea, and had put out a portion of the fire. He tried to edge away, but it was useless, and their leader seized him by the leg and tossed him out to his friends. And that night, too, they played ball with him till sunrise.

"All next day Tui Liku pondered on this matter, and at last he decided to climb into a very high coco-nut tree and sleep there for the night, for he was very weary for the want of sleep. And that night he was again awakened by the

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noise of their laughter; but for a long time they could not find him, and he could see them searching up and down the beach for him. At last one of them said he had a wish to drink, and started to climb the tree for a coco-nut; nearer and nearer he came, and great, sir, was the fear of Tui Liku. Just as the demon reached the top he looked up and saw Tui Liku crouching there. With a loud yell he snatched him out and flung him to those below, who caught him and threw him up again nearly as high as the tree, and then started throwing him from one to the other as before.

"By the morning he was indeed very nearly dead, and great, too, was his need for sleep, but he managed to get as far as Butoni, and slept till the sun was high overhead. He then drank some nuts, and started also to scrape some others for *waliwali* (oil) to rub his bruised body with. Afterwards, when he had made a 'lovo'[1] and eaten, he lay down to think and devise some scheme for the night to come. 'Now,' he thought, 'it is useless to try and hide from these people on land, as they will spy me out anywhere; but as they are demons perhaps they will not be able to pass over water.' Accordingly, he felled a tall coco-nut tree which was overhanging the water's edge, so that it lay with its head far out to sea, gently lifting and falling with the movement of the waves.

[1] A South Sea Island method of cooking with leaves and heated stones.

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He then walked out along the stem, and hiding himself among the leaves of the crown, prepared himself for sleep.

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"Now, sir," said the old man, counting off on his scarred old fingers as he spoke, "this was the fourth night that Tui Liku was about to pass on this haunted island, but he thought that his cunning would get him a good night's rest at last. And, indeed, it was nearly midnight before the sound of their voices wakened him, and they were not laughing as before, but seemed angry and perplexed in their tone. They had, I expect, searched all the island for Tui Liku, and thought that he had truly sailed away. Just then their leader came across the freshly-cut root of the coco-nut tree, and instantly ran along the trunk and caught Tui Liku by the hair. Great was their exultation, and great the sorrow of Tui Liku, for he had not thought that they could pass the water like that. One thing there was that was good, the rest of the night was but short in which they could disport themselves with him.

"Next day, after he had rested a little, he scraped some more nuts for oil, and deep was his thought as to how he should act in the night to come. He had tried the land, the air, and the water; and his mind was empty of another plan. Then he saw some little sand-crabs (*kaiki*) running

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*539 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury
● 776 himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another
[197] thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?"[1]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach,
[226] prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.

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Liku lay. '*Sobo*,'[1] said he, 'here is a large one.' 539*
And with that he thrust in his hand and twitched 776●
out Tui Liku by the nose! Now, the demons did not play ball with him that night, but they made a new game, and raced along the beach, dragging him round and round the island, sometimes through the sea and sometimes through the sand, till Tui Liku thought his end was near. But morning came at last, and with it they threw him with a yell inside the door of the house at Butoni.

"Nearly all that day Tui Liku slept, and late in the afternoon he ate some food and drank some nuts, and then thought what next he might do. 'Truly,' he said, 'there is nothing left that I have not done. There is nowhere now for me to hide. Would that my people from Matokano would come back.' Then he thought again, and went out and brought in five stems of banana trees; for thinking of his own people had given him a plan. Now, these stems he cut to the length of men, and arranged them about the mats to look like men lying down sleeping. He then got in among them and lay down to sleep.

"When it was dark he heard the voices outside as usual, but as they reached the door, he heard one say, '*Sobo*, they have come back again'; and

[1] An expression of astonishment.

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*539 •776 then he heard them creep away and whisper in the distance. Then, after a little, they came nearer again and changed their voices to those of girls, and sang beautiful songs outside, so that never had such sweet singing been heard on Tuvana before. And they sang and sang till at last Tui Liku sat up to listen the better to them. Then one, who had been hiding near the door, said, 'Look. There truly is Tui Liku. The others are not *kai-vuravura* (world-men) or they *could* not still lie there sleeping. It is but another plot of Tui Liku's.' So they rushed in and dragged him out, and this time they threw him nearly from one end of the island to the other. All night long they threw him about, so that when morning came he could hardly move; and he uttered sadly as they left him, 'Another such night as this and Tui Liku will be no more.' He then rolled over and fell asleep, and slept until late afternoon, when he got up and ate some food, and started to oil his aching limbs, his head nodding and his eyes half-closed with weariness as he did so."

THE GOING TO BUROTU.

"Whilst he was doing this there suddenly appeared in front of him 'Ligadua' (the one-armed), who is one of the Lords of Burotu, and is also a protector of the Matokano people.

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"'What is this, Tui Liku,' said he; 'why are you thus sleepy, and why do you look so sad?' 539* 776

"'It is because of the demons of this place, my lord,' said Tui Liku; and he told him what had befallen him. Whereat Ligadua was very angry, and he stepped across to his house (you may see the foundation of it to this day, a *yavu tameri* (a marvellous one indeed), and fit truly for a god. Now, outside his house lies the great Drum named *Sagasagawalé* (all-our-work-for-nothing), about the theft of which from Matokano by the god I will tell you some other day. He rang hard and loud on *Sagasagawalé*, and all the demons of Tuvana came running up at once and sat down in a circle before him. Then Ligadua spoke to them, and was very angry with them, and reproved them, and warned them never to touch Tui Liku again. They hung their heads [201] in silence, and plucked at the grass[1] near them, and were ashamed. Then Ligadua told them to go; and he called up Tui Liku and told him he might use his big house, and that he might wait there for a canoe from Matokano without further fear of the demons. 'As for me,' he said, 'I now go back to Burotu.'

"Then Tui Liku summoned up his courage and asked to be allowed to see Burotu.

"'If I take your spirit with me it may not be

[1] A Lauan method of showing shame.

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*539 able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua,
●776 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the
[554] colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were
[501] the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the
[824] common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

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"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

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houses and everything fair to see. And they came to the great Council House, in which sat the King of Burotu with his Chiefs. Now, the King was the father of Ligadua. 539* 776

"'Welcome home, Ligadua,' said the King. 'Good is your coming from the land of the world-people.'

"'It is good, sir,' said Ligadua; then he added, 'I have a friend from earth waiting outside.' For he had told Tui Liku to wait until he should ascertain the mind of the King.

"'Let him enter,' said the King.

"Then some Burotu people came in bringing *ai vonovono* (offerings) to Ligadua because of his home-coming. They brought two young coconuts on the branch, as is the custom in Lau. Now, these were red nuts, and very fine ones called *Niu Rerega*, such as Tui Liku had never seen before. After this, *Yaqona*[1] was made, and they drank it with all the ceremony proper to Burotu. And when this was over, Tui Liku nudged Ligadua, and whispered that he had a request to make. It was this, that he might take these nuts back to earth with him and plant them there. So Ligadua turned to the King and said, 'May it please you, sir, my *matanivanua* (aide-de-camp) wishes to take these nuts away to plant in his own country.' [276]

[1] Or Kava, the ceremonial drink of the South Seas.

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"'It is well. Tui Liku may take them,' said the King.

"Then Ligadua said that Tui Liku might look round the town, but he was not to enter any house, not even if one of the beautiful maidens beckoned to him, or he would never be able to return to earth again.

"So when Tui Liku had seen all the wonders of the town, and had eaten part of a fine feast at the King's house, he and Ligadua returned to Tuvana again. And Tui Liku planted the *Niu Rerega* at a place called Mataniwai, and they may still be seen there.

"And after a day or so they went back to Burotu once more, and this time Tui Liku brought away the beautiful short coco-nut called *Niu Leka*, whose tree is not much higher than a child, and yet bears its great crop of nuts.

"And twice more did they go to Burotu, bringing back *Miji*, the little bird that flits among the coco-nut trees, and also the seed of the *Qai Kula*, the great almond. And *Niu Leka* and *Qai Kula* he planted also at Mataniwai.

"Now the fourth time they returned to earth Tui Liku was dismayed to see that a *Dilio* (a sandpiper) had been pecking at his body, and had pecked one eye out.

"'*Isa, au vuta*' (I refuse to get back again into

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity. 539* 776

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long." [825]

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And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day. [173]

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku. 174 539*

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One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks, and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly introduced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

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173 *539 a favourable wind from Vualiku,[1] let us return home while we may.' And a farewell feast was made, they launched the canoes, and on the morrow they started back for Ono.

"But that evening at dusk a *tokavuki* (small cyclone) sprang up and great was their alarm. The waves dashed over the canoes and the bailers never ceased their work all through the night. Fiercer blew the wind, and higher climbed the waves. Then shouted Tui Matokano, 'Throw over an offering of *Yaqona* to Ligadua, for it seems our time is near and he alone can save us.' [776] Ligadua, the one-armed, was the god of Matokano; but that, sir, was of course in the dark times, before the *lotu* (Christianity) had arrived," he explained, apologetically. "And he swore that should they ever see Ono again they would make such a *magiti* (feast) and present such offerings to the god as had never before been made. And then the waves began to abate and the winds grew quieter and more favourable, and in the morning they saw in the distance the hill-tops of Ono.

"And so they safely arrived home again, and great were the rejoicings when the people of Matokano saw the fine things that had been brought from Kabara. But Tui Matokano thought not of his promise, for he had many

[1] The north.

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to roll."

"Used to roll?" I repeated; "what do you mean?"

"Yes, sir, he just rolled along the ground. It was said that once there was a great fighting among the gods, and 'Ulupoka,' who was a malicious god, got slain, and his head was cut off and thrown to earth. Anyhow, that is all that appears to us; and it means sickness, if not death, when it is seen. It usually comes at dusk. One is, perhaps, sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees 'Ulupoka' come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look. One cannot get away, but has to sit there, waiting." Here he paused.

"And what then?" I said.

"He bites one's toe and goes away again."

I could not help smiling at the climax, but I could see that the whole thing was very real to the speaker.

"And does he ever appear nowadays?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," was the reply; "but only in our dreams, of course, for the *lotu* is the strongest now. And also there is another way we may know

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when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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226 Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught
796 at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming
* 539 was as follows," he went on. "There was a
773 goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama*
● 776 *rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776●

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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when by herself. And one day Kubu-ni-vanua heard her weeping, and flew over to Tonga, and asked her what it was that troubled her. Then she said, 'Take me back to my home at Moala. I do not like this land. It is dry and bare, and there is very little food, and not even fresh water to drink. (For Tungua was like many of the Lau Islands in that it had no water; though Moala, as you know, sir, had always fine running streams.)

"'I cannot take you back to Moala,' said Kubu-ni-vanua, 'but I can bring you water, and perhaps even some Dalo for food.' At this she looked up and smiled, and Kubu-ni-vanua felt that he must do this thing for her at once.

"So he flew back to Moala and went to the place called Matamatakalou, which is near to Cakova town, and he took a great Dalo leaf and twisted it into a cup and filled it at the spring there. Then he flew off again with it to Tonga and left it on the ground outside the house of Roko-vaka-ola. And in the morning when she went out she found a beautiful spring just outside her door, with water clear and bright and very cold; and by the side of the spring, where the Dalo leaf had lain, there were already some fine Dalo plants growing up. Then was Roko-vaka-ola happy indeed, and from that day she ceased to pine.

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*539 773 776 "And this, sir, is a curious thing. You will find exactly the same sort of trees and shrubs at Tungua as you will find round Matamatakalou; and further, only at Tungua in the whole of Tonga will you find these things."

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the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness, though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

"In the days before the first foreign ship came to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ra, an island to the north of Fiji.

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and in course of time they had two children, boys of great beauty and strength. So powerful were these boys that they were wont to pull up the *mamakara* trees by the roots to make their clubs of, which, as you know, sir, is not a thing to be done by the men of to-day. And when they played it was their custom to divide the island between them, and, standing at the two ends, to throw pebbles from one to the other in their sport, for they had no *dawa* fruit in those days to play with, as boys on other islands have. And Rasikilau looked on them with pride.

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"But there came a day when the boys disputed about a fish that they had caught, and their spirit grew hot within them, so much so that one of them took up a big stone and threw it at his brother in anger. And then they started to heave mighty rocks at each other from afar off, but the great stones merely burst against their heads where they struck. Thus it has become a saying amongst us, 'As hard as the heads of Rasikilau's children.'

"But Rasikilau had come upon them suddenly through the trees, and had observed all this, and great was his fear as he saw it. For, thought he, if my sons are strong like this when they are still but boys, they will surely overpower me when they grow up, and cast me out of my island. So, without further thought, he rushed in between

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*539 them and catching each by the hair he dashed
773 their heads together, and they fell down dead.
776 "But after he had done this his heart was troubled within him, and going home to his wife, he said, '*Sobo!* A dreadful thing has just happened. Our sons have learnt to play with stones, and but now they have slain each other in anger with great boulders.'

"Loud was the wailing of the mother, and she refused to be comforted; and for many days she stayed in the house, only going forth each morning to tend the graves of her sons. And Rasikilau was sad at heart when he saw this; but he kept silence as to what he had truly done.

"Now, one day, Koroibo, the god who lived on Munia Island across the lagoon, heard of Rasikilau's troubles, and came across in a canoe to see him and bring him gifts. And when he landed on the beach he saw the *mamakara* trees for the first time—for he had none on Munia. '*Isa*,' said he, 'this is a fine shady tree to sit under, and the timber of it seems to me to be as fine as any wood I have yet seen.' And his longing to have the *mamakaras* for his own grew great within him.

"So he devised a scheme, and in the evening, after they had fed, he said to Rasikilau, 'Oh, Tui Cikobia (for he was also called Lord of Cikobia), if you had had the *dawa* trees on your island this evil would never have happened, for

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your children would have only thrown the soft fruit at each other, as other children do. And if you should have more children it is plain that the same thing will happen again.' 539* 773 776

"'True are your words, Koroibo,' replied the other. 'But what can I do? I have no *dawa* trees on my island, and where can one procure such things in these parts?'

"'My spirit is heavy within me for thinking of you, Tui Cikobia,' said Koroibo; 'and I, who have *dawa* trees will make you a present of all of them; and you shall give me your *mamakara* trees to take to Munia.'

"'So be it,' said Rasikilau. And forthwith they made the exchange, mixing a bowl of *Yaqona* to seal the bargain.

But of little avail to Rasikilau were the *dawa* trees, for his wife refused to be comforted, and soon afterwards she died. While Koroibo quickly lamented the loss of his fine fruit, and to this day he sits sorrowfully beneath his *mamakara* trees; and sometimes you may hear a sigh as you pass a cluster of them in one of the valleys of Munia. For never again did the *dawa* grow on Munia Island or the *mamakara* on Cikobia."

"But are these gods never seen nowadays?" 776
I asked.

"No," replied the old lady, a little doubtfully. "Have not the missionaries brought the light of

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776 the good *lotu*[1] to us now? Of course there is Adi Mailagi, the goddess of Uruone district," she added, cheerfully, "who used to appear up till a few years ago; and then there is Daucina, who lives a little way down the coast; but all the other gods now only show themselves in their *waqawaqa*[2] as birds or animals or fishes. They are people of the dark times, and they fear the missionaries," she recited somewhat primly, as a child saying a lesson.

I am afraid I smiled a little as I hastily agreed with her, and then I asked her to tell me about Adi Mailagi.

*539 "Adi Mailagi," she began, picking up her
776 palm-leaf fan and coyly plucking at its border, "was a goddess who was very fond of young men, especially if they were handsome. But evil was the day when a young man met Adi Mailagi, for she snared his soul as the women net the little fish at the rising tide. Any man who had once succumbed to her embraces would pine and pine away until he died of longing for her, and then his soul was hers and evil was his fate.

"The way of her first coming to these parts was as follows: All the men of Uruone were one day planting out their *dalo* in the water terraces to the north of the village, and the women had just brought them up their mid-day meal, when

[1] Religion or Christianity. [2] Earthly representations.

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suddenly a rushing noise was heard in the sky and a small speck was seen high up, which grew bigger and bigger till they could see that it was indeed a goddess falling to the earth. Down she came, straight into the little creek that lies below the terraces and is known as Na Kele Kele. With a loud cry she jumped to the bank, and called out '*Bula koi au. Au lutu mai lagi*,'[1] and then disappeared. And all that the people could see was a large grey rat running along the path to Daku, at the back of the island. Hence she is called 'Adi Mailagi,' the Lady from the Sky.

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"And the next day the rat was seen again by some men at Udu, which is a part of Daku, and it spoke to them, so that they knew it for Adi Mailagi, and were much afraid. And her home has been at Udu ever since.

"When she wants to snare a man she appears as a beautiful princess; but when she meets a woman, or a man whom she does not desire, she does not trouble about her appearance, and she then shows herself as an old hag, horrible to see. She likes not noises near her home and all must speak in whispers when passing by.

"Once the Uruone men were bringing back a great wooden drum which they had hewn out at Daku; and when they arrived at Udu they decided that it was too heavy to carry over the

[1] "All is well with me. I have dropped from the sky."

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*539 hill without further help. So they left it there for
●776 the night. Now, a young girl named Sulia Meli chanced to come along past the spot where the drum was lying, and out of mischief she picked up the staves and rang a loud call upon it. Immediately Adi Mailagi came out of a tree as a terrible old woman, and snatched her up and broke her leg, so that shortly afterwards Sulia died.

"Yes, truly, Adi Mailagi is one to be feared," said the old lady, shuddering at the vision she had herself called up.

"More often," she continued with a smile,
[302] "she appears as a beautiful maiden, and always with the *tobi*,[1] as when she appeared to Emosi, the native minister, when he was walking one day to Daku. She offered him a *suluka* (for that is how she captures a man); but though he accepted it he refrained (being a missionary) from smoking it. And thus Emosi lived, although a great illness came upon him merely for his having touched the gift of Adi Mailagi. And therefore to this day our young men will never accept *sulukas* from strange maidens on that road between Uruone and Daku.

"And another young man who met Adi Mailagi and yet lived was Semesa of Uruone, who once went to sleep with the other youths in the men's *bure*,[2] and during the night found himself

[1] Plaited side curls which are cut off the day a girl is married.
[2] Sleeping house.

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carried in the mat he had rolled himself up in because of the mosquitoes, to the top of Delai-dradramua Hill. Sorely was he troubled on opening his eyes just before cock-crow to see the stars above him in the open sky; and his father took great gifts to the home of the grey rat to ask the mind of Adi Mailagi as to this thing. But the only answer was 'Semesa is free—let him live'; so that we never really knew what was the meaning of it. For always is she hard in in spirit and one to be feared.

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"Often does she take the shades of quite small children away with her in her palm-leaf basket, and then the children themselves fall sick in their homes; and unless their shades can escape from her and run home again those children must surely die.

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"Tui Merike, the deaf-mute of Oneata Island, is known to you, sir—a man but ill-favoured in countenance and to whom, therefore, Adi Mailagi once appeared in the guise of an old woman; yet he escaped and is alive to-day. The tale of it runs thus: He was slowly riding at dusk one day on his pony from Loma Loma to Mualevu, when from behind a tree that he had just passed near Uruone town there came an evil-looking dame who called out, 'Whither goest?'

"At this the pony shied furiously and sweated with fear, so that Tui Merike knew that it was indeed the goddess, and without replying he

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urged on his horse to a swift gallop. But fast as he rode, just as fast came the noise of the goddess moving along the track behind him; and on his looking round he was horrified to see that the thud, thud on the ground, like the beating of hoofs, was the noise of her aged breasts tapping along the path as she ran. With a mighty effort his horse flew past the bridge at the borders of Mualevu town, and then Adi Mailagi gave up, calling after him, 'Beware, Tui Merike, 'tis only your speed that has saved you this time." (I did not venture to inquire how it was that a deaf man had heard all this, and the old lady continued.)

"There was also a man called Josefa, who had seen Adi Mailagi, and did not suffer any evil therefrom, because he surprised her, instead of her laying in wait for him, as is her usual custom. At Vatukalove, just beyond the Government Station, there is a sharp corner of the coast-road which is well known to you. At this spot Josefa, suddenly coming round the bend of the road, came upon Adi Mailagi sitting pensively on the ground, with her tongue hanging out, about four feet in length, and trailing along like a snake. She screamed as he came upon her, and as quick as a lightning flash she leaped into the water and swam out to sea for quite a mile, and then came in again to land at a place lower down the

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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him. 539* 776

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food. [782] [526]

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe [763]

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

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*539 *did* die (this was in the bad days of the measles,
● 776 sir), that Tui Uruone thought he would stay the deaths by killing the rat. So he went forth with some of his men to Daku, and cut down the two trees; but the rat escaped, and is sometimes seen even now. But Tui Uruone himself died soon afterwards."

A young man here came in with a coco-nut cup brimming with a refreshing draft of *Yaqona*; and after we had both partaken and lit more *sulukas*, Adi Letila continued her story.

*539 "I have spoken, sir, of Dau Cina, 'the god of
776 the flickering light.' Perchance you may have
821 seen on certain dark nights a faint light that wanders about between Na Malata Island and the mainland, sometimes moving up and down the hill-sides of Na Malata, and anon dancing across the narrow strait till it settles down in the gorge near the spring of heated waters. This is the light of Dau Cina, or Tutumatua; and woe betide our maidens who cross his path when he moves abroad. He is an evil-minded god, and
*539 the mission preachers of our race oft declaim
776 against him," she continued, and a little smile crept to the corners of her mouth as she aimlessly traced patterns with her finger on the mats, "for it sometimes happens that upon Dau Cina do our maidens cast the blame when all is not well with them. Yet, perhaps, it is not always Dau Cina.

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Who knows? Yet 'tis well remembered how Dau Cina appeared to the daughter of Tui Yaro as she was scraping *masi*[1] at the stream by Koro Korokoti. What happened there is not for me to tell you, sir, but that day all the men of the town came out in their rage to kill Dau Cina, who fled before them, and flew off across the seas to the Moala Islands. And many strange things befell him there—things that I may not speak of—until one day he was worsted by a girl of Nasoki village, and fled back again to this island, where he has remained ever since. Yet there was one day when he ventured across to Munia Island; but while there he annoyed Koroibo in an unseemly manner, and was so cast forth from there. Ah, Dau Cina was indeed an evil god, and 'tis well the missionaries have brought the light to us."

But for all Dau Cina's sins I am afraid the old lady kept a warm corner in her heart for this naughty god, and there was a twinkle in her eye as she re-lit her *suluka* and proceeded.

"There was an occasion, however, on which Dau Cina proved himself all-powerful against the chief god of Mualevu district. They met by chance on the coast at the place called Na Lele—where Wea the Tongan now has his coco-nut grove—and there Dau Cina challenged the other to

[1] Bark from which native cloth is made.

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*539 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot
● 776 where Na Malata faces this island, and which
823 was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers,
776 and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and
[793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

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he, 'to strike the serpent of Dau Cina; I, who am the *bété*[1] of the god as my fathers have been before me. Some evil will surely come of this.'

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"However, they went their way, and before long the matter was forgotten. And so they reached Futuna; and after their evening meal they went to sleep in the *volau*[2] that Lilo had built to store his copra in. And in the middle of the night they heard a great *Kumete*[3] that lay outside roll over of its own accord, for no one was to be seen; and then they heard strange moanings, and the lips of Tui Qara spoke, but the voice was not the voice of Tui Qara; and the words were these: 'I, Dau Cina, who speak, am about to slay you, Tui Qara! My priest are you, yet you have flaunted me. Death shall be your food.' Then Tui Qara groped about and snatched up a big flaming brand from the fire, and started crunching it between his teeth, and biting off great chunks of it, his eyes rolling round in a manner horrible to see.

"He then called out for a bowl of sea-water to quench his thirst, but Aca was filled with a great fear and ran away. Tui Qara lay for two months in the village of Mavana, sick nigh unto death; but at last his health returned and he lived for some years afterwards. But he never spoke again of the doings of that night at Futuna."

[1] Priest. [2] Rough palm-leaf shelter. [3] Wooden trough.

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*539 A little shiver passed over the old lady as she
123 finished speaking, and on looking out I saw that
●776 the lengthening shadows of the trees had reached to the house door. She took up a sheet of *tappa*[1] to put about her shoulders, and I rose to go, thanking her for the entertainment she had given me.

"'Tis but a little telling of our ancient stories," she said; "and there are many more that come into my mind. Should you come again there are certain tales to be told of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of eastern Fiji; and of Ulumatua, the serpent, who was the eldest son of Dengei himself; but I cannot now remember things as I could in the days gone by. I am getting old, I suppose, and my death is not far off," she added calmly.

And so I left her, the tales of the old gods still
[788] ringing in my ears, while as I passed through the village the chant of evensong and family prayers came from the houses of devout Lauans, whose fathers, perhaps, and whose grandfathers, without doubt, had brought offerings with fear and trembling to those same gods of whom I had heard that day.

[1] Native cloth.

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THE SHARK-GOD AND THE FATHER OF SERPENTS.

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THE night was dark and my footsteps had been unnoticed as I neared the end of the wooden jetty that lies off the little town of Loma Loma, and thus, during my evening stroll, I had come unnoticed upon a small group of natives intently looking at one of their number who was fastening something to the under-structures of the wharf. I distinctly heard the word "Dakuwaqa" as I approached; but just then one of them saw me, and, looking a little uncomfortable, they all stepped on one side as if to show me that there was nothing there that anyone might not see. I casually asked what they were doing, and one of them replied, without hesitation, "We are just about to start fishing, sir"; so thinking no more of the matter I wished them luck; and after an interchange of "good evenings" started back for home. But as I walked along the beach under the shadows of the scented, overhanging trees, the tales of old Adi Letila recurred to my mind, and I determined to ask some one

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in the morning whether, even at this day, the ancient heathen observances of Dakuwaqa,[1] the shark-god, still lingered among the people.

I had noticed one of my policemen among them, and next morning, after a few questions on other matters, I said, "By the way, Apenai, what was that little talk of Dakuwaqa I heard among you men at the wharf last night?" Apenai looked a bit confused, and then replied, "Oh, no, sir; I had nothing to do with that. I had only just arrived when they started to lower the *Yaqona* to Dakuwaqa. They are *lialia*[2] to do such things in these enlightened times. It is true, sir, that this morning it was found that the *Yaqona* had been accepted and taken away; but, perhaps, it was not Dakuwaqa after all. No one believes in Dakuwaqa nowadays." But, for all his protests, I firmly believed that my trusty constable had had more than a passing interest in the little tribute to Dakuwaqa, and I decided to ask Adi Letila to tell me more of this mysterious creature, the shark-god who patrolled these waters and disturbed even the official minds of "the force."

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That afternoon I found the old lady just putting away her stencilling outfit of cut banana leaves and *kosa* dyes; for she had had a busy day, for all her seventy odd years, at designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of

[1] Literally, the hull or back of a ship, implying his enormous size.
[2] Foolish.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time.

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl.

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about.

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

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which no fish could resist, and that thus had he obtained over-lordship of all the fish in the seas. Now, Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of Cakaudrove, was the ancient king of all fish, and he knew that unless he could get these magic hooks from Tokairabe the fish around Lakeba would no longer *vaka rorogo*[1] to him. So he set off for Lakeba secretly and stealthily as was his wont, moving like a dark shadow through the waters, and for three days lay off the coasts of the island waiting patiently for his chance. And on the third day he spied upon the beach at Na Tuvu a young man about to bathe, and this young man was none other than Tokairabe.

"And Tokairabe was wearing as a *salu salu*,[2] shimmering in the sun, a beautiful string of shell fish-hooks, the magic hooks which Dakuwaqa so greatly coveted. And still Dakuwaqa waited. But when Tokairabe's feet were off the bottom and he was altogether in the home of Dakuwaqa, the god of the waters dashed in and seized the necklace and swam off furiously to the north, his great sail[3] spread above him proudly for all to see.

"Then Tokairabe gave a great cry, for his *salu salu* was very dear to him, and his heart was sore at losing it. And Tui Vutu, his friend, heard the cry from his home at Na Vutu-i-cake, and,

[1] Acknowledge him chief. [2] Necklace. [3] Triangular fin.

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assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things. 539* 776

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove. 101 175 776 648

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner 776 825

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

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776 825 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

262 825 776 [201] "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

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that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs.

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts.

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But

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*539 Ulumatua was well content with this place, and
●776 chose for his home a cave on the hill-top looking over the plain where now stands Loma Loma town.

"No one alive to-day has seen Ulumatua himself, but his priests used to say that he was of immense size, truly a god indeed; and once, as a small child, while rambling on the hill-top in the twilight, I saw his family of little serpents, ten in number, disappearing into his home, bearing with them a *solevu* of *yau*.[1] My parents thought I lied about this thing," she added, smiling; "but I verily believed at the time that I saw the gifts they carried. Who knows? To-day we see the marvels which you white chiefs have brought—the box that talks, and the big steamships—truly as wonderful as the thing I saw.

"Ulumatua was not only a serpent of a size fearsome to see, but he was unlike all others inasmuch as his tail was rounded and ended bluntly (like the tail of Misi Bamani's white dog). So
[793] at least was he described by Moto Loki Loki of the Lewega tribe, who was the hereditary priest when I was a child. It was Moto's duty to enter the cave at certain seasons of the year with offerings, and to anoint Ulumatua with scented oils, rubbing him with them as a chief is rubbed

[1] A ceremonial presentation of gifts.

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before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.

[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.

[3] Of common origin.

[4] Battle-cry.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga,* a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

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The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

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The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

[731]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The village of Lakemba is said to be hard to beat at cricket, because it is the dwelling place of Roko Sau. 643 778

Lakemba is called *a yatho,* "one that has arrived," because it is the place where Roko Sau dwells.

One informant draws a picture of an ideal chief: 643

> Of old, Tui Naiau was as our father. If people wanted manufactured articles they went and begged of him. The people of Lakemba went to the nobleman on whom they leaned for support, and he would take them with their small feast to Big House. It was hard for the chief to refuse a thing: all the food brought to him was distributed among them all.

The chief's dues were described by the following terms: 643 651

> If a chief wanted a thing he told a village to do it. This is called *lala.* [May be translated as requisition, statute labor corresponding to the Sinhalese *rajakariya,* "King's work."] The chief had to feed the people who worked for him, and the feast so made was called *otho.* Formerly a chief killed himself with work on account of his requisitions because he had to attend to the men who came to do statute labor for him.
>
> The *vatongia* of Tui Naiau is defined as "making feasts, statute labor, house building." Formerly, it consisted in planting once a year; for the rest of the year there were only feasts.

The *vakathavathava* is somewhat vague because the Tongans changed so much. It was said to have been a big feast once a year. Each village in turn brought a feast. The term is now used of taxes.

MINOR CHIEFS OF TUMBOU

The head of each clan usually bears a title, which, like that of the High Chief, tends to pass from elder to younger brother. A clan is more commonly designated by the title of their head than by its name. Thus the clan of Narewandamu is usually spoken of as the heralds, or envoys to Mbau. 614 624

The name of the clan of Vale Lailai means the little house as opposed to the Big Door. Two divisions of Little House, namely Tandravula, now extinct, and Narewandamu, are called *mata ni vanua,* "Face of the Land," a term which I propose to translate "heralds." They are the "speech of the nobles." They receive or present food and stuff at feasts and are generally masters of ceremonies. These functions are called *veinggaravi,* from *nggara* "to face," "attend on," "serve," all meanings derived from the fact that in a ceremonial two parties always face one another. The heralds are also envoys to Mbau, and are oftener addressed as Matakimbau than as Matanivanua.

Katumbalevu proper are "indoor heralds" (*mata ni vanua i vale*). They

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Malani was young the people used indifferently *kalou* and *tevoro* of the souls
196 of the dead; if the soul of the dead man came they said, "So-and-so has come as a *kalou* (*vakalou*)." The *tevoro vu* are frequently called *kalou vu* to the present day. The Children of Water were formerly known as *kalou rere.*
196 It will be seen that the words *kalou, tevoro, timoni,* do not correspond to any single word in our language. I shall therefore translate them ghost, spirit, god, elf, heathen, as the context may require. As for the word *turanga,* a definiteness may be introduced which is not in the original. A Fijian often would be at a loss to say to which class he is referring.

Miracles

778 The word *mana,* like almost all roots, can be a noun, an adjective, or a
196 verb. It describes supernatural efficiency. Tui Tumbou gives the following explanation of the word: "A *mana* thing is a thing which was from the beginning and is *mana*; as for a spirit (*tevoro*) thing, if we speak to it, then the words of the spirit do *mana*; but if it does not come to pass they do not *mana.* If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if not true then it is not *mana.* A thing done by spirits is *mana.* In the Solomon Islands things *mana* because they were from the beginning. In Fiji they don't *mana*; they do *mana* once, but if another man uses them they don't *mana.* A Fijian medicine does *mana* if it works; it does not *mana* if it does not work."

The word *mana* is also explained as *yanga,* useful, effective. The opposite of *mana* is *ndai* which means to lie, to deceive, to be strong, to disappoint expectation.

The suffix *ta* makes *mana* transitive, in which case it means to act upon, to affect, as in the phrase: "*A thava e manati iko*" (What ails you?).

Ghosts

775 Ghosts live about graves; in fact a boy defined a grave as a place where ghosts abide. There were several graves within the school grounds so ghosts were quite common there, and much feared, so that people kept away at night. Ratu Finau sent word to my assistant not to go down at night alone to the village as the nobles were buried about there and might do him harm. One boy was afraid of cutting firewood near the graves lest the ghosts smite him; another attributed a swelling in his eye to a ghost from the graveyard among the ironwood trees. They did not like going alone at night because of ghosts. "How is it," I said, "I never see any one?"

"They are afraid of your lantern."

"Sometimes I do not take one."

"Oh! white men if they see a ghost say it is a man."

"Why do not ghosts come into my house at night?"

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Sera, Tui Tumbou's wife got up and said: "I saw Ulupoko; he would not stop in 776
Nggio's house, but wanted to come with me, and got on my shoulder." Some time after Nggio died. If anyone sleeping in Tui Tumbou's house dreamed that Ulupoko jumped on his neck, he would go to another house.

Ulupoko's temple was Nggaraniyalisa on Kendekende and in the old village. He was effective (*yauga*) in war and in sailing. If a canoe of Tumbou was anchored and a strong wind blew, the owners would go to look at the anchor pole; if they saw a crab of the kind called *komakama* holding the pole to which the canoe was anchored they went away and did not worry. This crab is the embodiment of the god, and the people of Tanggalevu might not eat it.

Tui Vutu is the god of Tuware. He lived formerly at a banyan tree in Vutu and blew his whistles; this ceased when the tree was cut down. His temple was Nakaria. He was a god that originated in Lakemba. Tui Tumbou knows of no animal belonging to him; Emosi says it is the owl.

He of Natavasara was a god (*tevoro*) of Thakaundrove; he was called so because if a man were caught he was immediately cut up (*tava sara*). Some identify him with Kumboavanua of Moala.

One day Tokairambe, going to bathe at Navutoka, took off all his ornaments—shell comb, collar of whale's teeth. The god of Thakaundrove came and carried them off. Then Tokairambe wept: the meaning of those riches was subjection. Tui Vutu came down to salute Tokairambe. "Who's that going away there?" he asked Tokairambe.

"He has taken away my ornaments," said Tokairambe, "if you can overcome him go after him."

Tui Vutu ran after him, and overtook him in Muairisi near Nasangalau or in Wanggatalatha. Tui Vutu called after him, "Eh! you are carrying away our ornaments."

"Yes."

"Leave them. What can you do? Fighting with the club or with the spear?"

"Let us not fight," said the god of Thakaundrove, "let us stretch up to the sky and see who is longer."

"All right," said Tui Vutu, "stand up first." So he of Natavasara stood up and reached the sky, and bent his head down.

"Have you done?" said Tui Vutu.

"Yes."

"All right; my turn to stand." Tui Vutu stood up, reached the sky, bent down to the earth, bent up again till he reached the sky, and bent his head down. The Thakaundrove man said, "You've won; take your ornaments. I am going back to Thakaundrove." Tui Vutu took the ornaments, came back to Tokairambe, who was bathing in Navutoka, and gave him the ornaments.

"You're a man," said Tokairambe, "the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) is yours. That is why Tuware is the spirit battalion: it is they who go first in war and reed-throwing.

The name of the god of the Lemaki family is not known, only that he was a dog and that the Lemaki could not eat dog nor see one eaten. Should the Lemaki learn that a dog had been baked, after the dog had been taken out of the oven he would put leaves in it, lie on them, and be buried up to the face.

The temple was called Manono. If anyone stole anything the owner 778
brought kava to the old men in the temple. After the kava had been pre-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

775 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1 Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

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776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

●778 [782] In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. 769 618 [771 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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769 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the
778 clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and
618 tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726
539]

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Toko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewa matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
346

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i·lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

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circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 575
the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by [349]
Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social [557]
order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government [648]
has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability [778]
> to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the 776
> cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils." 575

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the 575
bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses [785]
his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They
jump, dance, and club one another.

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part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a log or by a curtain of Fijian tapa. The couch is rarely used to sleep on. The owner and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*yambe ni mothe*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau. 352 513 352

Wooden headrests (*kali*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house. [778]

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i tavitaviraki*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a pile has been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, row upon row. A roof broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick. 352 618 [436] 356

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, *C*), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vala vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong 342

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
● 778 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance
793 was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

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Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three years."

"Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe) that catch the sacred fish. And the catching of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*. Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

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*539 773 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka*,'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And after that the stone was set up on end and left [753 778] there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai, Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 782 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the priest divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 793 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him, "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala. 539

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall. 782

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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776 The hamlet god of Nggilo (Muanaira group) was Mainggilo.

All the hamlet gods mentioned above, except Tapaso, god of Nanggara, recently introduced from Tonga, are spirits which have never lived on earth, rather than ghosts. Besides Nanggara, at least two ranking clans of the land group have ghosts rather than spirits as gods. These are Kamali (p. 111) of Mothe and Vunikoro (p. 111) of Fulanga. It is probable that through contact with the immigrants recently introduced ancestor gods have superseded the old spiritual beings of these groups. Whether all the gods of the early inhabitants were spirits is not known. It is probable, however, that the land people like many Melanesian groups, emphasized the worship of spirits rather than ghosts, while the immigrants, with their highly developed, Polynesian-like ancestor cult, worshipped ghosts almost exclusively.

778 In times of trouble such as a drought or hurricane the land people worshipped at sacred places (*na sava*) such as sacred caves (*nggara kalou*), sacred [782] stones, and sacred trees, such as the *ngingia* on Kambara. I found no evidence of the presence of god houses (*mbure kalou*, p. 112) before the advent of the chiefs' group.

The main sacred cave of the Kambara land group is the Nggara Kalou (Cave of the God), located in the bush near Undu. In the cave are conch shells sacred to the *kalou*, god of the land people. Concerning the *kalou*, Moto of Undu stated:

> The highest spiritual being of the land people was the *kalou*. He was the source of all mana and as such was worshipped by the land people. Mana was the *kalou* expressed. He was not confined to any one place. He moved about like a mist in the jungle or over the sea. He could not be touched because he had no body. He had never lived on earth nor had human form. He could be contacted most easily in Nggara Kalou (Cave of the Spirit), located near Undu in the bush. The soul (*yalo*) of the *kalou* entered the conch shells in Nggara Kalou. The priest (*mbete*) was the intermediary for the people and the *kalou* and he alone entered the Nggara Kalou. There he prayed for mana and presented offerings received from the people.

Moto's statement may be colored by Christian teachings.

Another sacred cave of the Kambara land group is called Nggara ni Tambua (literally, Cave of the Whale's Tooth). It is located in the bush between Undu and Lomatchi. Informants say that only two men now living have entered it. Its god is said to be nameless, but one of his titles is Tambua Levu. Informants say that Nggara ni Tambua is a title belonging to the island of Kambara. They explain that the whale's tooth represents wealth in Lau and before the introduction of manioc, sweet potato, and other cultivated plants, Kambara was a "cave of wealth" because her timber and fruit trees made her rich in natural resources.

There is a sacred cave on Fulanga called Ndromo ni Tambua. It belongs to the Vandravandra clan.

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god. 778 [534]

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

769 618

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans. [171 177] [782]

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods. 769 778 618

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time
793 Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the
539 message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the
793 priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

● [782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
346

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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575 jump, dance, and club one another. While in this state they receive mana in the form of inspiration from their guardians.

Each member is a specialist in some skill and has a guardian of his own whose name he bears. A creator of a new dance form receives them from the god of the dance (*meke*); a medicine man receives new medicines from the god of medicine. The membership of the cult is controlled by a god [776 named Rayawa. When propitiated with kava, Rayawa reveals the names of ● 782] new members. The man who discovers new members for the cult has Rayawa for his god.

The leader of the cult on each island is called the originator of the bamboo (*vuninduvu*), for, as the oldest bamboo is surrounded by many shoots, so the leader is surrounded by many members. He has the strongest guardian and the most mana. Every new member must make a ceremonial offering of kava to the leader. If the leader is challenged, a contest is arranged during the Luve ni Wai rites and the member who is least vulnerable, and therefore has the most powerful god, wins and takes the leadership.

[782] Native informants say that a Luve ni Wai member occasionally propitiates his guardian by leaving a bowl of kava in the bush. When he returns, not the next day perhaps but certainly after a few days, the kava has disappeared from the bowl.

575 Informants say that in olden days Luve ni Wai members had their own
195 idiom which could not be understood by the people. These old *meke* (chants) are difficult to translate, but, when one examines them one sees that poetic
538 license and figures of speech rather than actual vocabulary differences set them apart from modern *meke*. However, many words which appear in the old *meke* cannot be translated by the natives today. The old Luve ni Wai *meke* are lyric poetry, highly subjective, in contrast to the more recent ones, which are definitely realistic.

575 The following *meke*, which are not understood by present natives, are
539 said to be in Luve ni Wai idiom:

Nai wau (club dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara

(Drum beats—small *lali ni meke* type)	
Na vatu manawa, na vua i rama	The floating stones, the fruits of light
Yau talatala, vakaselotaki mana wangga	The murmuring breeze, welcoming the wonderful canoes
Tambu wangga ko ira na kai Mathuata,	Chiefly canoes, they are the people of Mathuata,
Laki kele sara i matamatana.	About to anchor at the mouth of the passage.
(Drum beats)	

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Kambara

new channels for self-expression in medicine, in sorcery, and in secret cults such as the "Water Babies" (*Luveniwai*, literally meaning "offspring of the water").

The "Water Babies" is a colorful secret society found in parts of Fiji. It is forbidden by the government and hence most natives deny knowledge of it. The cult is not very active in southern Lau and my impression was that most natives know very little about it. It was months before anyone would discuss it with me and I did not witness any of the secret rites. I was told, however, that the cult has a few members on some of the southern islands.

To become a member of the "Water Babies" a man must have a personal guardian spirit called a water baby, which dwells in the water or in the forest. This spirit supplies him with "mana" in the form of a special talent, such as the ability to create new dances or medicines, to predict the future, or to discover new members for the cult. To obtain a guardian spirit a man goes to the bush secretly, prepares a bowl of kava and prays to the spirits. If he is successful, one of the spirits responds by entering his body and he gains special abilities. Many young men admitted that they had tried in vain to secure a guardian spirit. Only a few individuals are favored by a response from the spirit world. The ones reputed to have guardian spirits were all restless, slightly maladjusted, and frequently gifted young men. They had apparently grown dissatisfied with the monotony of modern life and were seeking superhuman outlets for their energies.

The members of the cult propitiate their guardian spirits in the bush at night. Fantastic accounts are given of these secret rites. The votaries oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial barkcloth. They sit in a kava circle and one of them prepares kava ceremonially. The first cup of kava is poured on the ground as an offering to the spirits. The men drink the remainder of the kava and call upon their spirits with prayers and songs. Finally the spirits respond and as each

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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

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coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him. 539* 776

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food. [782] [526]

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe [763]

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

after first intercourse at marriage, at the pregnancy ceremony, and after childbirth; boys do so after circumcision; and both sexes do so after an illness. Smoke is used to protect a turtle net against the pernicious influence of the glance or touch of a pregnant or a menstruating woman.

THE DOUBLE SOUL

The superhuman world of the Lauan is peopled not only by spirits and ancestor ghosts but also by the disembodied souls of the living. These disembodied souls are still just as real to them as humans. They appear at any time of day or night, frequently in human form, but also in the form of animals, fish, or birds. Some are friendly and aid them in life, others are hostile and greatly feared.

Each human being has two souls, a good soul (*yalo vinaka*) and a bad soul (*yalo tha*). The bad soul occasionally leaves the body of a living being, who remains unaware of its absence, and wanders about playing tricks on unsuspecting human victims. Such a bad soul appears in the physical form of the human being to whom it belongs, and can be identified only by its ability to vanish. The victim mistakes the bad soul for its owner and is lured into danger or death. For instance, Ndakai was walking down a rocky path on Kambara. He met a man and began to talk to him. Ndakai fell and broke his leg. He looked around but the man had vanished, so Ndakai knew that he had been talking to the man's bad soul, which had caused him to slip.

Illness is often due to the absence of the good soul. If it returns the patient recovers, otherwise he dies (23, p. 128). When a person dies his good soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba where it starts on the journey to the abode of the dead (pp. 114-115). His bad soul frequently remains, at least for a short time, near his home on earth and frightens human being.

ABODE OF THE DEAD

There are conflicting beliefs concerning the destiny and abode of the soul (*yalo*) after death. The dominant belief, introduced by the chiefs' group, is that when a man dies his soul goes to Nai Thimbathimba, a "jumping-off" place found on or near each island, usually facing the west or northwest. From here the soul goes to Nai Thombothombo, the land of souls, (*vanua ni yalo*) located on the Mbua coast, Vanua Levu (fig. 1). The natives say that a person near Nai Thombothombo cannot sleep or hear his own voice because of the noise.

Nai Thimbathimba of the Kambara and Wangava people is a high rock located on the west point of Wangava (fig. 2, 17). There the souls call for a wave which transports them to Nai Thombothombo.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843
Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything 571
in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is 843
marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's
clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body [386]
with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are [302]
present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do
not know why it is done. Four days later the women go
fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast
for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much
joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first
100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community,
a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she
must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the
fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look
upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from [783]
any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before
being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She
may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse,
nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut
her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she [302]
usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman
is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called
kunekune. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast.
Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the
communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by
the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman
is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These
ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first preg-
nancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth,
both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of
pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which
have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57]

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water.

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First, when Roko Sau ordered a "net of the dead," (p. 183) or some such large canoe he would prepare gifts which were known as *mbutambuta*, amounting perhaps to a hundred whale's teeth, two to ten rolls of coir rope, and so forth; sometimes a woman was given. A nobleman was sent to Kambara to provide food for the carpenters; he would go to Vulanga and other islands to collect food. While the work was in progress it was forbidden to step over the boards under a fine. When the keel was laid down (*utu a takele*) a feast amounting to as many as a hundred pigs was held and more gifts were given. Another feast was held when the hull was about to be taken down to the sea for polishing with sand; some hundred men would work at this task, and the owners of the canoe made the feast. A third festival (*solevu*) took place when the two hulls were connected together with outrigger booms. These three feasts, the laying down of the keel, the polishing of the hull, and the joining of the canoes were the largest feasts. Of old as many as five men would be killed on those occasions, baked and eaten, or a woman would be brought raw (*kau ndroka mai*); some handsome young men or some one against whom the owners had a grudge would be enticed to Kambara, killed and eaten. When the second Tui Naiau's eldest son's canoe was built, Lemaki heard the herald in offering up the feast apologize that he had not brought a man to eat or a raw woman "for Christianity," he explained "spoils our feasts and bars the way." 396 431 574

I could discover no charms to make a canoe strong or lucky; but certain tapu had to be observed; 396 784

No woman might touch the canoe or she would have to pray for mercy with gifts and a feast; a woman might not embark on it while it was a "new canoe" until a ceremony had been performed. No one might eat on board until kava had been made on board the canoe. This was called "eating on account of" (or sitting across) (*kana mbaleti*), and was sometimes held in Lakemba, in which event no one was permitted to eat or smoke on the journey to Lakemba; but sometimes it was performed in Kambara to enable the crew to eat on the way.

When the canoe arrived in Lakemba a big feast and much stuff was prepared. The Lemaki offered up to the chief who was sitting at kava the bailer of the canoe, as a sign of ownership. A man with a good voice proclaimed the canoe in the center of the village, so that the people might know of it. Then a lady (*ngone marama*) young or old, was chosen to embark on the canoe. Bark cloth was wrapped around her waist until she could not walk and had to be carried aboard, followed by the other women also heavily wrapped. They all left their dresses on board; sometimes enough to fill two houses. This ceremony was called embarking on the canoe (*vondoki a wangga*). 396 574

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be 757
nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment; 755
four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add
oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [784]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No kava is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (*snake*).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and [752]
sinu leaves.

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyavi*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilosi* and four top shoots of 752
reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye.

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. 757

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they 755
will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt.

Tongan Remedies

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into 757
faito. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are 177
supernaturally effective. 755

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu.

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The chief is surrounded by a court of retainers (*tamata ni turanga*), which include his herald, jester (*tamata ni lasa* or *ndauveilakalasai*), go-between in courtship (*ramuaoli*), numerous relatives, and servants. There are also envoys for each island or island group in the chiefdom who are called *mata ki Kambara, mata ki Mothe,* and so forth. 643 644

The high chief and his family live in a compound facing the ceremonial ground in the chief's village of Tumbou, Lakemba. The chief's houses are large and set upon high mounds, a symbol of rank. The chief's houses, his canoes and kava bowls are decorated with cowry (*mbuli*) shells, an emblem of rank. Formerly a strip of barkcloth (*tawake*) attached like a flag to the canoe mast, served as an emblem of chieftainship. 643

The high chief has heavy responsibilities in the maintenance of his clan obligations and ceremonial court life. He has a large number of dependents including many of his relatives and retainers, whom he must feed. Because of the soliciting and *vasu* systems (pp. 62-64, 207-208) he is constantly approached for gifts or loans.

The chief and his court are maintained by a system of tribute collected from the islands of his realm. Much of the tribute is presented at Lakemba by representatives from each island in the form of ceremonial gifts at the marriage, installation, and death of the chief or his near relatives. Collections are made by representatives of the chief or by his sister's son (*vasu*), as when Lakemba takes part in a large ceremonial exchange with one of the other chiefdoms such as Mbau or Rewa. 643 651

The high chief is sacred. As the shrine of ancestor gods of highest rank he has more mana than anyone else in his chiefdom. An elaborate system of tabus protects him. His head, the center of mana, is the most sacred part of his person. It may not be touched, nor may his comb and headrest be used by anyone else. (See 27, vol. 1, p. 25.) Only a man of high rank is allowed to wear a turban (*faufau*) in the village. The chief's wearing apparel and sleeping mats are tabu. Only a chief may wear the long streamers of barkcloth (*tchini puli*) as part of his ceremonial, the chest band (*wambale*), or the breast plate inlaid with mother-of-pearl (*thiva vonovono*). Only a member of the chief's family is allowed to wear a hair ornament of feathers (*tekiteki*). The royal staff (*matanakilangi*), presented to the high chief at his installation, is also an emblem of royalty (27, vol. 1, p. 25). 643 778 784 292

Elaborate rites mark the installation, marriage, and death of a chief. Ceremonies also mark his reception on outlying islands, the payment of tribute, building and launching of a chief's canoe, building of a chief's house, and life crises of members of the chief's immediate family. Many of these ceremonies once involved human sacrifice. 643

For further information concerning the high chief and his court see Hocart (15, pp. 50-58).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

by the *takala* which I have called chief's administrator. He is also of the land group. Informants say that the title of herald came with the Tongans, while that of the *takala* is old. The *takala* assists in the presentation and division of the tribute of first fruits. The title of *takala* is absent on Kambara and Namuka, but the titles of *takala* and herald are both found on Fulanga. 624

The title of *vaka vanua* (*vaka*), which I have called chief of crops, is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land phratry. The chief of crops has charge of ceremonial presentations to the chief. These are usually in the form of feasts. He organizes all the large island feasts, informs each village of the amount of food it must contribute and prepare, and on the day of the feast receives and inspects the share of each village on the ceremonial ground of the chief's village. He divides the feast into two parts: the chief's share (*mangitchi ni vanua*), and the people's share (*lutu ni mangitchi*); and he presents the chief's share to the chief. If the high chief from Lakemba or his representative is present, the envoy to Lakemba makes the ceremonial presentation. The chief of crops is custodian of the fruits of the land. He has charge of the resources of the island for the offering of first fruits, garden produce, and fish, which is made to the chief of the island at the time of the ripening of each tribute crop or at the tribute fish season. It is his duty to place and remove the tabu on fruits, to arrange for their collection, and with the help of the chief's administrator to make the presentation to the chief. If pigs are needed by the chief he hangs a piece of charred wood from the earth oven outside the door of the chief's house. Then he calls, "Tambu puaka, yei!" (Tabu pigs, yei!) No pigs may be killed until the chief of crops sets a day for the presentation of pigs to the chief. The tabu conserves the food supply, since it prevents the crop from being eaten before it has reached maturity and its highest food value. On islands where food is scarce, such a check is important. 624 784

On some islands the duties of the chief of crops are performed by the chief's administrator and conversely. For instance, on Mothe the chief of crops has charge of the fruit crops on the south side of the island, whereas the chief's administrator has charge on the north. The chief's administrator makes the ceremonial presentation to the chief. On Mothe the chief of crops is the chief's assistant and spokesman. At times the duties of the chief of crops and chief's administrator overlap. On Fulanga both assist the master fisherman in communal net fishing. Either the chief of crops or the chief's administrator may cast the first spear. As a rule the younger of the two men gives precedence to the older. 624

The professional title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*) is held by a clan on each island. The master fisherman is in charge of the communal fishing and turtle fishing and is responsible for the protection of the fishing grounds. When fish are desired for a feast, permission for the communal 624 226

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 575
the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by [349]
Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social [557]
order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government 648
has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability [778]
to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the 776
cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, 575
not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouanoua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wangganouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the 575
bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses [785]
his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They
jump, dance, AND club one another.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] white men "eat different food" (which, to a [262] native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything 175 towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma m[illegible] professed to be able to discover and remove [illegible]*kadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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225 643 262 Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

225 Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) [787] appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

225 431 533 Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

[539]

Au sá mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

[539]

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

225 431 Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i mbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

[252] The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

226 In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo ninggai*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754
Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*wai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 787
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and forefinger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet. [824]

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koiran a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [176]
charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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787 754 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that *totondro* was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

753 754 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasanggilo;* the patient drinks on four days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

Various Kinds of Witchcraft

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

> Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can execise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "*sau* of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*uvi*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vavi a ndena*).

> If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakalialewakalou*. I take a young branch of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion, so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The leader looked after them; if a new man could not do it, the leader would go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark. 776 794

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri manjingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man. 797

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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643 people in a festival. If war were impending from Mualevu, each sent a message to his villages.

643 The office of Ravunisa was vacant several years, so the Rasau was the first chief.
761 It is said that were a Ravunisa installed whose hair was not white, he would soon die. Only one Ravunisa lived to be of any great age. Enere, who was installed in 1912, died within a week. A spirit had smitten him. He said one evening that a black man had come; next morning Enere was dead. The same black man appeared to Amini when he was Ravunisa. Amini was asleep at the foot of a mango tree; a black man, constable of the grave, constable of the spirits, appeared to him and raised his club to strike him, but he stepped on a dry leaf of breadfruit which crackled, so he did not strike, fearing people might hear. Therefore, Amini did not die but merely had a big illness.

643 The Ravunisa originate from Mualevu, where was a family, the Vuanimoli, who caught turtle and sent none to Tui Yaro. For this reason they were driven out and went to live in Lomaloma. Hearing that the Ravunisa was in Narothivo they went there, slew him, took his daughter, who brought them to Lomaloma and they were installed.

If the Ravunisa dies the Nggala choose a successor and inform the Mbutha, who approve. The new chief is called Tui Lomaloma before drinking the kava. It is not an installation name. After drinking he gives up the title of Tui Lomaloma and becomes Ravunisa. All the villages are informed of the election and come to install him.

The Levukans make the kava. No talking is allowed. It is forbidden for any one to go to the house: there is a guard adorned in the Fijian way and armed with clubs. Any one who comes that way is clubbed. The chief does not wear a scarf. When the kava is poured out two men lift up the cups; they perform antics: they raise the cups slowly, then stretch out their arms, and bending their bodies forward they put one foot before the other with stiff legs and a jerky motion; if any one laughs a guard says, "Go and bake a big pig." The cup-bearers present the cup to the Ravunisa, but before he drinks the herald speaks to him, "See the kava you are drinking today that you may be mindful of the kava of the Ravunisa, that you may love the land, love the people." He tells him to look after his people. Then the Ravunisa drinks, then the herald, then Nukuthiri, a noble clan to which the kava jumps (*rindo*); fourth the Rasau, then the Rasau's herald, then any one else. The same day a feast is made by the whole of Lomaloma, then they go home. They do not keep the four nights.

643 The Rasau originate in Lomaloma. The earliest recorded was Sau and
787 priest of spirits: if a war impended between Mualevu and Lomaloma the people waited upon him and made offerings of whale's teeth and hundred fathom pieces of cloth. This chief had a big dog called Tuilambelambe or Tuinaivindrawalu; if a war was impending he barked; if he barked facing Mualevu the men of Mualevu would be beaten; but if he faced Lomaloma the Lomalomans would be beaten. At the present day if any one of Mbutha is about to die this dog appears.

643 The people of Tuvutha gave the soil and the men to this Rasau's son and installed him as Tui Tuvutha because he put an end to the wars between the two villages by making them into one. There were few people left in Tuvutha so when the Tui Naiau said, "What do you wish me to give you in exchange for the sandalwood that is in Tuvutha?" Tui Tuvutha answered, "The sandalwood is a trifle if you give me a population for my island."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead.
A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the 726
concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire [721]
for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of 534]
the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a* 726
lali ni mbakola. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their
weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden 834

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

159 the genealogies of most of the clans on the island and could trace his clan genealogy back about ten generations.

Although highly respected as a personality, Tchosaia had
159 lost prestige as an island chief on account of the newly created
558 political offices. He was in direct line of succession, but was
622 never installed as chief of Kambara because of the *mbuliship*,
178 according to informants. Formerly, the chief of an important island like Kambara received the first fruits of the harvest from the whole island. First fruits are no longer presented regularly on Kambara. When we were there, however, he received one-half of the first fruits of one village (Tokalau) only. The other half was presented to the highest government officer of the village, namely the village headman. This loss of prestige is keenly felt by Tchosaia, who is a reactionary. He is the only man on the island who does not attend the mission church.

159 To compensate for his diminishing power, Tchosaia has
756 become a prominent medicine man. He specializes in cases of "spirit possession" and "soul loss" (see page 129) and his cures are effected mainly by supernatural means. Hence he
[774] is feared in the community, not only because of his chiefly "mana" but also because of his control of the spirit world.
[187] When we had known Tchosaia some time he told us how he received his medicines. One night, when he was about fifty years of age, two of his ancestor gods appeared to him. They gave him "mana" and medicine to cure the sick. Since that time he has been a successful witch doctor.

159 The case of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara, shows
554 how one individual has met the problems caused by changing
622 standards of prestige in Lau. A different type of adjustment has been made by the chief of Mothe. Although neither the chief nor a member of his clan holds the *mbuliship* on Mothe, the chief of Mothe has retained more prerogatives than has the chief of Kambara. He is still installed, according to the traditional ceremony of binding a piece of tapa about the

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

● 787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to
776 roll."

"Used to roll?" I repeated; "what do you mean?"

"Yes, sir, he just rolled along the ground. It was said that once there was a great fighting among the gods, and 'Ulupoka,' who was a malicious god, got slain, and his head was cut off and thrown to earth. Anyhow, that is all that [787] appears to us; and it means sickness, if not death, when it is seen. It usually comes at dusk. One is, perhaps, sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees 'Ulupoka' come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look. One cannot get away, but has to sit there, waiting." Here he paused.

"And what then?" I said.

"He bites one's toe and goes away again."

I could not help smiling at the climax, but I could see that the whole thing was very real to the speaker.

"And does he ever appear nowadays?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," was the reply; "but only in our dreams, of course, for the *lotu* is the strongest now. And also there is another way we may know

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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*539 A little shiver passed over the old lady as she
123 finished speaking, and on looking out I saw that
776 the lengthening shadows of the trees had reached to the house door. She took up a sheet of *tappa*[1] to put about her shoulders, and I rose to go, thanking her for the entertainment she had given me.

"'Tis but a little telling of our ancient stories," she said; "and there are many more that come into my mind. Should you come again there are certain tales to be told of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god of eastern Fiji; and of Ulumatua, the serpent, who was the eldest son of Dengei himself; but I cannot now remember things as I could in the days gone by. I am getting old, I suppose, and my death is not far off," she added calmly.

And so I left her, the tales of the old gods still
[788] ringing in my ears, while as I passed through the village the chant of evensong and family prayers came from the houses of devout Lauans, whose fathers, perhaps, and whose grandfathers, without doubt, had brought offerings with fear and trembling to those same gods of whom I had heard that day.

[1] Native cloth.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

287 as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

287 531 The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba*, not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea*, not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

285 Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form designs, but most are plain. [531]

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

303 Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tomeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

[589] In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198 789]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

ever is certainly wrong: he gives it a circular mound, whereas the modern 346
remains show it to have been certainly square, and so the people also say.

PRIESTS

In Matuku it was stated that when a priest died, after a time the spirit 793
entered a man of that clan and that man quaked. The chief then asked 775
the name of the spirit. They then anointed the man in the temple with yellow. Neither the priest nor the man who anointed him could touch food for four days, after which they bathed. The proceedings were compared to those for a manslayer (p. 143), only the priest was not subject to tapu. At this time the women went to fish, but were forbidden to put the fish in their baskets: they lifted the net and those who fed the priest snatched the fish and placed them alive before him. After two days a taro patch was dug about the size of a mat. In this they planted big suckers that they might not die. This was called "making free the earth."

The spirit was said to "jump on a priest," that is, to possess him. He 793
then prophesied. If they wanted to consult the oracle they presented food 787
to the spirit by way of entreaty, addressing him as *mbongimbongi*, that is, dawn. When people were ill an entreaty was made. When they recovered a feast was made with kava. The first cup was poured at the foot of the post, after which the people clapped; the second was drunk by the priest who was said to *rambe*, as a herald does for a chief (p. 61).

A thanksgiving offering made when people had obtained their request was 792
called *i mandrali*.

When they made puddings the first one was taken to the temple; this was called *i singana* (*singana;* to put in the sun). The first of anything thus offered was so called. The term was also used of the bodies of the slain offered at the temple. It is also used of the first pudding taken to the chief.

ANCESTOR GODS

The god (*kalou*) of Navuanirewa, that is of the nobles, had no name. 776
It was not a true god (*kalou ndina*), but an abortion; so it was spoken of as the spirit of the house (*kalau ni vale*), which was nothing but the spirits of the children that died in the house. It was spoken of as child (*ngone*) or Solosolombalavu. Its temple was Salia.

The *kalou* of all Katumbalevu including the nobility was Tokairambe. His temple was called Mauthori. The Mauthori branch of Katumbalevu were the priests. Tokairambe was spoken of as Thingumbob of Mauthori (*ko ka mai Mauthori*), or the god (*tevoro*) of Mauthori.

Tokairambe's body (*tolo*) was a hawk (*taiseni*). A man of Katumbalevu might not kill the hawk, or the god (*tevoro*) would kill him.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

776 Tui Lakemba is the god of Valelailai. Tokairambe was worshipped a little, but Tui Lakemba was greatly worshipped. He was also called Sereivalu because he unfolded war and all things. His temple was Nautuutu. An ancient, vague account relates that long ago soil was deposited there by the Tongans. Tonga and Lakemba are connected lands (*vanua vata*) on that account. This soil was brought for reasons of kinship because they have the same god (*tevoro*); it was not brought for a supplication. Roko Kilai, Taliai's eldest son, was buried on the top of the foundation of the god's temple; the soil from Tonga was underneath.

I could discover no animal belonging to Tui Lakemba; Emosi was positive the god did not enter animals. He does not always reside in Lakemba but may be absent for a year or two at a time visiting various places. He does not kill men like Likuthava.

Tokairambe was a native; Tui Lakemba came from abroad. Until the god *vu* came to Lakemba, Tui Lakemba was the title of the chief. Tui Lakemba came down from heaven; it is not known how, but probably he is Satan. It is because he came down from heaven that the people of Naitombo go to heaven when they die (p. 184), for Tui Lakemba's priest came (*vu*) from Naitombo.

Tui Lakemba was a god (*tevoro*) from Thakaundrove. He sailed from Thakaundrove and landed in Nasangalau at a little spot which lies east of the village and is called Lakemba. Before his coming the whole island was called Natuithake, that is the windward island.[27]

Likuthava belongs to Valelailai. Her house (*vale*) was called Koronivia. She was not embodied in an animal. Emosi says she was called Hurricane Skirt because women used to make skirts to avert hurricanes. Emosi makes her a sister of Tokairambe and says if the oracle was consulted she and not Tokairambe entered the priest.

776 782 If a canoe were about to sail, a feast was promised to Likuthava; upon their return, the voyagers took it to the temple (*mbure kalou*) and offered it up to the priest; they retired and the priest divided among the people of Valelailai the share presented to them; the other clans got none. The priest ate Likuthava's share. Unlike Tui Lakemba, Likuthava easily took offence (*ndau ndindi*); if she did not receive a proper share of a feast she took offence and killed some one.

776 793 If a priest died and he had a younger brother, they would discuss and say to him, "You shall drink the kava." They made kava in the temple (*mbure vakatevoro*), and then they caused to jump, so that Likuthava might enter him. If she entered him he was the priest, if she did not they tried another of the same descent and generation (*kawa vata tautauvata*). If there were an elderly son he might be chosen, but the younger brother went first. When the younger brother died they appointed the son of the elder brother. The kava in question was done in chiefly style (*vakaturanga*) because the priest used to be chief (*turanga*), being respected on account of the god; for gods used to be feared and were chiefs (*turanga*); now the priests are despised. There was a kava song which was lost when the Tongans came in the days of Rasolo.

[27] A Mualevu man told me he had heard the name Natuithake used by the old men of Mualevu.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the
[428 reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to
184] his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vatuwangga clan at Lakemba from whom Ului Lakemba was descended (p. 38; table 2). The gods of Mbutonikoro were incarnated in the *thau* tree, the *kanathe* fish, and the *tchilio* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sewu matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess clan ancestor gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 a feast to mark his daughter's nubility. They killed him and his daughter. At this time Niumataiwalu was at Vuna, not on Naiau. The chief of Vuna asked Niumataiwalu to
●793 carry a message to Mbau by canoe. He went to Mbau but did not go ashore with the message. At this time Andi ni Levuka, wife of the chief of Mbau, became pregnant by
539 Niumataiwalu. She begged the chief to be allowed to go to Nairai in order to superintend the making of coconut oil. She landed in Nairai and Niumataiwalu proceeded in his canoe to Totoya, where he heard about the murder of his father and sister. The sons of Nggoma had returned to Lakemba. Niumataiwalu immediately returned to Naiau and became successor to his father. For revenge he went to Navutoka. He was met by his cousins. They fell upon each other and Nggoma and his family were killed. Now Niumataiwalu was by power and birth the successor to Nggoma, but he did not take the title of priest. He was the first *sau*, the chief of Lakemba, and the chief of Naiau.

(For a variant of this tale see Hennings, 12, pp. 33-37.)

769 After the coming of the chiefs' phratry, control was divided between the priests and the chiefs. Each ranking island had a principal priest clan. The
793 title of the priest (*mbete*) descended by primogeniture from father to eldest son in the first-born line of the priest clan. The priests were the seers who directed the spiritual affairs of the group, while the chiefs were the war leaders. After the Tongan conquest and the introduction of Christianity, the power of the chiefs increased and the title of priest became honorary. First fruits were presented to the chief instead of to the priest. The priest of Mothe, who is the headman of Kamali clan, installs the chief of Mothe today. However, on Kambara and on Fulanga, the only islands visited besides Mothe where the island chief presides over more than one village, the chief is installed by the herald.

The priest had charge of the worship of a clan's ancestor gods (*kalou vu*). He was the intermediary for the people and the god. Since he was influential in securing mana from the god, he was feared and respected. He controlled the activities of the people in warfare, in times of famine, and in sickness, receiving offerings from the people and presenting them to the god according to the *sevusevu* ceremonial pattern (pp. 65-66).

[782] Offerings were made by the people to obtain mana which would insure the success of clan activities and avoid trouble. The principal offerings were first fruits, kava, and cooked feasts, including human sacrifices. As a small offering wreaths were presented.

The priest prayed to the god, who presently took possession of him and spoke through him or revealed his will to him by means of a sign or omen. According to Fison (8, pp. 166-167), when a priest was possessed his whole body shook in convulsions and his flesh twitched. After the ceremony the priest and his clan consumed the sacred offerings.

THE GOD HOUSE

769 Each priest had charge of a god house (*mbure kalou*), a sanctuary where
778 the ancestor god was worshipped. It was a hut built on a high mound flanked
346

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

787 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

before the priest a dish of scented oil, with which he anoints himself, and then receives the tooth, regarding it with deep and serious attention. Unbroken silence follows. The priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . ."[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is, the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-ē'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

people was merely called "Tui Na Turuku" 175
(Chief of Na Turuku). For some generations back 565
there had existed a barely concealed rivalry 614
between Galà and Na Turuku; but although Galà considered themselves the more chiefly people, Na Turuku had one great point in their favour—*the hereditary priest had to come from a* [793]
certain family in their tribe, and the priest-caste dealt in magic and other awe-inspiring matters!

So it came about that Ratu Mudu (lit., "cut 175
off suddenly," a most prophetic name, had his 565
parents only known it) was one day stricken ill 614
with some mysterious complaint, and told his 754
relatives that he knew he was doomed to die. Now, this was a most serious matter, as only [766]
one generation earlier it would have meant a large strangling of widows and other savage ceremonies for the death of so great a chief; and even now it was a matter that would convulse the whole island. And to make matters worse the Ravunisa said that he was convinced he had been bewitched (*vakadraudrau'd*).

The next day a message was sent to the Magistrate that the Ravunisa was dead! The Magistrate hastened to the house, where all the mourners were assembled, and a crowd outside, and he found the Ravunisa laid out in state, but still convulsively moving under the funeral cloth! [763]
In the eyes of the people, according to ancient

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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*539 776 823 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot where Na Malata faces this island, and which was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 776 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers, and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and [793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

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he, 'to strike the serpent of Dau Cina; I, who am the *bété*[1] of the god as my fathers have been before me. Some evil will surely come of this.' 539* 776 [793]

"However, they went their way, and before long the matter was forgotten. And so they reached Futuna; and after their evening meal they went to sleep in the *volau*[2] that Lilo had built to store his copra in. And in the middle of the night they heard a great *Kumete*[3] that lay outside roll over of its own accord, for no one was to be seen; and then they heard strange moanings, and the lips of Tui Qara spoke, but the voice was not the voice of Tui Qara; and the words were these: 'I, Dau Cina, who speak, am about to slay you, Tui Qara! My priest are you, yet you have flaunted me. Death shall be your food.' Then Tui Qara groped about and snatched up a big flaming brand from the fire, and started crunching it between his teeth, and biting off great chunks of it, his eyes rolling round in a manner horrible to see.

"He then called out for a bowl of sea-water to quench his thirst, but Aca was filled with a great fear and ran away. Tui Qara lay for two months in the village of Mavana, sick nigh unto death; but at last his health returned and he lived for some years afterwards. But he never spoke again of the doings of that night at Futuna."

[1] Priest. [2] Rough palm-leaf shelter. [3] Wooden trough.

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*539 776 Ulumatua was well content with this place, and chose for his home a cave on the hill-top looking over the plain where now stands Loma Loma town.

"No one alive to-day has seen Ulumatua himself, but his priests used to say that he was of immense size, truly a god indeed; and once, as a small child, while rambling on the hill-top in the twilight, I saw his family of little serpents, ten in number, disappearing into his home, bearing with them a *solevu* of *yau*.[1] My parents thought I lied about this thing," she added, smiling; "but I verily believed at the time that I saw the gifts they carried. Who knows? To-day we see the marvels which you white chiefs have brought—the box that talks, and the big steamships—truly as wonderful as the thing I saw.

"Ulumatua was not only a serpent of a size fearsome to see, but he was unlike all others inasmuch as his tail was rounded and ended bluntly (like the tail of Misi Bamani's white dog). So [793] at least was he described by Moto Loki Loki of the Lewega tribe, who was the hereditary priest when I was a child. It was Moto's duty to enter the cave at certain seasons of the year with offerings, and to anoint Ulumatua with scented oils, rubbing him with them as a chief is rubbed

[1] A ceremonial presentation of gifts.

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before taking part in a war-dance,[1] And Moto would act as mediator between the god and the people, who if they had a sick child would *soro*[2] to Ulumatua and take gifts, when the child would live.

"And Gala, which is the chiefly tribe here, is *tauvu*[3] to Boma on Taveuni Island, and thus we think that Ulumatua must have come here from that part. To this day the *cavu*[4] of the Gala tribe is '*Ulumatua*'; and our young men, when they go forth to the Tiqa match, cry out '*Ulumatua*,' to speed their spears along the chosen ground. And this you may have heard, sir, even at the great missionary meeting last week. Of course, the god can give them no assistance now, for the light has come amongst us and we no longer give credit to such foolish tales."

I replied that we all knew that Adi Letila was too enlightened to believe in such things nowadays, but as I walked away under the great avenue of mango trees I wondered!

[1] Only recently I found Inia, my native sergeant of police, oiling two snakes which he had captured. I asked him why he did it and he replied that he thought they liked it, and he intended to treat them well and make pets of them; though I am convinced there was no idea of snake worship in his mind.
[2] Ask forgiveness for any faults.
[3] Of common origin.
[4] Battle-cry.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. 602
The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 621

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba. 776

The *tavau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging 776
to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might 794
be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account:

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*mataniniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Ka turua a wai ni sosou.	The milk of the coconut drips.
Ka tangi a kena nggolou.	And the shout resounds.

Some men were called Women. Tui Tumbou was a Woman at the first festival he took part in. They cook food and use bananas as covering for the food, which proves the truth of the whole thing since bananas [banana leaves ?] are combustible. They feed the people and the Fearful Gods sing:

A kuro ka toka me sa laki mbuta,	The pot that is on the fire will be cooked,
Mbuta tu a marama ni vula,	The lady of the moon cooks it,
Me takia vei ira a kai Vuya.	To serve up to the people of Vuya.

Vuya is a place in Vanua Levu, and the Vuyans are probably the Fearful Spirits. The tribe called Veli closes the performance. The Veli belongs to the young men. As they come on to the Green they sing:

A yavusa Veli ka sa there vuka,	The Veli tribe flies up,
Songo lala tu a vu ni ndakua.	The *kouri* tree is empty and closed.

The *kouri* tree is the habitation of the Children of Water. As they enter the Green, the *vuninduvu* spears them with a bamboo in the back and chest. At the second festival he attended Tui Tumbou was a youth, but his "friend" would not enter him.

The only use of the Fearful Spirits formerly was for festivals, for pleasure; they did not reveal medicines; that is a new thing. The leader learned dances in his sleep and that is still done.

776 Nambateteva is said to be famous in all Fiji and Tonga, and Mbauans used to come and see it; it is famous for spirits and Children of Water; the spirits are Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambarei.

The Children of Water do not live inland but on the shore; they are worshipped only on shores where there is a nice beach. They appear as small men, and do not enter animals. It is said they and the spirits proper are enemies.

776 794 Vola attended the Children of Water in Nukuleka; but did not see the beginning; all the young men knew the Children of Water except Vola, and they feared he might inform against them, so they enticed him to join. They were all young men. He says:

I took some kava and offered it up to the expert (*ndau*) that is the *vuninduvu*, a man of Ndravo, near Mbau, Sailasa by name. In offering it up I used the polite *saka* and presented it like a kava for a chief (*vakaturanga*): "Let the chief be gracious, He of the Sea; let him be favorable and grant a youth to be my friend," and so on, a long speech. "He of the Sea" is Ndakuwangga, a great shark in Thakaundrove, a god (*kalou*) famous in Fiji. The *vuninduvu* touched the kava and prayed over it, ending, "And may you get a friend." Then one who is experienced offers up the kava; he turns towards the leader and utters the names of all the *tevoro*. Then they go and prepare the kava in Fijian chiefly style.

Everyone drinks; no one is omitted. Then they begin the Children of Water. The leader chooses one man to do it; then another, then another. One called Farseeing (Raiyawa) begins: he sees if anyone is coming to arrest him, and whether the Children of Water are in the Green, that is, the space where they perform. Then another man starts, then another. Then the leader orders them to do it *en masse*. They do so and shake, and each announces himself, "I am from Kandavu [or from Tonga, or wherever it may be], I am strong." Some prophesied, but it did not come true.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The leader looked after them: if a new man could not do it, the leader would go and sit beside him and say, "Lively, lively" (*mbula*), to make it embark, that is, to make the spirit enter. Sometimes he fails; at some future time he will be able to make it embark. 776 794

I frequented the performances for three months; they did it three or four times a week; and I never saw any more than that: there is plenty of talk but the performance is small. They did not tell the history of the Children of Water, but only that they and the spirits (ghosts) are enemies.

Divination

Divination was practised with a coconut; a method called *vakawiri manjingi* (*vakawiri*, to twirl; *manjinji*, a term for a coconut used in this manner). In Yandrana this method was used in consulting Tutumatua. If the people wanted to know whether they would have a fair wind to the Southern Islands, they would take a mature coconut with the husk on and holding it say, "I am touching the coconut: if it is your wish that we may go tomorrow let the coconut arise [?] and face me." Then a man twirls the coconut: if it faces him it is said to face right; if it does not it faces wrong. If it faces right it is twirled again without the prayer being repeated; it must face right twice or they cannot sail. If the nut faced right they kissed it. The same method was also used in sickness. Every one knew how to do it, and I have seen boys use it to find out who is a bad man. 797

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

794 he worked for a European and evidently was deeply disturbed
668 by contact with western culture. While there, two of his ancestral gods appeared to him. Ndukumoi recognized them and was afraid, but they told him to heed their words and he would receive "mana" from them. The young man carried out their instructions and a new cult was revealed to him.

There is some difference of opinion concerning his teachings. Most accounts agree, however, that he upheld the Bible but maintained that Jehovah and Jesus Christ had been substituted for the two ancestral gods who appeared to him. He exhorted his followers to commit no sin and to pray to these two gods. They would be rewarded by eternal youth and immortality in the "red paradise" (*mburotu kula*). The sinful would be condemned to everlasting fire. He took the name of Navosavakandua (pronounced Na-vó-sa-vá-ka-en-dú-a, meaning "he who speaks but once"), the term applied to the colonial chief justice because there is no appeal against his decision. He re-named the seven days of the week, which had been introduced by the missionaries, and set aside the seventh as the holy sabbath when meetings were held in temples secretly dedicated to the "Immortality" cult. He selected priests and women to attend them and inaugurated ceremonies which were a combination of kava drinking, dances, prayers, the presentation of property, and military drill. He organized his followers under drill sergeants, *rokos*, and *mbulis*, in imitation of the native colonial officials.

Many miracles were ascribed to Navosavakandua. His doctrine spread quickly in northeastern Viti Levu, which at that time was far from the nearest government station. His prophecies created so much excitement and unrest that in 1878 he was banished to Lau. He returned to his province after four years and began his activities with even greater energy, with the result that the military aspect of the "Immortality" movement developed and spread over a wide area. The cult became distinctly hostile to the government and aimed at

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house. 554 576

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion. [516]

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls. 431 796

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern. 241 796

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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Chief of crops: enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka vanua, saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka me i vala mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . oa." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Kotokoto vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei iratou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosoraki thake vaka-turanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . . " (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana! E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*); and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa (Pometia pinnata)*, and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak. and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).

Chief of crops claps three times. "I . . . a . . ." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tu mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu . . . ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fulanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).

Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A . . . u, a . . . u, u . . . lia, thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

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226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
●796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

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presence of a chief. Kava ceremonies vary slightly on different islands and for different occasions. In southern Lau on formal occasions a mixed Tongan and old Lauan kava ceremony is used. On less formal occasions a simplification of the Tongan ceremony is customary. The natives say that the Lauan ceremony is long and is marked by much hand clapping, whereas the Tongan ceremony is short and simple. The Tongans say, "Faka sinisini ko Fishi. Sa levu na topotopo" (Too many tens in Fiji, too much clapping), meaning that the Fijian ceremony is too elaborate.

The kava ceremony for the chief of Kambara is as follows:

The kava drinkers sit cross-legged in circular formation called *yalofi*, in the following order: the chief sits in the center of the upper end of the house. On his left sits his herald, on his right, another chief or herald. The clan elders sit in two rows on either side of the chief. Those of highest rank sit nearest the chief. At the lower end of the house, opposite and facing the chief, sits a young man who is the kava maker (*palu yanggona*). In front of him stands the kava bowl, which is a wooden bowl (*kumete ni yanggona*) made of greenheart, usually with four legs. The bowl used for a chief has cowry shells tied to the sennit string handle, which is stretched toward him. It is tabu to use this bowl except in kava ceremonies for the chief. In olden days, according to the natives, an earthenware kava bowl without legs (*ndari ni yanggona*) was used.

On each side of the kava maker sits a young man, called assistant at the bowl (*nggarati kumete*). The young men who pound the kava sit behind the kava maker. Either green or dry kava is used, but natives say the green root makes a drink which is more tasty and digestible. A flat stone slab is placed on a kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) and when the root has been pounded with a rough stone hammer into bits, the stone slab is tilted so that the bits of root fall on the mat, the mat is passed to one of the assistants, who slides the kava bits into the kava bowl. Occasionally a wooden mortar and an iron pestle are used.

Formerly kava root was chewed by youths. The kava chewers (*matka*) sat behind the kava maker. They were young men of rank related to the chief. The chewed root was removed from the mouth and placed on the strainer (*i vautau*), composed of strips of the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*vau*), which lay in the bowl; or it was passed to one of the assistants, who put it into the bowl. The kava maker and assistants chewed also. (Old men who have chewed kava in their youth seem to have better preserved teeth than those who have not chewed it. Chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government.)

When sufficient kava has been prepared the kava maker raises the bowl by the two rear legs and says, "Kawa nai mama" (The kava is chewed).

The herald answers, "Kuo holo" (It is kneaded), and the kava maker lowers the bowl. The herald adds, "Tukuwatu" (put it down), and the kava maker puts the bowl down. When it is resting on the ground the herald says, "Tutumalie pe kae palu" (All right, mix). The kava maker places his hands, fingers together, palms down, on the sides of the bowl. The herald looks at them and if they are not clean he says nothing and the kava maker is replaced by another. If they are clean he says, "Palu, tafoki kimoua" (Kava maker, turn), and the two assistants move forward to the bowl. During the mixing and serving they face the bowl, otherwise they face the chief.

Then the herald says, "Lini o ma wai" (Pour the water). The kava maker places his hands in the bowl and the assistant who is sitting on the right of the kava maker pours water from the water container onto the kava maker's hands. It is poured away from the kava maker. It is tabu to pour it toward him. Either a bamboo water container (*ndangoni wai*), imported from Viti Levu, an earthenware pot (*kuro*), or an imported bucket is used.

The kava maker mixes the kava. Before straining it he squeezes the mixture over

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the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tombu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth. 796

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated. 272

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me. [533 535]

The kava song follows: [539]

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand. [372 276]

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pougipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food. [262]

In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu. [252 171]

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share. 796 527 [592]

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head. [576] [252] [177]

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66). 796 431

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni veikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maúnaithake. When they arrived the *veikendovuki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vuka vandrù*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vutonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

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Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

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feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduru*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

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New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

10: St. Johnston OQ6 Lau OQ6

796

/For description of the traditional formal ceremony to welcome visiting dignitaries to the island, see catergory 574,/

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

226 Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught
796 at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming
539 was as follows," he went on. "There was a
773 goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama*
776 *rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

881 was provided by Nasangalau, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
302 indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
> 644 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> 857 panions played with dolls (*vakatalulive*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade
> 797 dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 631 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 797

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan. 591 611

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndauvi*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange. 597 848 768

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people. 597 848

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. 848 [797] [828]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau,* or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central [797] Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji [648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally 177 439 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

[p. vi is blank]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink 272
is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with 276
water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short 291
waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. 304
The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last [197]
tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men [522]
jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but [173]
not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

174 visiting the group for at least two centuries. They came mainly to secure fragrant sandalwood, bright red paraquet feathers, and large double sailing canoes of hardwood. All these valuable articles were absent in Tonga and very rare even in Fiji. Sandalwood with a strong scent, used by the Tongans to perfume their coconut oil, grew only at Mbua (pronounced Em-bú-a), the westernmost point of Vanua Levu. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the source was discovered by Chinese traders who soon exhausted it completely. Brilliant red paraquet feathers, which the Tongans traded to the Samoans, for bordering precious, finely woven Samoan mats, were obtained in Taveuni, the island east of Vanua Levu. Hardwood was found only in southern Lau. In these three parts of Fiji, especially in Lau, Tongan influence has been strong.

175 When the first European missionaries to Fiji landed at
197 Lakemba in 1835 the Tongans had gained a great deal of political power. For the next forty years, curiously enough, it was mainly the Tongans who were responsible for the spread of European influence, especially Christianity, in the Lau islands, and to a considerable extent in Fiji proper. The missionaries came to Lau from their mission in Tonga and were familiar with the Tongan language, which was spoken to a considerable extent on Lakemba. For some time their only converts in Lau were Tongans. The mission made slow headway among the Lauans until 1849 when the high chief was finally converted and the gospel spread rapidly through the group.

175 Meanwhile, however, the Tongans gained prestige through the mission. They began to cause trouble to the Lauan high chief who complained about them to the Tongan king. In the middle of the nineteenth century he sent his warrior nephew, Maafu (pronounced Má-a-fu), to govern the Tongan colony in Lau. Maafu organized a fleet of war canoes, manned by Tongan warriors and armed with cannon which he used on canoes for

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[847] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [718] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

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dark stormy night when, having sailed by canoe from Mothe 577
to the horseshoe-shaped island of Fulanga, we were trying to find Naivindamu village on the shore of the central lagoon. As we sailed blindly about in wind and rain we barely missed one of the mushroom-shaped coral islets which dot the lagoon. One of the three sailors regularly blew a conch shell, the Lauan signal of distress, but there was no response. He had a slight [201] hope that the natives, upon hearing it, would build a signal fire, he said. Finally he cried: *"Raramal"* (light). After some minutes I discerned a faint glow ahead, which the boys said was from one of the village kitchen fires. It grew brighter as we approached. In a few minutes the canoe was beached and we were surrounded by faces peering through the darkness and by cries of *"Papalangi!"* (the native word for foreigner or European). They had heard the conch blasts, they said, but the night was too wet and stormy to leave their kitchen fires.

The typical response to treatment by modern medicine also 156
reflects the native psychological set. Upon request I once 757
treated a young Tokalau girl who had received a deep leg wound from a large fish. After the girl had recovered, her father came to me frequently with requests for tobacco, kava, etc. According to native ideology, I owed him a debt for having been allowed to cure the girl, because he could not conceive of my treating her if I had not believed it was somehow to my advantage.

In order to understand the native outlook on life today let 769
us review briefly what is known of the old Lauan religion. 797
Before the introduction of Christianity, the most important superhuman beings in Lau were the ancestor gods, probably introduced into Lau by the Polynesian immigrants who came from Viti Levu. The most powerful ancestors of noble clans were eventually deified after death. When the missionaries landed in Lau the ancestor cult was not only the key to the native religion but also the basis of the social and economic life.

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769 It reinforced the desire for prestige, based on rank, success in
797 warfare and wealth, which gave the culture its definite secular bias. These ancestor gods are still feared by many old Lauans today.

769 The ancestor gods were worshipped in temples—small
346 thatched huts with disproportionately high gabled roofs and
778 oval shaped ground plan. The temples were elevated on stone-
793 flanked mounds surrounded by fragrant plants, for fragrance was associated with sacredness in the minds of the natives. In them were kept sacred objects belonging to the clan, such as elaborately carved ceremonial clubs. A hereditary priest officiated at each temple. He propitiated the gods with offerings such as food, kava, whales' teeth, and human sacrifices, especially the bodies of enemies captured in warfare. All that remain today of these temples are the stone-flanked mounds on which offerings are occasionally made secretly.

776 Most of the gods of the upper class were war gods. Before
726 a raid the priest consulted the war gods regarding the auspici-
793 ousness of an attack, and prayed that "mana" be granted the clan warriors and their weapons. Without the approval of the gods the raid would not be successful. If the god responded, the priest's body began to twitch and shake. As the god entered his body the priest writhed in grotesque contortions. He was bathed in sweat. The movements became more and more violent until finally in a queer shrill voice the god spoke through the priest.

781 Williams gives the following account of this spirit possession.
793 "One who intends to consult the oracle dresses and oils himself and, accompanied by a few others, goes to the priest . . . When the party enters, he (the priest) rises, and sits so that his back is near to the white cloth by which the god visits him, while the others occupy the opposite side of the *mbure* (temple). The principal person presents a whale's tooth, states the purpose of the visit, and expresses a hope that the god will regard him with favor. Sometimes there is placed

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster. 565 773 [825]

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead. 775 565

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba. 797

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula? 539
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

—*From the teachings of Navoanakundua*[48]

The Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian 797

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

797 Deity. The old mythology and much of the folklore was suppressed. The Bible was translated into the Mbauan dialect, which was reduced to written form and later became the official language of Fiji. A death struggle was waged against the native priesthood, temples, warfare, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and polygamy.

For at least fifteen years the natives resisted the new religion. Finally, however, with the gradual infiltration of western trade articles such as gunpowder, fire arms, and metal tools, the strong native opposition broke down. As soon as the chiefs were convinced by these material objects that the white man's God had more powerful "mana" than their own gods, they accepted the white man's religion.

Once embraced by the chiefs, the gospel spread quickly throughout the group. It was carried into the isolated parts of Fiji like southern Lau by native converts. Mission churches, built in the style of native houses, were established on each island, and native missionaries, trained at mission centers like Lakemba, were put in charge of them. The nobles became pillars of the Church. In the Christianized communities Sunday was introduced as a day of rest and rites. On this day Church services consisting of prayers and responsive readings, a sermon and hymns (translated into Mbauan and accompanied by westernized Tongan music), followed by a native feast, were held. Modified Christian rites were added to the old native ceremonies which marked birth, marriage, [272] and death. The drinking of kava was forbidden, but inasmuch as ceremonial kava drinking along with dancing and the exchange of property marked all important occasions in Lau, the custom was not stamped out. On the contrary, whereas formerly kava was drunk only by men of high rank, now men and women of all classes partake of the beverage.

554 177 The native religion was so closely integrated with the rest of life that a radical change in it affected the whole culture. Complete suppression of warfare in the group had reverbera-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

tions throughout the native culture. It led to the development 554
of other outlets for the acquisition of prestige, such as the 177
distribution of wealth and the emphasis on craftsmanship. However, part of the tremendous energy formerly devoted to this most vital group activity was suppressed and as a result native life was devitalized.

The effect of Christianity upon the native spiritual world 797
has been profound. Lowering the old ancestor gods to the 776
status of devils, and raising the Christian Deity to omnipotence 182
has caused a deep conflict of loyalties in the minds of the natives. Even today they feel guilty because they are neglecting their old gods, and they say this neglect is responsible for their present lack of vitality which they characterize as an absence of "mana". Although a few courageous individuals still propitiate their ancestors secretly in the bush, the old religion has been effectively suppressed. Moreover, most of the Fijian mythology, theology, and folklore has been lost.

In spite of the apparent success of the mission, its spiritual 797
message failed to a considerable extent to reach the natives 557
because they were totally unprepared by their outlook on life 781
to comprehend it. Gradually, as the Lauans have adapted western ideas to their own, Christian ceremonial has mingled with native rites. The gospel taught by the missionaries has tended to become a formality marked by a feast every seventh day and important mainly for its social value. The new religion has become a channel for acquiring social prestige. To be a good Christian today gives an individual standing in the community and a native missionary wields considerable power.

Malamala, the native missionary on Kambara, is a native 797
of a noble clan of Tanggu. On account of his office, however, he does not live in Tanggu, but has moved into a large house opposite the mission church in Tokalau. His sacerdotal office and his rank in the upper class make him one of the leading elders of the island, and he is careful to assume great dignity

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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797 in everything he undertakes. Usually when he goes to the other side of the island to conduct services he travels in state [622] in his canoe, conspicuously decorated with white cowry shells, a symbol of chieftainship. He is dressed in the height of fashion—a fresh white shirt, a black *lavalava* and a blue woolen coat, even on the most sultry day. If he travels by [554] land he walks slowly, swinging his cane, a symbol of rank. He is followed a few yards behind by his assistant, a youth who carries a small imported satchel. At the beginning of the service he takes from this satchel a Fijian Bible and a pair of spectacles set with plain glass. Attached to one rim is the price tag, which shows that the glasses were bought in the store. Before beginning to read he carefully dons the spectacles, but is no whit disturbed if, in the heat of the service, they slip down the bridge of his nose.

797 Especially did Christianity have a far-reaching effect on the 182 native social organization. The breakdown of the ancestor 631 cult undermined the inner structure of the native system of ranked clans. It took the sacredness out of chieftainship and broke the power of the tabu, which formerly maintained law and order in society. Moreover, the increased emphasis on personality rather than rank weakened the power of the chiefs. The mission tried to uphold chieftainship by encouraging the natives to pay tribute and abide by the commands of their chiefs, and the colonial officials followed mission policy. Their aim was to reinforce the power of the chiefs by appointing them as colonial officials and thus to utilize the native social system for political purposes as far as possible. However, in applying this plan, personality as well as rank had to be considered, and frequently chiefs were passed over in favor of gifted individuals of lower rank. Hence authority formerly held exclusively by the chiefs was divided between chiefs, native government officials, and native missionaries.

178 In recent times individuals deprived of hereditary power 575 and of warfare, their principal emotional outlets, have found

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575 enters his votary the men begin to shake and tremble violently.
776 Their flesh twitches. They begin to dance and work them-
782 selves up into a frenzy. Some club one another. In this state they are insensible to pain. Men are frequently injured and were in the past occasionally killed during these rites. While possessed they receive "mana" from their guardian spirits in the form of inspiration, each along the lines of his own specialty.

[774] The member with the most "mana" on each island is the leader of the cult. If he is challenged, a contest is held during the rites and the least vulnerable wins and takes over the leadership.

The "Water Baby" cult found its way into southern Lau from Fiji proper. Mr. Brewster, who spent forty years as a government official in Fiji, has described the cult as it appeared in the interior of Viti Levu where it was strong at the end of the nineteenth century and still practiced in the 1920's.[49]

797 The early missionaries ignored the cult. Compared to more
575 violent practices which they had to combat, such as cannibalism, widow strangling, and human sacrifice, it seemed relatively harmless except that it encouraged laziness and frequently led to bloodshed. However, when the mission had become well established in Fiji they demanded its suppression. The colonial government followed mission policy and made the practice criminal.

Mr. Brewster's comments on government policy concerning the cult are interesting. He wrote: ". . . looking down that long vista of years and after much reflection, I think that we took a wrong view of the *luveniwai*. There was no need to regard it so seriously, as in my opinion it was not really seditious. It led the boys to be cheeky and insubordinate, and to a certain amount of larceny . . . There were plenty of native regulations against insubordination, disobedience and any sort of disturbance. We did not need anything special

[49] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 222-229.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in 797
order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we 575
failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his 526
district in the hope that the game would give the boys an 575
outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were 668
organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult 794
make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater 668
or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Viti Levu OQ10

each taking yams, taro, and plantains, and some named themselves after the particular kind of yams they took, and some from the taro, and others after the plantains, each after the things they took with them when they were sent forth by the spirit (thus accounting for their plant totems), and the place from whence they departed was called Paradise. Then each dwelt in the land at which they arrived, and they settled down and multiplied . . . The common people arrived first and the chiefs followed later on."

Viewing the change in retrospect we see that the missionaries brought to Lau a foreign world view, which differed from their own mainly in its emphasis on the significance of the spiritual life of the individual soul in the next world. The Lauans were opportunists interested in obtaining "mana" expressed in prestige in this world. Success meant honor to their clan and eventual deification. The "mana" concept of the Lauans provided the bridge between the two outlooks on life. By rejection of their own ancestral gods and acceptance of a foreign God as a "mana" giver, they believed they could more effectively attain their ends. The innovation produced profound changes in their culture, especially in the social structure. Most important of these was perhaps the shift in emphasis from clan rank based on supernatural sanctions, to individual status based on social sanctions.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the
423 mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
366 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
197 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
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Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
● 797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.43]

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PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [197]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

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INTRODUCTION.

THE three better-known groups of the Pacific, namely, the Crown Colony of Fiji, the recently captured German Colony of Samoa, and the last remaining independent Pacific kingdom of Tonga, form roughly the three points of an equilateral triangle, and the Lau Islands lie about midway between Fiji and Tonga. 131

These Lau Islands are situated some two hundred miles to the east of Fiji, and act as a barrier against the heavy storms that sweep the Pacific in those months of the year when "the trades" are at their strongest. And as might be expected from their geographical position it is upon these islands that straying vessels and storm-tossed wrecks (not only the big ships of the white man for the last hundred and fifty years, from buccaneers to whalers, and from whalers to modern "tramps," but also from earliest times the fragile canoes of the wayfaring Polynesian) have from time immemorial been flung. 174
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174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

[174] [175] [648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

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173 Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

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797 It is very difficult nowadays to get the people to speak of the old times, for the simple reason that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

[1] Christianity.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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174 *Yalovaki* was brought from Samoa by a tribe
177 now living on Lakeba Island, called the Leamaki;
695 and "Tui Leamaki" is a hereditary title used to this day by the head of that tribe. But it is purely a Polynesian custom, and was probably used by the Lauans in their previous country, before they came "from the East"; though it may have been resuscitated by the Leamaki people.

695 The procedure was for a suspected person to be brought into the centre of a ring composed of a council of chiefs, when the professor of *Yalovaki* seated himself on the mat opposite "the defendant," and solemnly said to him, "Did you in very truth do this thing or not? If you lie concerning the matter, so will your soul be captured this day." He then took a filmy scarf of finest *tappa*, and, immediately the answer was given, he twirled it over the man's head, as the Polynesians throw a cast-net, and if the man had lied, his soul was believed to be snared within it. Which belief, if the man really *had* lied, so weighed on his mind that he often went mad.
177 Now comes the modern equivalent of the practice.
627 The missionaries rightly stopped the *Yalovaki*,
[797] so the people felt bound to provide some sort of
[201] substitute. They saw in the earliest law courts
[754] the foreign method of "kissing the book," which caught their fancy immensely; so to this day

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Here we came to a level stretch of smooth, hard sand and our horses raced along at the water's edge, as glad to stretch their limbs as we were to feel the cool breeze. Presently we drew up where some cliffs went straight down to the sea, and here we took a track that led inland for a little way towards the town of Mabula.

"You may have heard, sir," said Wiliami, chuckling, "concerning a former native magistrate named Samani, and of his giving to the Mabula people their *lotu*[1] by means of a club. This was in the early days of the Government, and when the *lotu* had not been long in the land. Ratu Samani was a big chief from Lakeba Island, and he also considered that he was skilled in preaching; so he thought that it was his duty to make the heathen at Mabula believe in the new *lotu*. Therefore, on a certain Sunday he walked to Mabula and climbing into the pulpit in the native house that was then the church building for the use of the few who were believers, he told all the village that they must obey his *lotu* that he had brought with him. But the men of Mabula were *via via levu*,[2] for he was not a chief of their land, and would not listen to his words. So on the following Sunday he journeyed again to Mabula, though his friends would have dissuaded him, and this time he took with him his

[1] Religion. [2] Insolent.

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war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that he would return and beat them should such report reach him.

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"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.
[2] In the New Hebrides.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time.

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl.

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about.

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

I: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*marama ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rils of coconut leaves.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

down by means of wall plates. The rounded ends, which are added to the main framework, involve much labor; but they are considered more pleasing than the straight ends of the rectangular house on Vini Levu. 342 [517]

Today a level, open place with a fresh sea breeze is sought for a house site, whereas formerly a man wanted to be near his neighbors. If possible a site is chosen in the hamlet of the man's own clan. If there are no suitable sites in his own clan-hamlet a man asks for a site in the hamlet of his mother (p. 122). 342 361

If the owner (*taukei*) is a carpenter (*matai*) he usually does the carpenter's work himself, otherwise he chooses a carpenter from his own village. He makes his request at the carpenter's house without the ceremonial presentation of property. The carpenter is in charge of the house building. Before building starts he consults the owner about every part of the house. The carpenter does the work requiring skill and experience, such as the ornamental lashings, and directs the building operations. The owner supervises the whole process. The natives say they can recognize the style of each carpenter by the proportions and curve of the roof, although carpenters have no specific trade marks. Each carpenter knows a few simple lashing designs. For especially fine lashing a specialist from another village is occasionally employed. A specialist in lashing knows a large number of designs. 342 335 [284]

Dwelling houses in Tokalau range from small houses like Mburotu (fig. 3, 3) measuring 7 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 5 meters high and built directly on the ground, to large houses like Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1) measuring 12 meters long, 6 meters wide, and 10 meters high, excluding the 1 meter high foundation mound. The largest house in the village besides the mission church is Koro Vou (fig. 3, 26), built as a guest house for visiting chiefs and officials. It is 16 meters long, 7.5 meters wide, and 6.5 meters high, excluding the 60 cm. high foundation mound. The houses in large villages like Nggalinggali on Kambara, Nawatchia on Namuka, Nasau on Mothe, Muanaithake on Fulanga, and Naithulaianga on Ongea average about the same size as the houses in Tokalau. The highest mounds are found in Nasau. In small villages of low rank, like Lomatchi on Kambara, Korotolu on Mothe, and Naivindamu on Fulanga, the houses are smaller. 342

Before the timber is felled, the owner determines the size of the house by deciding on the dimensions of the rectangular ground plan between the main supporting posts (*nduru*). Although the ground plan of the finished house is oval, the size of the house is measured by the length and width of this inner rectangular ground plan exclusive of the rounded ends and the space between the main supporting posts and the walls. The units of measurement are the fathom and the span. Measuring is done with sennit or vines and marked off with a knife, charcoal, or an imported lead pencil. [804]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sections (*kumbu*, fig. 5, *b*). First the wood is felled and hauled to the site by the men who agreed to furnish it. Then it is measured, shaped, fitted exactly to the ends of the house, and made smooth. This delicate work is done by the carpenter. The depth of the finished rounded end must equal half the distance between the two wall plates minus one or two spans (25 to 50 cm.). This is determined as follows: 342

First the distance between the two straight wall plates is measured with a string. The string is doubled and cut in half. One section is shortened by cutting off a length of 1 to 2 spans. The distance between the straight wall plates is measured a second time and, using the measure, two stakes are placed directly below the ends of the wall plates. The point half way between them is determined by the half piece of string and marked by a third stake. The depth and position of the rounded end is then determined by measuring from the third stake to the end of the house with the section of string which was shortened by 1 to 2 spans. [804]

A curved wall plate (*i lolo*), consisting of three arched sections, is then cut into three sections and shaped to measurement. The two end arched sections are called *i turaki* and the middle arched section, *i mboto ni lolo*. The sections are fitted and lashed together with slant joins.

On an appointed day when all is in readiness, the workers meet to set up the rounded end section by the following method:

The curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is raised by means of a rope tied to the middle section (*i mboto ni lolo*) and slung over the end tie beam and temporarily lashed in position. It is joined to the ends of the straight wall plates by lashing. Holes are dug for the end wall posts (*i nduru ni lolo*). They are erected, and the curved wall plate is lowered onto them by loosening the temporary supporting rope. Next the depth of the curved roof plate (*faleano*) is determined by cutting a length of 1 to 2 spans from the string which marked the depth of the curved wall plate. The curved roof plate consists of three or more arches joined, set up, and tied in the same way as the curved wall plate. It is slung half way between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole. The position of the curved roof plate is determined by measuring the distance between the curved wall plate and the main ridgepole with a string, halving it, and tying a knot in the middle. The ends of the curved roof plate taper almost to a point and are lashed to the ends of the straight wall plates, above their junction with the curved wall plate. Then the rafters of the rounded end section are set up parallel to each other joining the rafters of the roof of the middle section. They are tied first at the top, then to the curved roof plate, and finally to the curved wall plate. Next the curved purlins and suspended purlin are set up inside the rafters (parallel to the curved roof plate and to each other) and tied to the rafters, the curved roof plate, and the curved wall plate. When both ends have been completed, the wall posts (*nduru*) for the middle section of the house are sunk under the straight wall plates. [804]

Foundation mound. The foundation mound (*yazu*) is built by the men of the village or by the owner. The foundation is oval like the ground plan of the house and extends from 1 to 2 meters beyond the house. Earth for the mound is carried in baskets from an old mound or from a new pit. A wall composed of slabs of beach limestone (*vatu rarapa*) on the limestone islands and of basaltic stones on the volcanic islands is built to face the 342 332 342 333

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Greens

222 [177] The leaves of various plants are collected by women for use as vegetables (*mboro*). There is the "true" *mboro* and a species of fern called *ota*. The Chilean pepper, cabbage, and cress have been adopted.

Kava Growing

249 Ava plants for the making of kava are propagated by slips; the lower joints with a bud on each are planted. Sometimes they are raised over a flat stone so that the mass of the root grows upwards; the plant then holds on to the ground only by rootlets, which spread over and round the stone.

Coconuts

245 The coconut tree affords a great many articles of everyday use: the root is used for dye; the stem for beams and rafters; the leaves for baskets, fans, and walls; the spathe for a torch; the reticula for sacks and strainers; the husk for coir; the shell for water bottles and cups; the flesh and kernel of the nut are good for men, pigs, and fowls.

A special name is given to each stage of the growing nut: *mataloa, sosou, mbu, kande, niu mandu* (mature nut), *vara* (sprouting nut). Special terms are also used in counting nuts.

When the owner wishes to cut copra, he reserves his coconut trees by setting up some mark, called *lele*, which usually includes portions of coconut leaves. These are merely signs and do not cause disease.

Planting Periods

805 [177] The months are called moons, and are lunar months. It is impossible at the present day to get a complete Lauan calendar, as the European system has displaced the old style of reckoning time. Yam planting determines the names of most months. The month of reeds is the one in which yams are dug up. Some months or series of months are vaguely designated as "digging months" or "months of maturity" (*vula i matua*). Some months are called after the fish that are caught at that season: thus about November comes the "great *palolo*," then the "little *palolo*," then the "great *nungga*," and the "little *nungga*": months when the yams are maturing, so there is no planting.

First Fruits

431 [43] The word *sevu* has a wide meaning. It may perhaps be best rendered by the verb "to handsel," meaning "to begin a thing ceremonially." It applies chiefly however to the offering of first fruits from plantations.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

including the ridge beam, projected at each end and were adorned with 765
cowrie shells. People were afraid of these houses; they thought, "Perhaps the owner of the house, his soul, is peeping out." They have given this up with Christianity, but iron roofs supported on a post at each end are quite common for shade and to protect the grave from the wind.

Various objects are placed on the grave—cups, saucers, what is left of the medicine used by the deceased, or even an umbrella. Plants with colored leaves are often planted round the top of the grave, such as pink *Dracaena*, crotons, and a plant called *vasa*.

In the old days knots were made in the reticulum of a coconut bunch or [211
in a creeper to count the nights. A woman related to the deceased kept the 505]
record. Some people counted by tides.

For the hundredth night a large feast was held. On this day permitting of clothes (*vakataraisulu*) might be held; on the other hand, it may not be held for six months. Up to that time they had worn only black, a period called *tambu i sulu*, forbidding of clothes; now they cast off mourning. This is the occasion of a festival (*solevu*). They discuss what group of nobles (*mata turanga*) will be their *vis-a-vis* (*nggaravi keitou*); that group of nobles will give presents in exchange. At one funeral the relatives prepared a feast: three pigs, several pots of soup; also a sheet of a hundred pieces of bark cloth called the unbinding of the clothes (*i sere ni sulu*). One pig was for the ladies, one for Roko Sau. After discarding their black clothes, the ladies on Isoa's side dressed in bark cloth and dragged the big sheet to Great House, where they took off their bark cloth. The herald offered up the feast. Roko Sau in return presented whale's teeth, one bag of sugar, one tin of biscuits, six bales of calico, all this "to receive the feast with." There are no presents beyond the bark cloth worn by the mourners. If Ratu Finau died, his sister and others would take a sheet of a hundred pieces to his father's brother's son and it would be his duty to clothe them. When a Tui Naiau died it was the custom to invite people from Mbau, Thakaundrove, and elsewhere.

The name of the ceremony "permitting clothes" is modern. Tui Tum- [177]
bou says it came from the West in Christian times and that of old there was only a "net of the dead" or "net of death" (*lawa ni mate*). This is not a real net, but only the term used for some manufactured article. If the High Chief died a large canoe was built and named for him, and taken to Mbau. This was also sometimes done for people of less importance. The net of the dead might be taken to Tonga as was done for Matawalu and Malani, high chief. "Our kinsfolk came and took it away," they say. At the present day the net of the dead is the name of one particular article at the permitting of clothes. For the late Tui Naiau it was the ball of coir string.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

INCARNATIONS

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

MEN	WOMEN
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

●805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuata*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa, vala,* mango, *nggalaka,* and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*). 805

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands. 222

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all [482 505]

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by 177 the concentration of the population in coast villages. This 476 separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have 797 had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observa- 805 tion of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

food and washing clothes for the Sunday ceremonies and feast, and Monday is a day of recovery from the Sabbath. Tuesday and Friday are reserved for work on the gardens, and Wednesday is used for other activities including care of the village and houses.

The mission church requires a quarterly tithe from each member. When the copra industry was at its height, this tithe was paid in money, but was being paid in produce when we visited Lau, for after the slump in copra there was very little money in the southern islands. This obligation, as well as the native tax imposed by the colonial government, makes further regular demands upon the industry of the people.[36]

The growing demand for regularity in economic life conflicts with native psychology. The Lauans, as well as most non-westernized peoples, have a natural rhythm of work which differs fundamentally from the mechanical regularity imposed by a machine age civilization. They prefer to work and work best at irregular intervals interspersed with frequent rest periods, ceremonials, and feasts. This tendency toward irregular work rhythms is counteracted to a certain extent in Lau by the daily recurring problem of subsistence. At the same time even in this difficult environment the natives manage, by living at a minimum level of subsistence, to adhere to their preferred tempo.

The attempt to regulate the work habits of the natives was but one result of the gradual penetration of the principles of western economy into the group. Another was the introduction of western trade articles. Trade in imported articles focused the essential differences between the native and the western economic systems, especially regarding exchange of goods. Both the early missionaries and the government officials frowned upon the native soliciting system. Soliciting

[36] In 1933-34 the usual government head tax of £1 and the provincial tax of £1 per year were not required of the natives of Lau province on account of the low price of copra and the limited resources of the group.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka: Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

A large sailing canoe requires a crew (*kai mua*) of at least three men, including the skipper. The crew takes turns at the steering paddle and the sheet. 502

In order to keep the outrigger to windward, either end of the canoe is used as the head. In tacking the yard is lifted out of the tack socket on the head-board, carried astern the length of the canoe, and placed in the tack socket on the stern-board. At the same time the mast inclines slightly toward the stern. The sheet is passed around the outside of the sail, which turns inside out, and the canoe proceeds stern ahead on the new tack at right angles to its former course.

The Lauans are not fearless sailors. They do not venture forth if there is a suspicion of black clouds on the horizon. Frequently they sail in canoes that are out of repair—the sail ripped, the lashings loose, or the rigging weak. Rather than repair them, they wait for very fair wind and weather. They plan routes in short relays rarely more than 40 miles long between islands. They have a highly developed sense of sight through the dark and can see the outline of an island long after it has been lost to untrained eyes. They avoid sailing at night, however, and have to a great extent lost the art of navigation by the stars. They say that on dark, stormy nights the stars are of no help anyway. Only the best and most experienced sail by the stars. One of these is Rasolo of Nggalinggali, whose father was a Tongan and whose mother was a woman of the Naivotavota clan. Rasolo says each island has several stars. When one is left behind or sets, another is used. [821]

The route to Ono is considered the most difficult in Lau. Sailors say that the passage between Kambara and Wangava (called I Vuthuninggase, Anger of the Ancestors) is the roughest in Lau. A place on the route between Namuka and Wangava, where a canoe once struck a storm and its load of breadfruit was dumped, is called Mbuia Uto (Throw out the Breadfruit). Between Lakemba and Olorua is a place called Na Lenggandau (Turning Point).

Provisions for the trip usually consist of drinking nuts and enough cooked garden food for one scant meal, since the crew plan to reach their destination before nightfall. On the trip I made from Ongea to Kambara the crew took neither food nor drinking nuts.

If a canoe is becalmed the crew whistle and call for the wind. They shout when a breeze comes up. Formerly they sang songs. [198 787]

The Kambara people say that in sailing to Lakemba the small end (stern) of the canoe is used as the head, but in sailing to Kambara the large end (bow) is used because the greenheart originated at a place called Vunivesi (origin of the greenheart) where Ndaunisai landed on Kambara. This would,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara.* He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 776 *did* die (this was in the bad days of the measles, sir), that Tui Uruone thought he would stay the deaths by killing the rat. So he went forth with some of his men to Daku, and cut down the two trees; but the rat escaped, and is sometimes seen even now. But Tui Uruone himself died soon afterwards."

A young man here came in with a coco-nut cup brimming with a refreshing draft of *Yaqona*; and after we had both partaken and lit more *sulukas*, Adi Letila continued her story.

*539 776 "I have spoken, sir, of Dau Cina, 'the god of the flickering light.' Perchance you may have 821 seen on certain dark nights a faint light that wanders about between Na Malata Island and the mainland, sometimes moving up and down the hill-sides of Na Malata, and anon dancing across the narrow strait till it settles down in the gorge near the spring of heated waters. This is the light of Dau Cina, or Tutumatua; and woe betide our maidens who cross his path when he moves abroad. He is an evil-minded god, and *539 776 the mission preachers of our race oft declaim against him," she continued, and a little smile crept to the corners of her mouth as she aimlessly traced patterns with her finger on the mats, "for it sometimes happens that upon Dau Cina do our maidens cast the blame when all is not well with them. Yet, perhaps, it is not always Dau Cina.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way. 431 643

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing: 501 533

[539]

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; — The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. — The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. — The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The south-east and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they 823

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

825 use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi o singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

502 821 The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka; Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group of stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

821 The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

821 502 Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

[533 539]

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

501 Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

539 but he spoke from the bier and said, "I am going to be buried in the Great Cave." When they arrived at the Great Cave they wanted to bury him on this side, but he said, "Carry me as far as Wainiyambia." So they took him there and buried him.

Oloi is the *tautu* of Kambara. Oloi is not far from Suva. If the Kambarans go to Suva they go and take food in Oloi; the part of the Oloi people is to abuse them. The ancestor (*tu*) of Kambara, Mberewalaki by name, went down to Oloi to beg for earth to bring to Kambara. The stick he used to carry the baskets with was a *tesi* tree which he wanted to plant in Kambara so that it might grow there. He made one journey and went back for more. On his return the people were baking the earth which he had brought the first time. He saw the smoke from the reef. He was very angry at this and in his anger hurled his burden anyhow at the land so that the earth was heaped up at one place, so they called the place Toka. Taro and horse taro grow there. That is why Oloi and Kambara are *tautu*.

Another version says the cock crowed while he was out by the reef so he threw away the earth; still another that he pulled up the top of Oloi and planted it in Kambara.

323 The hill in Kambara where lies the earth brought by Mberewalaki is called Ndelaioloi. It is the only planting ground in Kambara. When the people of Kambara dig in order to plant, the water in Oloi is troubled, seeing which the people of Oloi say, "Kambara is a land of low fellows, of cannibal's meat."

ONO ISLAND

Tuiliku is said to have been a man but it is supposed he was a spirit.
539 This was in the days when Matokana was chief in Ono.

Tui Ono sailed to Tuvana, and the women and Tuiliku went there. After staying in Tuvana they prepared to return to Ono. Tui Ono told the women to stay in Tuvana. Tuiliku hearing this ran away to the bush. When the chief of Matokana knew that Tuiliku had run away he took the women on board and went home. Tuiliku remained alone. Night came, and as he was lying down to sleep spirits came and rolled him in the mud and threw him up in the air. At daybreak the spirits went home; at sunset they came again. Tuiliku wondered what he should do, so he thought of burying himself in the sand. When he had done so the spirits took each a stick and prodded the sand, and prodded Tuiliku; they took him to the sea and ducked him and threw him about till daylight. Tuiliku bethought him what he should do to save his life. When night came he thought of a device to hide: he climbed a coconut palm. The spirits came and looked for him in the earth, in the mud, then in the trees, and found him, and brought him down. They rolled him again till daylight and then went back to the bush. Tuiliku again pondered on some means of safety when Lingandua, also called Tutumatua, came along and said to Tuiliku, "What are you doing?"

Tuiliku said, "Sir, I am a dead man; the spirits torment me. Where are you going?"

Lingandua said, "I am going to Mburotu; why do you ask?"

Tuiliku said, "What if we went together?"

"If you can, let us go," said Lingandua.

"I shall try," said Tuiliku, "I can't stay in Tuvana." They both set out for Mburotu.

They followed a path to a reef which is still to be seen. Lingandua said, "Let us watch the breakers: three will come, one will be black, one white; when the red one comes let us jump into it." They jumped into the red breaker and found themselves inside a house in Mburotu. That house was full of women taken there by Lingandua.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

TARUKUA

539 The gods (*tupua*) of various places went to Kendekende to get water. They dug channels and brought it down to the villages. A god took water in a taro leaf and carried it and ran to Tarukua. As he ran the root of a *Casuarina* tree tripped him up so that he fell and spilt the water. He ran to the beach. There the god (*tupua*) of Wathiwathi met him and they argued about Aiwa. The god of Tarukua threw a stone at it and broke it and said to the god of Tui Wathiwathi, "Go and see; if it is broken it is mine." The god of Wathiwathi went to see: it was broken in two unequal pieces and the stone thrown by the god of Tarukua lies between them. The smaller half belongs to Wathiwathi the other to Tarukua.

Another version runs as follows:

There was a god of Levuka, and he used to go to Aiwa, as Aiwa was his land. In course of time he went there one day and the god of Tarukua went there. He said, "Where are you going?"

The god of Levuka said, "I am going to Aiwa."

And the god of Tarukua said, "It is not your land."

And they disputed. The god of Levuka kept saying, "It is mine, not yours." They argued and argued, then the god of Tarukua threw a stone at Aiwa which was broken, and the Tarukuan said, "Your end to leeward, and my end to windward." But the end which was Levuka's was given to Roko Sau.

● 823 In Nanduayalo on the beach below highwater mark stands a small rock called *vatu ni loka*, or tidal wave stone. If any one strikes it and breaks off a piece a tidal wave is said to follow. Women who go to fish sometimes strike it, being sceptical. The size has much decreased in consequence.

[During my stay there was a big tidal wave.] The people inquired, "Who has struck the tidal stone?" Now a woman of Fulanga who did not know the stone, had broken off a piece to get at a shell fish. She was afraid and said nothing, but some one knew of it. Emosi says the spirit of the stone is Tui Tarukua; another does not know; a third says, "Perhaps it has something to do with ancestor gods" (*ka vakatupua lako*); a fourth says there is no spirit. Tui Tumbou says this and the "stuffing rock" (*vatu sososo*) have nothing to do with spirits (*tevoro*); they date from the beginning of the world; they are *tala tupua;* that is, they come from the origins. However, perhaps God is the spirit of it in that he made it miraculous like that.[28]

WAITAMBU

776 539 Waitambu is the seat of the Matangi Women. They are the goddesses (*kalou*) of Rakuta and the chief gods of Waitambu.

They used to have a house in a place called Rakuta by a spring inland of the taro fields that lies on the main road. The land belongs to the descendants of the priests. Bubbles come up in that spring now in one place now in another. Under the bank an eel is said to lie; sometimes it is visible, and they take it up and place it on the ground; if they touch the body it lies like dead; if they touch the head, it turns and bites. Beside the spring stands a coconut palm which was in front of the door of the Matangi's house; next to it is a *mamba* tree which flowers; but the fruit dies in Mbulu,

[28] My boys once held a heated discussion, Keni refusing to believe that the stone caused tidal waves. Another argued, "If I am hit I am angry; and so it is with the stone." Keni retorted that the stone had no soul. Mosese admitted this, but contended that this was due to a spirit (*e mbaleta a tevoro*).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusósoso, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to 539
Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala.

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and 782
took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall.

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 on their side of the island, but the people of Ndaku bring them palolo in exchange for which the people of Nggalivanua have to give much. To prevent palolo being brought they hit the stone and a heavy sea ensues. There is also a heavy sea if a man of Raviravi walks on that beach, for they hate Raviravi people. One clan of landspeople in Levukaindaku are the gods (*vu*) or priests (*mbete*) of the stones: they cut leaves of any kind and lay them on the stones. In Christian times these stones were objected to so strongly that the people took them out to sea in two canoes and dumped them overboard, and returned to the land, but a big sea came which carried the stones back to their place and dashed the canoes to pieces on them.

776 There is a story of a *tevoro*, half man half spirit, who came over from Kandavu sailing in a pot. He set up his pot as a house on a hill and proceeded to eat up the inhabitants. His teeth were tied with a string to strengthen them. He was torn to pieces by the dog of a boy called Lasawalevu whom he tried to eat.

823 There is a place called Navatuloa which is also known as Matukundua (Matuku-once), because if a foreigner sets foot there he will go home and die. The people of old did not practice witchcraft; they simply took remnants of food and put them in Navatuloa.

ANIMAL TALES

538 There are a number of animal tales. They are referred to as "the Animal Tribe" (*ko ira a yavusa manumanu*). In these tales the names of the animals always appear with the polite prefix *ra* (sir), as Ra Vonu, "Sir Turtle."

The tale of Sir Turtle and Sir Monitor (*vokai*) is well known all over Fiji:

539 There was a turtle and a monitor. This animal, the monitor, and this fish, the turtle, have different homes: the home of the turtle is in the sea; the monitor's home is the dry land. One day the monitor was going down to the beach as the turtle was coming ashore. They met in a very nice spot. They had no sooner met when they both together saw a conch. When they saw this conch they agreed to walk as far as the place where lay the conch. As they were walking they talked together and each related the nature of his country. As they were discoursing, their discourse took a bad turn owing to some words used by the turtle to the monitor, saying, "You hill people, you are always eating vegetables; we sea-folk, we eat shell-fish, eat sea-weed and fish." Thereat the monitor was angry and proposed they should have a tug-of-war with the conch; he that got it, at the time of his death the conch should be blown that people might know Sir Turtle or Sir Monitor is dead. The turtle agreed. In tugging Sir Monitor clutched the lip of the conch with his claws, making those black stripes that are still to be seen. Sir Turtle inserted his penis deep on the other side which, since then, is streaked like a turtle's penis. Sir Turtle won. So the turtle carried off the conch to sea, and that is why the conch is blown when Sir Turtle dies.

Sir Rat and Sir Bat: Sir Rat had wings while Sir Bat went about with a staff. One day Sir Bat managed to steal Sir Rat's wings; Sir Rat seized the staff, which is now his tail.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
● 823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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*539
●823
776

One more word as to the Lauan Burotu. Ducks, and one sort of pigeon, were undoubtedly introduced (or else storm-driven) from Tonga; and there is a legend that there are two upright stones out on the reef at Tuvana which are in a straight line with the direction of the mysterious flight of duck and pigeon that came from Burotu, and these stones point to Tonga.

These two stones incidentally are said to be the captured gods that I mentioned earlier, and for many generations one could hear them saying in a sing-song chant out on the reef,

Burotu, Burotu, we two are hiding it,

until an impious trader at Ono, named Sidney Perry ("who sickened and died soon after"), some thirty years ago, "took a hammer and knocked them on the head *and killed them.*" Ever since when they have been silent!

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I was riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin— I thought that here was an opportunity to get

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Who knows? Yet 'tis well remembered how 539*
Dau Cina appeared to the daughter of Tui Yaro 776
as she was scraping *masi*[1] at the stream by Koro Korokoti. What happened there is not for me to tell you, sir, but that day all the men of the town came out in their rage to kill Dau Cina, who fled before them, and flew off across the seas to the Moala Islands. And many strange things befell him there—things that I may not speak of—until one day he was worsted by a girl of Nasoki village, and fled back again to this island, where he has remained ever since. Yet there was one day when he ventured across to Munia Island; but while there he annoyed Koroibo in an unseemly manner, and was so cast forth from there. Ah, Dau Cina was indeed an evil god, and 'tis well the missionaries have brought the light to us."

But for all Dau Cina's sins I am afraid the old lady kept a warm corner in her heart for this naughty god, and there was a twinkle in her eye as she re-lit her *suluka* and proceeded.

"There was an occasion, however, on which 539*
Dau Cina proved himself all-powerful against 776
the chief god of Mualevu district. They met by 823
chance on the coast at the place called Na Lele—where Wea the Tongan now has his coco-nut grove—and there Dau Cina challenged the other to

[1] Bark from which native cloth is made.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 776 823 a throwing of spears. They threw towards a spot where Na Malata faces this island, and which was then all one land with us; and they decided that the one who threw the best spear should be acknowledged chief for all time. Three times did they each essay, and on the third cast Dau Cina made such a mighty spearing that he cleft the neck of land in twain. And thus did Na Malata become an island.

*539 776 "This, perhaps, is but a tale of our forefathers, and may not be altogether a true thing; but of what befell Aca, the half-caste, there can be no doubt, for is he not here in the village amongst us to this day, and ready to tell with his own lips the happenings that came to him? This is the story as he told it to us that day when he came running back along the white beaches, trembling like a startled horse, and his eyes wide open with the horror of what he had seen. He was but a lad at the time, nearly thirty years ago, but I remember well his words. He had been to Futuna with Tui Qara, Lilo, and Seremaia, to visit the coco-nut groves of Lilo; and on the way a black and white sea-snake crossed their path, as they sometimes do where the road girts the sea marge.

"Now, Tui Qara, in a fit of wantonness stabbed at it with his spear and wounded it. And as he struck he felt a strange pang dart up his arm, and [793] fear entered his heart. 'Fool that I am,' said

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 834]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226 228

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tava sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [?nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda.*

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

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[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[1164] [24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The general methods of witchcraft are familiar to all, even children. 754
Remnants of food are used "because some parts are left, and some go down the stomach." It is said asthma can be caused by burying a man's spittle. A man will split a reed, stick it in a garden and hang bits of clothes on it "in order that that disease may come and settle on it."

A man from Matuku had learned from Kandavu Island a charm, and told it to me:

The man speaks to the spirit of the charm (*twai*) and then carries out the witchcraft. He prepared the leaves and lays them down before putting them into a pit, and speaks to the spirit: "These are the leaves for .....; please go straight and kill him." The *kalou* or spirit is his great-grandfather (it is usual to call on the great-grandfather), it is by him the charm is made effective. The leaves consist of a creeper, 16 leaves of bitter *sinu*, and the sea creature called *utiutitaloko*, along with the remnants of a man's food, tobacco, his clothes or his cup. The owner buries the charm and runs seawards, not returning to his garden for four nights. The spirit turns the man towards the pit; but any man who passes over it dies, even if he is a kinsman of the owner. After four nights he pierces the spot, which steams upward.

The disease affects the arms, legs, and belly, the body swells, and the victim becomes restless; it is just as though he were with child.

The owner of this malicious charm learned from the same Kandavu man 787
a method of detecting witchcraft. It is called *vakata* (causing to bite). 754
The man described it as follows:

This must be carried out before sunrise, because the kava has to be made before sunrise, for it is forbidden to meet anyone while divining. With the thumb and fore- [824]
finger he plucks with alternate hands two stems of the small plant, *totondro*. He lays them before him and with the corresponding hand plucks off the leaves: he may not use the right hand on the left stem or vice versa. He makes two sets of four leaves each, folds them, and picks up one between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the other in the same way with the left. He says, "I want to know about my kinsman, whether he is well or ill; if he is ill, let it sting me." Or else, "You twins, here, I wish to divine [*vakata*] for So-and-so. I want to know about my kinsman; be gracious and make effective my charm"; or "there is the kava of my kinsman; I want to know ....." He then chews the right hand set; if the kinsman is ill it will sting; if in health it will not sting. *Totondro* is a most insipid plant and stings only in divination. You may mention anything, such as witchcraft or cricket, then chew; it will not sting if your team is to lose. If a man wants to find a leaf he will point in all directions; it will sting when he points to the right one. The left hand is for confirmation (*i vakandinandina*). When the divination is over, the kava is poured away; no one drinks. The bathing consists in bathing in the sea, in washing hands and feet.

This charm has a spirit, the Twins (*koirau a ndrua*). They are goddesses. The [776]
charm (*vakata*) is just like my child: whenever kava is made at meetings I pour out a little of the first cup at the foot of the wall or elsewhere, and I drink the remainder. At the end of his demonstration I presented him with a mat and bark cloth and he said, "My power is gone. The charm is departed from me; you have taken it; the token thereof is the gift. If I want to carry it out it will not work. My charm is over for me; I shall not carry it out again; this gift is the end of it; now it will be useful to you till your death."

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

823 In Tulaki stands a rock about 5½ feet high full of shallow holes. It is
778 called *Vatu Sososo* (Stuffed Stone).

If a man is on his way to Nukunuku he folds up a leaf and puts it in one of the holes saying, "Stuffed stone, stuffed stone, when I get to Nukunuku may there be a pudding," or "greens." It is also invoked in fishing, crab hunting. Anything we wish to light upon." There is no spirit; the world was created and it was there.

NASANGALAU

824 Along the old path from Tumbou to Nasangalau are reeds known as
789 of Tying Reeds (*Ngasau Mbukimbuki*). If the sun is near setting a man will sign (*yalova*) to the sun, then make a knot in a reed and hold it firmly in either hand, nor let it go till he reaches the village, in order that it may remain light till he gets home. It is an ancient tradition.

823 Lower down is the Pot Rest (*Sue ni Kuro*): where are three stones,
789 placed like the stones that support a pot. A man will take three sticks and put one stick between each stone, like spokes of a wheel; he then lights them. When he gets to the village a pot is found ready cooked. This is also original (*e vu tale nga*); it existed when Lakemba arose. These things belong to Natokalau.

VAKANO

539 A long time ago there were many men in Vakano. Then a man of Vakano married a lady of Tumbou, but he would not sleep with her, but slept with other women. She was angry and went to Tumbou. The nobles then ordered the people of Vakano to dig a taro field. They came to Tumbou each carrying one Tahitian chestnut. They threw down their chestnuts, and the pile was higher than the post of the chief's house. When they had finished digging they came to receive the food prepared for them; but it was really a heap of stones covered with sails. Two women touched the heap and felt they were stones and one said, "Alack! alack! the bow of the canoe on which we must embark today." The club struck and the people were slaughtered; only those two escaped. They went and settled above Vatusososo, and kept avenging the massacre of their people by catching young children and baking them. Then they embarked to paddle over to Tuvutha, but they each paddled in opposite directions so that the canoe did not move. Then they carried their canoe to the marsh land where the taro fields of Vakano lie, and set it down, and they died there. That is their marsh land: in the daytime they dig holes and at night they go and pull up mature taro in Tumbou, Yandrana, and other places, plant it, and in the morning they light the oven. Their work is to make a year of the night.

A spirit once came from Thakaundrove and entered the temple of Nautuutu in Tumbou; he went and sat down on the god's bed, which is forbidden. He had a comb stuck in his hair the tip of which projected out of the opposite door. Tui Vakano, coming along, saw it and disliked it because it is forbidden to do so in the chief's house. Tui Vakano seized the tip of the comb and broke it in bits and ate it to grieve the spirit, then turned him out, ordering him not to come again to Lakemba. The god of Thakaundrove ran away; he had wanted to be chief in Lakemba.

The following story is also told:

The ancestor god of Moala came to Vakano and bound Tokairambe, the elder brother of Tui Vakano. He wanted Lakemba to be subject to Moala. Tokairambe

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Apparently a partial albino strain runs through the people of the southern islands, especially on Fulanga and Ongea. In some families the hair, and often also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored.

The coarse, black hair of the Lauans ranges from the frizzly Negroid type to the wavy Polynesian type. Hair is considered important and is groomed by both sexes. Many individuals, especially young people, dye their hair with red bark to give it a coppery cast. The dye is prepared from the bark of the *vetau* tree (*Ochrocarpus excelsus*) as follows:

> Strips of bark about 2 cm. thick are cut into pieces about 6 cm. square which are beaten with a stone hammer on a stone slab, and then soaked in water in a wooden bowl. Next they are rubbed over a grater (made of a piece of tin punctured with holes) into a wooden bowl. The red pulp is squeezed out by hand, leaving clear, brick-colored liquid dye, which is left on the hair for several hours. After the dye has been washed off, lime is applied.

Lime is prepared and used to cleanse the hair as follows:

> After women dive for coral on the reef, either men or women bake it in a wood fire for about a day. It is removed from the fire by means of prongs made of a coconut midrib; covered with *evueru (Hernandia ovigera)*, banana, or breadfruit leaves, and placed in a coconut-leaf basket. The opening of the basket is lashed up and the basket buried in the ground for three or four nights. Then the lime is mixed with water, applied to the hair and left for a day, after which it is washed out in the lagoon. The treatment destroys lice, bleaches the hair slightly, and causes it to stand out from the head. Women who are careful about their appearance apply lime to the hair about every three weeks, men usually apply it less frequently.

In order to blacken the hair, according to informants, women cut the flower of the banana into slices about 3 cm. thick and rub it over hair which has been reddened by dye. *Wangiri* and *oki* are used for the same purpose.

Gray hair is common among old people but few bald-headed (*ndriki*) persons are seen.

"Strong" hair that stands out from the scalp is admired, and to produce this effect a wooden comb (*seru*) is used. Informants say that this comb is modern and that they formerly used a comb (called *serusasa*) composed of the midribs of coconut leaflets (*sasa*) tied to a wooden handle with sennit. After the hair has been combed to stand out, it is shortened and shaped to the desired length by means of a burning brand, frequently of *thimbithimbi* (*Cynometra grandiflora*) bark. Most adults wear their hair from 6-10 cm. long. Formerly men wore their hair a few centimeters longer. Since the wearing of most head ornaments is a chiefly prerogative, hair ornaments are rare except in the dance or when sprigs of flowers are worn casually about the village.

The cleaning of one another's heads is a friendly pastime among the women. One woman sits in front of and facing another, who hunts through her lowered head, eating or killing the prey. Formerly a head scratcher (*i*

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milamila), consisting of a pointed stick about 35 cm. long made of *mbau* (*Pittosporum brackenridgei*), was used. 515

Some old men wear beards, but most men shave their faces at least once a week, usually with a piece of glass. [302]

Nails are bitten off or cut with a knife.

Most Lauans bathe daily in the sea about sundown. There are no specific bathing places for men and women, but the sexes do not bathe together. Frequently perfumed coconut oil is rubbed on the legs, arms, and hair after the bath.

Men and boys over the age of six wear a kilt (*sulu*) wound round the waist and knotted. It extends to the knees and is made of a piece of trade cloth, gunny sack, tapa, or leaves. The upper part of the body is bare except on festive occasions, when an imported cotton undershirt or shirt is worn. The men wear ornaments only in the dance. Formerly they wore boars' tusks (*mbatchi ni puaka*), perforated at one end and hung on hibiscus bark, or an orange-colored bivalve (*sopui*) neck ornament. Aged informants say that the outer surface of the shell was polished with a stone and sand. The perforation appears to have been made with a sharp, pointed drill. Armbands (*nggato*), made of a shell called *leru*, were worn just below the elbow by both men and women. 291 301

Formerly the ears of men and women were pierced with a bamboo knife and were weighted until they hung to the shoulder. [304]

Sandals (*i vava vulu*), made of coconut husk and bound to the feet by means of tapa, are worn to cover a foot wound. An eyeshade (*matai iri*) made of a plaited coconut leaf is worn occasionally as a protection against the sun.

Young girls and women wear skirts of trade cloth which reach from the waist to the ankles. The skirts of little girls from six to fourteen and of women working in the bush or on the beach hang just below the knee. The upper part of the body is either bare or covered with a sleeveless cloth blouse, which adds to the social prestige of the wearer. Young women formerly wore a short fringe (*liku*) made of hibiscus bark, or the leaves of ti, *nunu* (*Ficus*), *sitchi*, or *vono* (probably *Alyxia bracteolosa*). The women wear practically no ornaments except when dressed for the dance or for ceremonial occasions, when they hang a wreath (*salusalu*) of the dyed inner bark of the hibiscus, fragrant leaves, and flowers around the neck. [554] [824]

GEOGRAPHY

The Lau or Eastern Archipelago of the Fiji Islands is situated between 16° 43′ and 21° 2″ south latitude and between 178° 15′ and 180° 17′ west longitude (fig. 1). It is a chain of about 100 small islands and reefs extending 131

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Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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173 826 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 824 173 825 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini,* a large hawk.

173 771 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

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step into the water, open their *tatanga* nets and surround the school so that the fish are caught in the nets. 226

Yavirau. A *yavirau* (*yavi*, hauling; *rau*, string or rope) is a communal fishing expedition on special occasions such as the death or marriage of a prominent man.

Toward the end of December I witnessed a *yavirau* held by the villages of Lomatchi and Tokalau. A few prominent men of Tokalau and Lomatchi went to the master fisherman, ceremonially presented kava to him, and explained that the community wished to have a *yavirau* so that there might be plenty of fish for a feast on New Year's Day. They asked that he tell them when and where to fish. The master fisherman folded his hands and sank his head; looking at the floor, he cleared his throat, and replied, "Vinaka sara" (Very well). He fixed December 28 as the great day and selected the Lomatchi fishing grounds as the place. The supplicants thanked him, sat together for a while, and then left to report to their people.

On the appointed day one group of young men went into the bush to cut *walai* (*Entada phaseoloides*) and *tuva* vines which grow to a length of over 100 meters and are about 0.5 cm. in diameter. Meanwhile another group of men was busy with cane knives, cutting green branches of coconut. The branches were piled near the beach with the *walai* and *tuva* vines. With their teeth, a sharp shell, or a cane knife the men split the sides of the branches from the midrib slightly, took hold of the sides with their fingers and then, suddenly opening their arms, stripped them with the adhering leaflets from the midrib. While some men or boys were holding the vines, others wound the coconut foliage adhering to the strip spirally around the vines so that the leaves stuck out like long barbs. Women did not participate in this work. Whenever they were invited to, they laughed and joked, and continued to blacken their faces with ashes in spite of the fact the sky was gray most of the day. [324]

Finally the spiked strings were rolled into two coils, each about 400 meters long, and placed on a canoe. The crowd was excited, for the tide had begun to ebb. Quickly the canoe was pushed off. Two men, standing on the beach, held one end of the string and, as the canoe was poled toward the reef, the first coil unwound. The second coil was tied to the end of the first and then the canoe moved forward again. Having reached the reef, one man stepped off and held the string. The canoe turned to the right, poled parallel to the reef, and stopped as the last meter of coil unwound. In the meantime men and women on canoes had divided in the lagoon. Women and boys jumped into the water, which was falling rapidly, and held the line so that it might not catch a rock. The line was used to frighten the fish into one corner of the lagoon. The men on the beach started moving forward and gradually the whole line from the beach to the reef moved. Those on the ends were pulling ahead, the others were moving slowly so that the line became semicircular. The people in the water either walked over coral or swam in deep water. The people on the reef end moved toward the beach so that the string began to describe the outline of a horseshoe, the opening toward the beach. Men on canoes followed and admonished the crowd to hold the line deep enough so that schools of fish might not pass below it. The men on the beach stopped. Those holding the end in the water moved toward the beach and finally stepped onto the sand about 40 meters from them. Near the beach the water was shallow, and the encircled fish became nervous. The spiral string drew together around them as they tried to escape. Men and women beat the water, jumped and approached the beach. About 15 meters from the sand the string was cut in two places and married women quickly blocked the openings with nets. At the same time a man held up his spear and looked at the master fisherman who excitedly yelled, "Vinaka" (Very well)! Men and boys threw their spears at the captive fish. Little boys, who tried themselves for the first time, yelled and screamed with enthusiasm.

A stick was shoved through the meshes of each net and thus the full nets were carried onto the beach. The speared fish were spread there also. The women killed those from the nets by biting them on the head. Large ones were struck by the boys with a stick or the back of a cane knife. The fish were sorted according to size and divided

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TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe,* to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

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STEAMING

The small earth oven (*lovo*) used daily in Lau is prepared as follows: 252

A circular pit at least 1 meter wide and 0.5 meter deep is dug in the ground. The same pit is used repeatedly. Wood for fuel is collected in the bush by boys, usually younger brothers of the earth-oven group. Fuel is laid in the pit, and on top of the fuel are placed 30 or more stones. Round basaltic stones of uniform size, weighing about 2.5 to 3 pounds, are preferred. (Frequently basalt stones are imported from the volcanic islands. When basalt stones are not available stones of limestone are used. A set of earth-oven stones is used over a long period of time.) Unless imported matches are available the fuel is lighted by means of a burning brand from a neighboring fire. If there is no fire to be had it is made as described above. As the fire burns the stones fall to the bottom of the pit and are spread out with a stick. 354

Breadfruit is either steamed whole or steamed after being scraped with a shell, dried in the sun, and cut in halves. Breadfruit is placed in the oven first, directly on the hot stones. If no breadfruit is to be steamed, the hot stones are covered with a layer of green leaves such as *viavia (Crinum asiaticum)* before the food is put into the oven. Sweet potatoes are washed and manioc roots washed and scraped before being put into the oven. For a feast they are wrapped in small coconut-leaf baskets. Tahitian chestnuts are steamed in their shells. Pumpkin and papaya are cut in pieces, cleaned, and placed skin down on the top layer of food in the oven. If pumpkin or breadfruit alone is in the oven sticks are placed across the oven before it is covered. To close the oven two or three thick layers of non-poisonous leaves, such as *viavia, sitchi (Grewia crenata)*, banana, or breadfruit are placed over the food; then a layer of dry coconut-leaf baskets or old gunny sacks; and finally a layer of earth tightly packed so that no steam can escape. After three or four hours the layers of earth and leaves are carefully removed. 252 [824] [824]

The poisonous varieties of manioc are made into a sort of pudding called *tapioke solo* by the following method. Peeled manioc roots are grated on the rough side of a piece of tin in which holes have been punctured. The tin grater is often fastened to a board and placed in a wooden bowl. A man sits on the ground, the bowl between his outstretched legs, or he sits astraddle a log to which the grater has been nailed. The gratings fall onto a coconut leaf. When tin is not available, a slab of fine coral is used as a grater, as was done in olden times. Fresh water is mixed with the grated manioc in the bowl and the mixture is strained by being squeezed through strips of the inner bark of the hibiscus fastened together at one end. The fibrous part of the manioc which is strained out is set in the sun to dry, usually on a piece of sheet iron, and the residue in the bowl is allowed to settle. Later the water is poured off and the starch, from which the poison has been extracted, remains at the bottom of the bowl. The starch is mixed with the dry manioc and the mixture is made by hand into balls about 6 cm. in diameter. Dry grated coconut is

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342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal
333 adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
[482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

> The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovani* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

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Hocart's statement (15, p. 126) that there is no spitting at the *kanusivi vale* ceremony does not hold for southern Lau. 342

The spitting ceremony marks the strict division of the interior of the house into three sections (p. 64), but, inasmuch as the house has been built by the communal labor of the whole village, the villagers have the privilege of entering the main doorway and sitting down in the lower part of the house at any time.

House Protection. Long poles and fish spears are usually kept leaning against the roof to hold down the thatch. On houses exposed to strong wind, coconut leaves are tied together in pairs by the upper ends and hung as roof weights, astride the ridgepole, to prevent the wind from lifting the thatch or carrying away the roof. The natives say that during hurricanes they crowd together in small low houses and hold down the roof with their hands. [731]

Occasionally dwelling houses are protected from evil spirits by magic prophylactics. They are usually directed against particular spirits. For example, the owner of the house in which I lived in Tokalau had planted a clump of giant taro (*via*) beside the steps leading to the main entrance to protect the inhabitants from Tutumatua (23, p. 127), an evil spirit, who had caused the owner's wife to become ill. If Tutumatua, who had elephantiasis of the leg, attempted to visit the house again, he would see the giant taro plant with its swollen, knobbed roots, and, ashamed of the resemblance of the roots to his leg, would leave immediately. A branch of *uthi* leaves is occasionally hung inside a house to protect it from evil spirits. 342 751

House furnishings

Shutters (*i songo*) are attached to the doorways of a house and used as a protection against wind and rain. There are two main types of shutters: *i songo mbekambeka*, made of *mbekambeka* mats (p. 203) hung on hinges of pandanus to one side of the doorway; and *i songo tambakau*, made of *tambakau* mats (p. 203) sewn together with pandanus, hung above the door, rolled, and tied with sennit. Wooden doors (*i songo papa*) hung on metal hinges to a wooden door frame are seen occasionally in modern houses. Formerly a hearth (*matandravu*), used for cooking and lighting, was set off by blocks of wood in the lower part of the house to the left of the main entrance. Hearths are still found in a few small dwelling houses on Fulanga. The smoke rises through the thatch or the doorways and protects the house from mosquitoes. When mosquitoes are particularly prevalent, green leaves are burned in fires built on the foundation mound outside the doorway to windward. 342 354

For light, wood from the *sevua* (*Vavaea vitiensis*) tree is burned in the fireplace. Besides firelight, oil lamps (*thina*) are used. The lamp consists of a scraped half coconut shell, in which a wick made of the midrib of a single coconut leaflet (*sasa*) wrapped in barkcloth is placed upright either by stick- [824] 373

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343 with coconut leaves. Hibiscus bark is used for lashing. The lean-to roof,
235 also thatched with coconut leaves, is supported by diagonal sticks running from a rod, set on three forked stakes on one side of the house, to the ground on the other side.

Inverted, discarded dugouts are also used for chicken coops, especially for breeding nests.

Sennit

283 Sennit (*mangimangi*) is made from coconut of the largest type called *niu mangimangi* (sennit coconut). The nut grows to 55 cm. long. No other types of nuts are used because their fiber is too short and too brittle. Nuts in the half ripe state (*mbu vinaka*) are husked on a husking stake into five equal longitudinal segments. The segments of two nuts are placed in one pile and thus can be counted easily. Stones are heated in an earth oven, spread out with a stick, and the husked segments of 100 to 200 nuts are placed on the stones. The husks are then covered with green leaves and earth. The husks may be left in the oven from three to 21 days. When needed, they are taken out of the oven through a small opening on one side, which is closed after the desired number of segments has been removed. Each segment is freed of its outer husk by hand and then is placed back upward on a block of wood (*rumbi ni mangimangi*) and beaten with a wooden mallet to remove bits of flesh, dirt, and short fibers. The clean, long fibers are allowed to dry in the sun for about three hours. The good fiber is reddish in color. When the dry fiber is pulled apart by hand, it is ready to be braided as follows:

> The braider seats himself cross-legged with a pile of fiber at his side. He takes a little fiber, places it on his upper leg, and with the palm of his hand rolls it into a strand (*ndua i nggilinggili*). The amount of fiber in the strand determines the thickness of the sennit braid. When he has a sufficient number of strands he begins to braid.

The braid is rolled into coils up to 1,000 fathoms long and is stored or exported.

Frequently, instead of steaming the husks in the earth oven, the segments are boiled (in salt or fresh water) in old kerosene tins for several hours. Then they are beaten and dried. They turn a reddish white color, and are strong and tough. This method was used frequently when the copra industry was at its highest in Lau and kerosene tins were readily available.

283 White sennit, made by soaking the husk segments in salt water for about
386 two months, is neither stronger nor more brittle than baked sennit. Black sennit—which is recent in Lau, according to the natives—is produced by boil-
● [824] ing a coil of baked sennit with leaves of *sinu (Excoecaria agallocha* or *Phaleria disperma), kalatchimbuthi (Acalypha insularis), tatavola,* and *mbele.* The natives say that if any one of these leaves is omitted the dye is not fast.

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502 however, be the orientation of a canoe if the outrigger were on the port side, the usual position in Lau.

For further details concerning *thamakathu*, called *thamakau* in Mbauan, see Hornell (16, pp. 307-319).

Construction

396 The construction of a large sailing canoe requires planned economy on the part of the builder and his clan and the cooperative labor of his whole village. It extends over a period of several months. The builder and his clan must raise enough food to provide daily feasts for the workers and gather enough property to make the final payment to the carpenter.

396 **Canoe body.** The builder selects a tree for the hull of greenheart, *mbau*,
313 or *makota (Dysoxylum richii)* wood. Canoes of greenheart are the strongest and the most durable. The trunk must be straight, large, and sound, and it
● [824] must not be too far from the beach and the village. A sailor is always looking for good canoe timber and often stops on a trip through the jungle to examine a tree. Standing at the base and facing the tree, he sights up to the crown to determine the curve of the trunk and its suitability for a hull.

[412] When the tree has been marked by cutting off a piece of bark with a knife, the builder procures the services of a carpenter, usually from his own village. If he is an influential man, he makes an initial payment of property (*mbutombuto ni wangga*) to the carpenter before the work begins. Formerly a builder from another Lau island or from Tonga made an initial payment of at least two whales' teeth.

396 When sufficient food for the first series of feasts has been collected, a
313 day is set for felling the tree. Early in the morning the men of the village go to fell the tree. Under supervision of the carpenter the tree is felled close
483 to the ground by means of metal-bladed adzes. Before the crown is cut out
[412] wooden rollers are shoved under the trunk. A feast prepared in a temporary earth oven in the jungle is provided by the builder and his clan at about midday. The men meet again on an appointed day to continue the work. With great effort the trunk is rolled over into the position the finished canoe is to take. Two strong saplings, about 3 meters long, are staked near the middle and athwart the trunk on the side from which it is to be rolled. The stakes are lashed to the log with *wangiri* and split *viavia* vines. Wedges of wood are then forced between the log and the stakes to make the vines taut.
[824] Two *kandrangi (Smilax vitiensis)* vines are tied near the base end of the trunk and one near the head. All the men except the builder take hold of these vines and prepare to pull. The builder, grasping the roller under the base of the trunk, cries rhythmically, "Folo, folo, folo, folo! I tuo!" At the last two words the men pull, the builder raises the roller, and the trunk rolls over.

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The ends of the trunk are carefully examined, and if either shows any sign of decay it is gashed for removal.

Sailing canoes to be used outside the reef usually measure from 8 to 12 meters long. Following a vine marker held taut at the base and head ends of the trunk, a man cuts two longitudinal lines in the bark with an adz to mark the opening of the hull. A series of short parallel lines a foot apart are cut at right angles to and joining the two longitudinal lines. The bark of the series of small triangles thus formed is removed and the trunk is leveled between the two edges of the hull. Leafy saplings are thrust into the ground near the log to shade the workers from the sun. A steamed feast is served at noon. 396

The hull is roughly shaped and hollowed in the forest. The upper part of the trunk forms the stern, which is truncated with shield-shaped butt. The base forms the head or bow, which is deep and pointed. When it has been lightened sufficiently it is hauled on rollers to the beach, a very difficult process which I witnessed on Kambara. A pathway through the bush is cleared by burning the brush. Rollers of *sielavu* or other wood are spaced about 6 meters apart along the path for a distance of about 20 meters. One end of a heavy vine (*kandrangi*), about 7 meters long, is knotted to the center of a beam of *mauamaua (Homalanthus nutans)* or other wood which is inserted lengthwise into the stern end of the hull. Sticks of *tapo* are fitted and beaten in athwart the hull above the beam to hold it in place. The stern is wrapped with beaten *walaki (Flagellaria gigantea)* vines. Grasping the *kandrangi* vine, the men haul the hull over the rollers. They place it on the last two and rest while the other rollers are carried forward along the path and the hauling is resumed. When they reach the beach the hull is floated to the village, where it is finished. The hull is placed on two rollers and a temporary shelter (*yalavolau*) (p. 173) is built over it. 396 483 [401] [824]

When the hull is finished, the washstrakes (*sai*) are added. They are lashed to the hull with sennit drawn through a series of holes (*nggara ni vakovako*), drilled along the upper edge of the hull and the lower edges of the washstrakes. The process is called *mbau vau*. A long narrow strip (*kapikapi*) of greenheart, *mbau*, or *vaivai* is inserted between the hull and the washstrake. Under the *kapikapi* is pushed a calking of tapa, coconut fiber, canvas, or cloth. The *kapikapi* is held in place while the lashing proceeds. Starting inside the hull, a piece of sennit is threaded two or three times, out through one hole in the hull and in again through the corresponding hole in the washstrake. It is then looped through the lashing and the process is repeated two or three times depending on the size of the canoe and on the sennit. The original end of the sennit is held fast by the lashing against the hull wall. The sennit is pulled tight and carried to the next pair of holes, 396 284

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287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

(1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The [824] inner bark of the *kesowai* or *yusiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

Black dye is made by boiling brown *keso* dye for several hours. It is also [438] produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

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Flowers

303 langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
[824] makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

Fruit

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

Bark

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

Leaves

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

Roots

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 439] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. [832] The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

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283 The two-ply twist is used as a fishline and in making fishnets. It is made
227 in several degrees of thickness. Fishlines made of the inner bark of the *ronga* are said to be stronger than imported lines.

FISHNETS

286 The process of making a fishnet (*lawa*) was witnessed only once, in the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga (pl. 3,*B*). The netting technique, as illustrated in figure 20, is described as follows:

A two-ply twist made of the inner bark of the *ronga* is wound on a shuttle (*i sikani*) 42.5 cm. long, composed of *mbau thama* wood. A mesh gauge consisting of a smooth, flat board (*papa*) is used. Gauges are of various widths depending on the size of the mesh desired. To make a net 6 meters long and 2 meters wide, a gauge 3 cm. wide is used. The mesh at the end of the first row is hooked by means of sennit to the big toe.

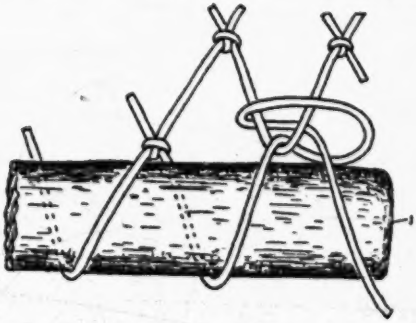

FIGURE 20.—Fishnet technique: two-ply twist is knotted around mesh gauge (1).

TURTLE NETS

Turtle nets, called *lawa ni vonu,* are made of sennit. The only one in southern Lau is kept on the northeast shore of Sauvanaroa, the Wangava lake. It is about 30 fathoms long and 8 fathoms wide. It is made of sennit knotted into a mesh 30 cm. square. Ropes of hibiscus bark form the border. Along
● [824] the entire length of one side of the net, dried halved *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nut shells are fastened side by side as floats. The other side is anchored with stones on the lake bottom. When not in use the net is hung across a rod set on two forked stakes.

ROPE

283 A three-ply pandanus braid, called *i ndreuve,* is made and used by women only. Five or six strips of pandanus, each about 1 cm. wide, form a ply. Three plies are held by the foot while braiding and loose ends are cut with a knife. The rope is used for binding baskets to the back or for tying bundles.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Liquid Containers

The soup cup (*mbilo ni su*) is made from the pointed end of a green coconut. The point is scraped off and the outer surface is made smooth with a shell or a bit of glass. New soup cups are light in color, old ones dark. 415 824

To make coconut-shell water containers (*pupu*), the three openings in a green coconut are punctured and the nut is filled with water. When the meat rots the nut is emptied and refilled with water until it is clean. The outside of the shell is scraped, and the container is hung up with a piece of sennit.

Gourd water containers (*ndanu ni twai*) are made from gourds of the *sina* plant, which grows wild in the bush. The pointed end is cut off the ripe gourd, the seeds are loosened by shaking the fruit. The seeds are removed, and the fruit is dried in the sun. The gourd hardens and is then ready for use.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

Economic exchange in Lau is based on rivalry for social prestige. Each side, whether an individual, a clan, or a village, strives to outdo the other by presenting gifts which are of greater value in quantity and quality than those of the opponents. Exchange is a competitive game in which the side which loses materially wins socially. The aim is to play so cleverly that one gains as much as possible socially, while losing as little as possible economically. 431 556

Most economic exchanges in Lau, including minor affinal exchanges and payments for professional services as well as small quantities of tribute, are made according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-66). Large payments of property, including affinal exchanges and intervillage trade are made according to the *solevu* ceremonial pattern, which consists of an elaboration of the ceremonial presentation pattern.

Types of Exchange

KEREKERE

A system of soliciting or begging, called *kerekere*, is important in the economic and social life of Lau. *Kerekere* is a non-ceremonial solicited gift exchange with deferred, solicited payment. An individual or a group may solicit from another individual or group any property not tabu. If the owner refuses to give up the property he will lose face. If he gives he will gain prestige. The recipient is under obligations to the donor, who at some future time will solicit something, probably of greater value, from him. Property of little value, such as tobacco and kava, as well as property of high value, such as pigs, canoes, and the use of garden land is solicited. An industrious man is continually giving away property in return for social prestige. The system functions among the chiefs as well as among the people. Even tribute

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

is the ideal, and to avoid disarranging their hair many Fijians 142
sleep with a wooden headrest or other support under their 302
necks like the Japanese.

These "big heads" are difficult to keep clean. While the 515
Lauan women gossip in the kitchen huts there is always at 142
least one engaged in casually hunting down and consuming the prey from the woolly hair of a relative. For a thorough cleansing, lime prepared by baking reef coral in an earth oven is rubbed into the hair while it is wet. This is left on for a day and then rinsed out in the lagoon. One frequently sees men, women, and children, their heads caked with white lime, going about their work or play in the village. Lime stiffens and slightly bleaches the hair. Moreover the hair of many individuals is bleached by the sun. A few pure blooded Lauans have naturally blond hair which is easily mistaken for hair bleached by lime or sunshine. In certain families, especially on Fulanga, the hair and frequently also the skin and eyes of some individuals are honey colored. One can prove that this coloring is natural by the blond haired babies which are common in these families. Blondness among the Lauans is probably due to a hereditary strain of partial albinism.

Many individuals of both sexes, especially young people, 302
dye their hair, after liming it, with the red bark of a tree 386
(*Oehrocarpus excelsus*). This gives it a becoming coppery [824]
cast which is much admired. The red barked tree grows only in a few spots on Kambara. Once when we had chased a turtle the length of the island the girls pointed to a coconut grove ashore and asked the men to get them some drinking nuts. As soon as the canoes were beached the girls disappeared and after some time they returned, laden with strips of bark. The next day all the girls in the village had red hair.

A strong wooden comb with several well-spaced teeth is 302
used for the painful process of combing the thick, frizzly hair away from the scalp. Kambarans go through this ordeal

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees[53] are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.[54] The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824] [53] i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

[54] To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.[55] To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)[56] before meals and other medicines.[57] 755 278 753

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu. 755

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of a patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services. 783 755

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards. 753 755 [674]

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

[55] The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water. [824]

[56] The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kavika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torenna sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

[57] The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via,* probably *Alocasia indica*) grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua, who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.[58]

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev. John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn. On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great, but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus, which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] [58] Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names widespread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

754 (*ndraunikau*). Sorcery is not so common in Lau as in some other parts of Fiji. The sorcerer secures some of his victim's "dirt"—a lock of hair or a piece of his *lavalava*—and places it in the pointed end of a young, empty coconut shell. The shell is buried in the ground with the pointed end toward the victim's house. The victim then sickens and often dies in a very short time.

754 757 278 The illness of Tchiope, an old man of Tokalau, was thought to have been caused by sorcery. Tchiope was suffering from paralysis of one side of the body. The doctor gave him medicine against sorcery (called *ravulevu*). It is taken twice a day before meals. The bark and green leaves of a tree, [824] called *ravulevu* (*Symplocos spicata*), are ground on a stone and wrapped in a small bag of white barkcloth. The bag is steeped and squeezed in cold water and the infusion is drunk. Bark shavings from the same tree, mixed with a little coconut oil, are then rubbed over the body. The patient, however, failed gradually and died.

753 According to informants the smell of a dead body (called *tangaloa*)[60] may cause three kinds of illness; leprosy, external sores with a bad smell, and internal sores. To protect the [764] mourners against this illness a corpse is usually buried within three hours of death.

As has been pointed out, illness in Lau may also be caused by the infraction of a tabu. Not all sickness, however, is attributed to superhuman agents. Normal labor pains and ailments like rheumatism, boils, and misplaced uterus are believed to be due to natural causes and are treated with natural rather than supernatural methods—by means of herbs internally and externally administered, by massage, manipulation and diet.

757 278 Boils are considered the most common sickness. Kama

[60] Informants know of no deity called *tangaloa* like that of neighboring parts of [171] Polynesia. I found no other meaning for the word.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278
is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

7: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6

ADZES FROM THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI.[1]

BY LAURA THOMPSON, Ph.D., HONOLULU.

439 DURING the 18th and 19th centuries the southern Lau
396 islands, located between Fiji and Tonga, were the centre of the canoe-building industry for the whole of Fiji, and the
824 Tonga islands as well. The valuable greenheart of India, a hardwood called *vesi* (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.) grows
322 well on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava, and it is found nowhere else in Fiji or in Tonga. Moreover other hardwoods such as *mbau* (probably *Pittosporum Brakenridgei*) also grow well on the densely-forested plateaus of the limestone islands of southern Lau. Hence in these islands is found a development of carpentry and a specialization in woodcrafts outstanding in western Polynesia, and the Lauans are known throughout the area for the superiority of the materials and the execution of their woodwork. Besides large canoes, they produce a variety of wooden bowls, gongs, headrests, digging-sticks, and houseposts. Formerly they made clubs and spears as well.

396 The procuring of hardwoods was largely responsible for the interest of the Tongans in the Lau islands, especially
439 in the 18th and 19th centuries. Tongan chiefs sent their own
174 carpenters and assistants to southern Lau to build large, double war-canoes and often went themselves to supervise the work, which required at least two years for completion. Trade flourished between the Lauans and the Tongans, and

[114] [1]The following description is based on a study of 44 specimens from the southern Lau islands, Fiji, in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. I wish to thank Dr. Harry S. Ladd for indentification of stone specimens, Dr. A. C. Smith and Dr. Harold St. John for indentification of native plant-names, and Mr. Kenneth P. Emory for criticism of this study. This study is part of the results of a field trip to the Lau islands in 1933-34, made possible by a Bernice P. Bishop Museum fellowship.

[p. 97]
[pp 1-96 not processed]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from 323
the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets 463
(kato mbolambola) by young women to the village. Black 317
sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, [482]
Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To
make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed
thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, 323
sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of [824] ●
makandre-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for 323
trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their 438
men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived 323
in the village for which they were making pots. The clay 463
was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi 438
near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried
it in baskets to the village where the women were working. [482]

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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able to return again to its body,' said Ligadua, 'for no world-man has ever yet come back from Burotu.'

"But Tui Liku continued to beg very hard, until at last Ligadua consented. But he warned him to follow exactly in his footsteps, and also to do everything exactly as he did, or Tui Liku would never return again to earth.

"So they went down to the beach where the surf-waves were rolling in. 'Now, when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing; and when a black wave comes, wait, and do nothing; but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true ferry-boat to Burotu,' said Ligadua.

"Whereupon he called out, *Lele mai Mua Vesi, Lele mai Mua Vesi* (bend over towards us a 'chiefly canoe'—meaning the red wave the colour of *vesi*-wood—for at Ono the *mua vesi* were the canoes of chiefs alone in those days; the common people, as now, using hollowed coco-nut logs for their canoes). And then a red wave came, and they both jumped, but the spirit only of Tui Liku went on with Ligadua to Burotu, for his body was washed back on to the beach. And the name of that place is 'Vunikatavatu.'"

[554]
[501]
[824]

* * * * *

"So they reached Burotu Island, and entered the town, which was a noble town with fine

10:St.Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land [438] for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber [824] tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our [501] ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much [285] *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of [437] Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

fathoms. Some were made of *yasa kiki*, a thing like a fan adorned with bark cloth and hala and tied to a long coir string. These pennants are now called *kuila*, but it is not known where the word comes from; the Fijian is *tawake*. In Lakemba and Ongea the pennant is tied high up the mast; in other places, lower down; but no canoes were allowed to come into Lakemba with pennant flying except those of a nobleman or a great sister's son (*vasu*) (p. 40). 501

If a canoe belonging to commoners came in they lowered the sail outside the passage and paddled in. Otherwise they would be beaten. On arriving opposite the landing place commoners sang out, *"O oa."* If a whole fleet were coming, the commoners would wait till all arrived and come in together, salute, beach their canoes, and go to Big House to report. It was forbidden to pass on the outrigger side, that is to the windward, of a nobleman, because the nobleman's canoe would be lower. If a canoe coming in were to pass on the outrigger side of a nobleman's canoe which was just about to leave, the commoners would land and bring a whale's tooth as a supplication because it was unbecoming towards a nobleman. In such a circumstance they need not be introduced by a herald. 502 565

If a canoe is wrecked and the crew reach land the people of that island make a feast for them and give them clothes. The crew go home and prepare mats and sheets of bark cloth and some time or other bring them to the chief of the island. 502 731

If a shipwrecked man lands in safety, his people hold a feast called *i mburua mbula*, a "living death-feast." [574]

FISHING

Net Fishing

Fish are most abundant round the north coast from Waitambu to Nasangalau, because the reef is farther out and mangrove trees are plentiful there. 226

The *nungga* is the choicest fish, yet the *sangga* is the fish for nobles, probably because of its great size. The head of the fish is given to the chief. Some fish are poisonous at certain times of the year. [565]

Cetaceans, classed as fish, are not eaten. One kind of porpoise which comes up vertically, is said to be chief (*turanga*) among porpoises. Turtle is also classed as fish. [525] [226]

The word *nggoli*, though a general term for fishing, applies more particularly to fishing with nets.

The usual method of fishing is by driving into nets The women blacken their faces with soot or powder them with turmeric as a protection,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

for a race. Excepting the winner's prize, the things go to the craftsman who built the fence. The wives and sisters get the first batch of fish caught in the fence. 226

Line Fishing

Line fishing is indulged in by the men. Hermit crabs and *kaiki* crabs and small fish are used as bait.

Shark fishing is Tongan and is rarely practised nowadays. A bait is thrown overboard to attract the shark, to a Tongan song: *"Wili mai, wili mai, wili mai, malie"* (Come, come, come, well done). When the shark's fin appears the fishermen say, *"Ma anu* [bis] *ko'eku pele koe* [bis]" (Rise; you are my friend). The shark rises and the whole fin becomes visible. As he approaches to take the bait he is noosed and hauled aboard.

Young sharks are said to be born blind.

There is a kind of *sinu* plant called shark's *sinu*. It is the shark's bud; when the shark is born the *sinu* buds; it is closed so that the shark does not see at birth and is called *mbulumbulu* (closed-eyes). When the bud bursts the eyes of the young shark begin to see in the water. [825 824]

Octopus is caught on a line with a sinker, a Tongan method, no longer used. The sinker is a rounded cone, cut probably from a stalactite. A cowry is tied on the stone, a tail is made from a root of a coconut palm. This stone is trailed behind a canoe in which the fishermen paddle as fast as they can, jerking the line and singing, *"Lele feke, puli le feke"* (Run octopus, cowry octopus). The octopus mistakes the stone for a rat, and fastens onto it.

The enmity of the octopus for the rat is explained by the following tale:

The rat was once being conveyed across the sea by an octopus. As soon as the land was near the rat dropped dung on the head of the octopus and swam off. Since then the octopus hates the rat and always goes for it. The black stuff ejected by the octopus is the rat's dung. This is an ancient tale, a thing from the beginning. [539]

Fish Spearing

Fish spearing is also the work of the men. It is not practised much, at least on the south coast. The Fulanga men are the most skillful. The spears usually have three or four diverging prongs.

Sometimes parties go out to a deep pool surrounded by flats on which there are only a few inches of water at low tide and there gather a kind of black sea slug (*loli*), put them in baskets, mix with sand, and stir and rub them till the blood oozes out. They are then thrown into the hole. Then each man takes his stand on a stone and guards one of the channels. 226, 228

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granted it; but Tui Vakano heard that Tokairambe was bound; so he went over to Moala, to Vunindawa, bound the ancestor god of Moala, broke up his comb and drove him away. That is why Lakemba is not subject to Moala. 539

In times of drought the nobles of Tumbou formerly cut firewood and took it to Vakano to be their entreaty-gift to Tui Vakano, that rain might fall. 782

They took it to the temple and prayed, "We have come. Grant that rain may fall. There is too much sunshine. Nothing prospers."

The priest shivered and answered, "Return, nobles of Tumbou, take horse-taro leaves as a protection for your heads." When they reached the gulley they cut a leaf and made an umbrella of it. When they were only half way to Tumbou the rain fell. They also cut firewood to get a fair wind.

Tui Vakano was embodied in a bird called *kaisevau*. If anyone threw a stone at a *kaisevau*, he fell ill and begged mercy of Tui Vakano.

LOMALOMA

There was a female spirit in Tuvutha. 539

Tutumatua was returning along the beach from fish spearing. The woman was bathing in a spring, and her clitoris floated down as far as the sea. Tutumatua looked down and saw it; he turned it over with the butt end of his spear, and said, "This is like a hair of something edible." He followed it up and found the woman in the water, and proposed they should lie together.

The woman said, "Very well, where shall we sleep? Go and pluck leaves of some tree on land to be our bed."

Tutumatua said, "It is too long. That only is certain which is quick." He was impatient, so they had connection in the water; but his private parts, his legs, and his whole body were engulfed in her and only his head was visible. Then he entreated, "Be gracious, lady, and let me live. My entreaty gift is that I shall not again come to the spring in Tuvutha." She stood up and he fell out. There are two places Tutumatua never goes: Tuvutha and Munia. If a man does not want to go to some place they say, "He is prodding with the end of his spear."

TOTOYA

In Vanua Vatu there is a white *kawakawa* fish. 825

It is the animal of the Two Goddesses, the "bagged fish" of the Matangi Women. They netted it in the sea and found a pool and put it in. There lives also the cooked prawn; their fish for roasting; it is ready cooked. If a man goes to sea he must take a priest with him or it will not appear. People who go to sea call out the *tama*, then sing, and the *kawakawa* and the prawn appear. It is forbidden to point at them or they will disappear. If we take the prawn into our hands it will melt; if we pour back the water in our hands there will be the prawn in the pool. There is also a snake known as the *ngata sivi*, the mother of the *kawakawa*. It cannot be touched. On the way to the place is a club, the club of Ravuravu.

MATUKU

In Levukaindaku are two red stones above high water mark: 823

They are flood stones. When the time comes to catch palolo in Ndaku the men of Nggalivanua come and hit the stone to prevent the netting, because no palolo are caught

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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yaka wood with hinges and corners of plated silver. The coffin had been imported from Suva prior to the death of the chief, who had been ill for some time. The deceased had been dressed by near relatives in a shirt, a coat, and a kilt of Tongan tapa. The head was bare. Informants said that formerly a whale's tooth was buried with the body, but on this occasion none had been placed in the coffin. 766 [825]

The interior of the chief's house consisted of two rooms separated by a wooden partition. The coffin lay in the middle of the inner room on a wooden dias, 45 meters high, covered with fine mats. The floor of the room was covered with fine mats and barkcloth, and the walls and ceiling were festooned with Fijian tapa.

On the thresholds of the two doorways on the windward side of the room, fires of sandalwood burned continuously from the death to the burial. Because of the scarcity of sandalwood in Lau the wood for this purpose had been collected for years and stored in the chief's house. The fires were attended by near female relatives of the deceased, who frequently scattered powdered sandalwood about the coffin. The fragrance of sandalwood permeated the room and obliterated the odor from the corpse, which was not preserved in any way.

The walls and ceiling of the outer room were draped with long strips of Fijian tapa. Five long pieces of tapa lay in elongated, puffy piles on the floor. At the lower end of the room near the main entrance sat four women called fanners (*iri iri*). Each held a fan (*iri*) in the right hand and fanned with short, quick, rhythmic movements which, by means of a turn of the wrist, described a semicircular arc in the air. The women worked in shifts so that the fanning was continuous from death to burial.

At night a group of female relatives, called the *tonitoni*, kept watch over the body. Natives say that the purpose of the *tonitoni* is to keep away evil spirits. Women of the nobility watched in the inner room and those of the lower class in the outer room. Outside the house was brilliantly lighted with lamps placed at intervals along the walls.

The older male relatives of the deceased (*koira na tonitoni* or *mbota*) sat in the kava house (*vale ni yanggona*), a temporary pavilion erected near the chief's house, drinking kava day and night. Women were present in the kava circle, but middle-aged men mixed the kava by the Tongan method. The root was pounded in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle and mixed in a wooden bowl with legs which was made on Kambara. The ceremonial kava drinking continued until the tenth day after the burial when a feast called *i vaka mbongi tchini* was held. Relatives who were absent from the kava circle were fined small quantities of kava. The crowd smoked and told jokes and amusing stories, and whenever it became too noisy every member was fined a handful of kava and tobacco. [412 415]

As the funeral day drew near, groups of mourners began to arrive from Lau, and even from Mbau and other parts of Fiji. As each group arrived it presented property (*i yau ni renggurenggu*), consisting of whales' teeth, mats, and tapa in a house (the Vale Vou) in the chief's compound. The mats were carried and presented in rolls, the tapa in long, outstretched pieces, and the whales' teeth in clusters of six to ten. The gifts were received by the herald of the deceased, a man of Tanggalevu, Tumbou. Kava, made by noble women, was drunk. The root was pounded with a stone pounder on a flat stone. After the presentation ceremony the property was taken to the chief's house.

The funeral (*na veimbulu vaka turanga*) was held on the day after I arrived. A cement vault, 3 meters long, 1 meter wide, and 3.5 meters deep, had been prepared in the chief's burial mound, called Vakanitawake, in Tumbou. The burial mound was rectangular in shape and 3 meters high. One broad side was stepped. The vault was lined with mats ornamented with bright wool borders, and the mound was fenced with tapa and wreaths. Women mourners carried long, outstretched pieces of Tongan barkcloth and placed them on the ground to carpet a path from the door of the chief's chamber to the tomb. They seated themselves about 2 meters apart on either side of the path and bowed their heads (pl. 1, *A*).

Over the tapa carpet moved the funeral procession. The bier was carried on mats by 20 men. It was followed by colonial officials from Suva including the Governor of the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman. 431 728

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu: 726

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away. 539

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants. 173 [184]

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen. 173 825

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited. 173

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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173 The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:
825

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

173 On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a
824 branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder
173 of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say,
825 "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini,* a large hawk.

173 Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own
771 forefather (*vu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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TURTLE FISHING

The sea turtle (*vonu*) is a chiefly animal in Lau, and is protected by special rules. Permission to fish for turtles must be granted by the master fisherman of the chiefs' phratry. Most of the turtle fishing (*vothevothe,* to paddle) in southern Lau is done by members of the chiefs' phratry on Kambara. The master fisherman describes the day and place of the hunt, and at the appointed hour the whole community streams to the beach. 225

Men and women (mainly young girls) board the canoes. The master fisherman paddles out near the reef and the boats line up, with the two canoes on the wings about 50 meters ahead. "Vola", the master fisherman cries, lifts his paddle, and all boats paddle forward. If a turtle is seen in the water the person who detects it calls excitedly, "Vonu, vonu!" and points toward a dark spot moving ahead. The fishermen paddle quickly with all their strength to catch up with the turtle. Frequently it escapes, but sometimes after a chase of several minutes it pauses at the bottom of the lagoon. A young man dives down behind the turtle, grasps it under the plate nearest the neck with his hand, and with his foot against the back of the animal, turns it over, shoving it to the surface upside down. The people on the canoe haul it aboard and place it on its back. The same method is used on a dark night, when the moving turtle causes a phosphorescent light. The conch shell is blown on the return of the canoes from a successful turtle hunt.

Turtle breeding is described on pages 141-142.

Turtles bred in the lake on Wangava are caught by means of a turtle net. The only net in southern Lau belongs to Mothe but it has been borrowed by the people of Kambara, who use it on the Wangava lake. I witnessed a netting day there. The net was hanging over a rod set on two forked stakes near the lake. Before it was taken down, dry leaves were gathered and lit to windward so that the smoke might blow through it and purify it on the chance that a pregnant woman had touched it. "But no one lives here", I said. "Just the same some women are *tha* (bad)", was the answer.

The net was placed on a canoe and taken on the lake. Floats of *vutu* (*Barringtonia*) nuts kept the upper length of the net on the surface of the water, while weights of stone held the lower length of the net on the lake bottom. The net was put out at eleven in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon one turtle had been caught. The next morning two turtles were netted and on the third day two more. They weighed from 90 to 175 pounds. The animals were taken to Kambara. One soon to be eaten, was taken to the village of Nggalinggali where it was kept on its back. The others were placed inside a turtle fence in the lagoon. [824]

POISONOUS FISH

The natives claim that the fish in the section of the Kambara lagoon stretching for about 200 meters along the northwest shore of Tokalau have been poisonous since the hurricane in 1929. They say that three people in one clan died from eating fish caught there. They do not know why the fish from this 825

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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825 section are poisonous while those from the surrounding waters are not, but some believe that during the storm poisonous seaweed was carried through the passage situated opposite the poisoned section and now grows there. Patches near the islands of Komo and Mothe have also been poisoned since the 1929 hurricane.

Hunting

Pigs

224 Though wild pigs are no longer found on Lau, some old people have participated in pig hunting. Moto of Undu describes it as follows:

> Many young men went with spears through the jungle, sometimes with a dog. We encircled a large coral pocket and placed men with spears at the exits. Other men went down into the pocket. The pigs ran from the exits and were speared. Often the injured pigs ran back into the pockets or to other exits until they were killed by another spear or died of loss of blood. The legs of the dead pigs were tied together and two men carried them home on a stick across their shoulders. The pigs belonged to all the hunters and after the hunt a feast was held.

Goats

There are wild goats on the uninhabited island of Aiwa and a few on Kambara. Men sailing by canoe between southern Lau and Lakemba usually stay over night on Aiwa and occasionally hunt goats. The goats are chased into a coral pocket, and as the animals try to pass through the exits, they are clubbed. Occasionally live goats are caught and taken home.

Wild Fowl

223 The Lauans are not very successful in trapping wild pigeons. They are occasionally trapped in a basket (*wali*) in which are tied red berries for bait. But I have seen the trap placed in a red berry bush where the birds can have all the berries they want without entering the trap.

There are wild chickens on Kambara, Fulanga, Wangava, and Namuka which closely resemble the domestic chickens. Wangava and Kambara have many. Traps are occasionally set for them in the jungle. A chicken trap (*ndau ni toa*) is a pyramid-shaped, four-sided frame of any kind of wood faced with slats. It is open at the base and is placed on the ground with the bait inside. One side is raised and propped up with a stick just high enough so that the fowl can enter.

Wild ducks are seen on the brackish lakes of Namuka and Wangava.

Animal Husbandry

Pigs

23 Pigs (*vuaka*), which are scarce in southern Lau, are the most valued domestic animals. Pork is an esteemed food for feasts at important weddings, initiations, and funerals.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim′-ba-thim′-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom′-bo-thom′-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.

From the teachings of Navosavakandua[48]

THE Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity. 539* 776

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku*,' all day long." [825]

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day. [173]

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku. 174 539*

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect. [2] Crane.

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●825 they saw that they had been mistaking the cry of
576 some cranes for a *tama*. But some men of Na Malata Island, who were fishing behind the rocks, pretended that the *tama* had been meant for them, and thus it became a joke that the people of Yacata were *Kaisi*[1] to the people of Na Malata."

At this moment we reached the outskirts of Mabula town; and for the time being the store of anecdotes of my chatty friend had to be cut off, to make way for the more pressing business of a "town inspection."

[1] Inferior in rank, literally slaves.

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assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things. 539* 776

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove. 101 175 776 648

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner 776 825

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.

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776 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in
825 Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

262 "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old
825 lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her
776 shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter
[201] disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

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that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs.

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts.

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

[824]

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu;* the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *cuwu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [264]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[n] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yemo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain 834]

[n] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843 757

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

755 757

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the [171] name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that [928] he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Turumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in [753] the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and 763 moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by [828] a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who 759
makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady.

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called 828
lialia) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession 753
of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages.

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the 776
"windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "wind- 753
women" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". 828
Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is 755
dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured.

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a 755
method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The 753
Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] white men "eat different food" (which, to a [262] native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything 175 towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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was in the habit of warming himself in the sun in the morning. The cry of Valelailai was *Sereivalu,* one of the god Tui Lakemba's names. 726

Captives are called *mbombula* (caught alive). They were despised. Should a man of Nasangalau who had been a captive come and speak in Tumbou he would be shut up with the words, "You are a captive." The custom of taking prisoners is said to be ancient. The Tongans of Lau in Christian times made prisoners on a large scale; whole villages were brought over to Lakemba to work for one to ten years, then the Lord of Naiau said, "Let So-and-so take them back to their village." Then a nobleman of Tumbou would take them home, build them houses, and come back. The captives would some day bring a feast in return. 727

VICTORY

For a slain enemy a drum was beaten (*lali ni mbakola*). Those who had slain a man blackened their faces, wore a train and a turban, and were finely dressed; they sat on the upper deck of the canoe, singing a *thimbi*: *"To alewa, tangane, veitho* [four times], *salia."* (Women's side, men's side, intermingle, passage [?]). In the West and in Thakaundrove the girls sang obscene songs called *ndele* thus: 727 554 [83]

You are like this
We are like this

alluding to sex.

The manslayer stands in the village with his club on his shoulder and the gentlemen and ladies come and place before him plentiful gifts, for which no return is expected. He is said to *thouvi* or *thovi,* and the gifts are termed *i thouvi* or *i thovi.* Then they give him a new name: Koroi or Dog, or Canoe, or comb of some big nobleman, thus Wanggaimalani, Seruimalani, meaning that Malani embarked upon him to be saved, or he combed things out so that nothing might be tangled, but Malani might pass. When a man had slain two or three men, he was called Shark; if six he was Tawakeono. Seven flags; if ten, Tawaketini. These were names of mighty men. Now Koroi is used of academic degrees. 727 554 431 551

A man saved by another remembered the deed, and sooner or later, it might be ten years, gave him plenty of stuff (*i yau*), and his descendants would remember it and save the descendants of that man. Such gifts were called the thing for a life (*ka ni mbula*). If a man saved the High Chief, Roko Sau would give him a daughter as wife, or give him land, and remember his family. 431 577

Peace is called *sautu,* from *sau,* chief, rule, sovereignty, and *tu,* standing, chief, state. The same word also means prosperity, plenty. 196

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The head and foot[1]
are tied to two spars, the yard (*vu*, forefather) and the boom (*alewa*, woman). 396 [831]
At the tack of the sail the yard is stepped in a socket (*tutu ni vu*) on either the head or the stern board, and the forked end of the boom is fitted to the yard. The attachments *vu* and *alewa* are phallic symbols.

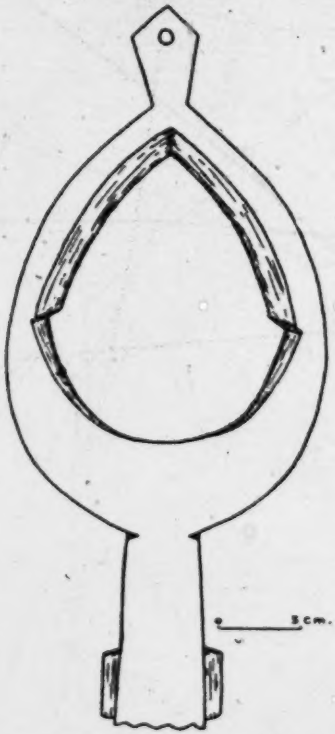

FIGURE 8.—Sailing canoe mast truck from Fulanga.

One or two halyards (*vakavakarewa*) are tied to the yard at a point about two thirds of the distance from tack to peak, and the sheet (*sila*) is attached to the boom at a corresponding point two thirds of the distance from tack to inside of timberlake.

To raise the sail the halyards are drawn over or through the mast-prong or the aperture in the masthead and made fast to a cleat at the foot of the mast. The sheet is twisted around an inner stringer and held by one of the crew. If the wind is fair and constant it may be tied to a stringer. Furling the sail is shown in plate 5, *A*.

1 [of the sail. - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko,* to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau.*

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

Veitathini is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini.* A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part. 796 533 535

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu. 796 533 534 535 [439]

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times. 796 533 535

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal. [832]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Flowers

303 [824] langakali: grows wild in the bush and is also cultivated
makosoi: cultivated
mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)
ronga
mbuandromu
uthi (Evodia hortensis)
vandra

Fruit

makita: cultivated on Mothe and Kambara
mamba: imported from Lakemba and Totoya
lemba (Eugenia neurocalyx)
seasea (Eugenia richii)
paonggo
mbulu: imported from Totoya

Bark

sandalwood: imported from Lakemba, Oneata, and Mbua
mathou (Cinnamomum): imported from Kandavu and Tailevu

Leaves

cinnamon: imported from Lakemba and Viti Levu
lenggalengga (Croton metallicus)

Roots

pako

The tough outer skin is removed from fruit, which is then pounded with a stone on a flat slab and added to the oil. Bark and roots are pounded in the same way. Some plants are either used alone or are combined with other plants, according to the preference of the oil makers. Sandalwood, *langakali*, and *makosoi* are most highly prized. Other plants are used only in combinations, never alone.

Perfumed coconut oil is made as follows:

When the fragrant plants have been collected, about 40 to 50 ripe coconuts (*i loloi*) are gathered off the ground in baskets (*kato mbolambola*) by either men or women, husked, and grated into a wooden bowl. The grated coconut is strained with a hibiscus strainer and the oil is poured into a bowl of the *sendre* type. The fragrant plants are added to the oil, and the bowl is covered with barkcloth or a mat and set over night. The next day the mixture is poured into an old dugout placed in the sun. A piece of sheet iron is occasionally used instead of the dugout today. The mixture is stirred frequently. When the oil starts to run the dugout is tilted slightly in order to drain the oil into a bowl placed under one end. The oil is now ready for use.

[415 434] Coconut oil was formerly bottled in gourd containers made of the fruit of the *fango* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*) which was imported ready for use from Viti Levu. The *fango* does not grow in southern Lau. Gourd containers were corked with coconut fiber (*i songo ni tavaya*) wrapped with tapa. The storing of oil is not a problem today for the natives keep only enough oil on hand for their personal use, and it is kept in imported bottles.

302 Perfumed coconut oil is used by men, women, and children to keep the skin soft and protect it from the sun, the cold, and the salt water. After bathing in the sea a little oil is poured on the hand, rubbed between the palms, and over the body, especially on the legs, arms, and hair. Oil is used profusely by *meke* dancers. [832] The natives say that the sheen and perfume of oil on the skin enhances sexual attraction.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [832]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the [101]
south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

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Kambara

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-
287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material
[531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

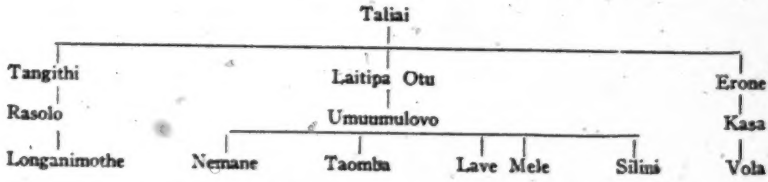
272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of
276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

603
565 she is not a lady the children will be free with her: they will eat on her bed and so on.

604 Uncle and nephew. In the relation of uncle and nephew impudence is forbidden; only the right of *vasu* [that is, seizing the uncle's property] is allowed. They use courtesies to one another (*veivakarokorokotaki*). Uncle and nephew may eat at the same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

605 The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole
[604] field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There is no least of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

605
534 Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

593
565 Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), 834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining 302 indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating 754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter 644 of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com- 857 panions played with dolls (*vakatalulwe*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade 797 dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (*nona tamata sara nga*), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

MORALITY

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of 195
women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) 834
is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedi- 834
grees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of 848
Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each 834
other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They 186
may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: [illegible] together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will [illegible], or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or 834
if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

B34 dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
348 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[17] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft. 755

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *cuucu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [? *langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa;* drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease: [262]

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[22] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 834]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for diseases which involves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[22] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

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given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau 764
four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place.

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the 726
concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans.

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire [721]
for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack.

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the [787]
ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned.

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about [533
1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of 534]
the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a* 726
lali ni mbakola. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden 834

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726 the warriors during this time. If any man broke the tabu he was obliged to
[834] confess, otherwise the raid would be unsuccessful.

[411] The most important weapons were the club (*i malungu*), the spear (*moto*), the bow (*ndakai tchitchi*), and the sling (*i rambo*).

712 Fortified villages were built for defense on high points along the ridges of limestone islands or at the summit of volcanic hills. On the limestone islands such villages were protected by a series of walls made of unworked stone which reinforced the natural fortifications and guarded all approaches to the fort. On volcanic islands they were protected by a series of ramparts of earth surmounted in times of war by fences of reeds. Some were surrounded by a moat. Ruins of defense walls, house platforms, and earth works may still be seen.

726 When nearing a village, the attacking party often sang a war chant. Occasionally the raiders set fire to the village. On returning from a raid, whether successful or not, the warriors took kava to the god house and pre-
727 sented it ceremonially to the priest. When victorious warriors returned to their own village with slain or captured enemies, they called out the titles of their weapons. All the men went to the chief's house and sang the song of victory (*thimbi*), ending with a yell. Meanwhile the war gong was beaten outside. If the leader or "strong man" of the enemy had been killed his head
[578] and penis were tied to a stick in front of the village or sent back to the defeated village as a gross insult.

727 Then followed the feast of life (*i mburua ni mbula*), at which the bodies (*mbakola*) of enemies were eaten. If the leader of the enemy had been
266 captured he was eaten. Other men and women were chosen because they were soft, young, and fat. This war feast was the concrete expression of victory. The bodies were eaten for revenge, to show the superiority of the conquerors over the vanquished and to secure mana from the enemy. The bodies were
[252] steamed whole in a large earth oven (*lovo ni mbakola*), and pigs and vegetable foods were also steamed for the feast. When all was ready the bodies were cut up and all the food was placed in baskets and set down outside the god house by the youngest men of the clan under the direction of the chief of crops. The priest in the god house was informed that the feast was ready. He presented it to the war god before the food was distributed. Special parts were served to the chief. Informants did not know, however, which parts these were. Each household took a share home, and the human flesh was consumed by the whole village—men, women, and children.

After an unsuccessful raid a death feast (*i mburua ni mate*) was held.

431 A village might appease the anger of a chief or of another village over
728 some transgression, such as the stealing of a woman, by the ceremonial

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with limestone or basalt. Each clan had a god house. According to Moto of Undu, the ground plan of the mound as well as the building of the god house belonging to Matasoata clan was oval in shape and about one fathom wide. A curved wall plate (*i lolo*) was not made of joined sections (as in the modern Tongan dwelling house, p. 165), but of several bowed rods (as in the *vale lolova kathukathu*, p. 171). The roof was gabled. God house sites at Lomatchi gardens on Kambara and at Kamali on Mothe also show oval foundation mounds. Outside the god house grew sweet smelling plants which informants say facilitated spiritual contacts and meditation. Fragrance is frequently used for this purpose in Lau, especially in the form of a wreath or powdered sandalwood. 769 778 346

A temple frequently contained one or more ceremonial clubs, which were slightly smaller and shorter than an ordinary throwing club (*i kolo*) and were elaborately decorated with incised carving accentuated with lime. The ancestor god entered the ceremonial clubs, making them sacred. Other weapons belonging to the clan were kept in the clan temple. The weapons of each clan had a title. Those of Matasoata were called Toa Kula, those of Tonganiuthi, Iri Mbuli. Before a raid the priest prayed over the clan weapons and, if the god was willing, his mana entered them and the clan was victorious. If the god did not enter the weapons the people were defeated because the god of the enemy was stronger. 769 778

God houses as well as sacred caves (pp. 108-109) and natural objects such as stones or trees in which the god dwelt were called *na sava* (meaning the sacred or purified).

PURIFICATION

Everything directly connected with the gods was sacred, pure, and free from the profane. Everything which was directly connected with women's loss of blood—the menses, first intercourse, pregnancy, and birth—was profane and impure. Sickness and circumcision were profane. 769 783

Ritual purification was necessary in Lau before contact with the sacred and after contact with the profane. Purification was accomplished by means of water or smoke. The usual purification pattern was the four-day tabu, lifted by a bath (*i silisili*) in the sea. Moto said that formerly it was observed after killing in war (*veivaluvaluti*) and after murder in peace time (*veivakamatei*). The priest, the only human being possessed by the god, purified himself before approaching the god by a ritual bath in the temple. One tale relates how the priest of Tonganiuthi clan was killed by his own people while bathing because he had been angry when the people failed to bring the first fruits to the god house. Warriors prepared themselves to carry the sacred weapons by abstinence from sexual intercourse for four nights immediately before the raid. Women still bathe in the sea according to the old pattern [834]

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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before entering the house. The child is presented to him by his mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned, and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing, people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad" and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for practically all children in any one family are at least 18 months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

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593 cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of
184 one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest
[835 tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the
684] woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

[832] Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

593 *Veitathini* is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins.
605 Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This 606 privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 618 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

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184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

Cross Cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus
521 between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second
522 person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in
836 spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before
837 and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from
837 those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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881 his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib [824 or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the 757] penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

881 Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These 302 are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night ●836 or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared [177] recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a
go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara*. He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

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836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

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given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua aleuu*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

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If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845 take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766] previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went [775] to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846 mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before entering the house. The child is presented to him by his mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846 in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834 Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned, and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753] sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing, people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad" and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for practically all children in any one family are at least 18 months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837] women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553 mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851 the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

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539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
[578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi'-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
[838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the com-
857 munity, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

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858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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Sunday is lovers' night on Kambara. Trysts are frequently 836
arranged secretly during the morning church services by means of covert signals across the aisle which separates the men from the women. Moonlight, which is very brilliant in Lau, [821]
is naturally disliked by lovers. Occasionally late in the evening my house would suddenly become crowded with young people. It took me some time to discover that this influx of guests corresponded to the rising of the moon.

There is a popular tale for children about the moon. In 821
olden times the people of Ngau, an island in the Koro sea, 539
did not want the moon so they decided to kill it. Some old men went with clubs to wait for the moon at the top of a hill. One of them had a bald head, and when the moon shone on his head they mistook it for the moon and clubbed the man instead of the moon!

Lovers have secret methods of communication. If the 836
beloved is indoors at night, the lover will pass near the house and cough, laugh, break a branch, or talk as if someone were with him. Or he may enter her house when all is dark and make a noise like a rat. A man or a girl occasionally has a go-between (called *muaoli*), who may be of either sex. He [572]
is chosen for his loyalty, but receives a small gift so that he will not tattle.

If a man is attracted to a girl he will secretly ask her to take 836
a walk (called *ngande*, a term which when used in this sense 839
means to take a walk in order to have sexual intercourse). If he is repeatedly repulsed he occasionally resorts to a socially condemned practise called *ndarandara*. He enters the house of his beloved at night and attempts to secure her favors by stealth. One night Sekala, a bachelor from Lomatchi who was so unattractive that no girl would accept him as a lover, entered a house in Tokalau where several girls were sleeping. He lay down beside one who had repulsed him, and she cried loudly: *"Ndarandara, ndarandara!"* Sekala jumped up and called the name of a boy who he thought slept in the same

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836 house, because he hoped that people would believe he had
839 come to find the boy. He ran out of the house and escaped, but not before he had been recognized. The next day the story had spread all over the island and Sekala was the butt of much ridicule.

832 If a girl wants a man, according to one informant, she talks nicely to him, says a tabu word in fun, and asks him for tobacco. Then she can see whether or not he likes her. If the man does not care for the girl and she desires him, she tries to arouse him by making lascivious movements or by approaching him when he is asleep.

836 Lovers usually have intercourse at night under the palm
833 trees fringing the beach or in an empty house in the village. If a house is already occupied they try to find another place, perhaps the shadow of a canoe. Occasionally they meet during the day in the bush. Married people have connection in the sleeping house or in the bush.

539 GETTING MARRIED IN LAU

Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.

Break the kava root and let us drink here,
The water poured in is quite clear,
I can hear the sound of it again
Like the falling of the gentle rain.

Kava chant from Namuka.

584 FREQUENTLY a boy is betrothed at an early age to his cross cousin, the preferred mate in Lau. Child betrothal is not so common in Lau today as it was formerly, for there is a growing tendency for young people to choose their mates themselves. Child betrothal is arranged by the boy's father any time before the child reaches the age of seven or eight, when he is informed of the arrangement.

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cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). 152
A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages 145
from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when 841
they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings 576
out "*ninggo,*" it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because what- 304
ever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in 304
their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. 195
Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting 304
circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized 881
at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a [565]
feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external sus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *ewewu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the 593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month, 843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small 571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the wit[illegible]val practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 [illegible] say that abortion is common among unmarried girls [illegible]nds like Mothe where standards of morality are [illegible]. [illegible]ding to informants, it is accomplished between the [illegible] fifth [illegible]ths. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion [illegible] blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as [424] midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

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576 643 784 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 784 753 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman [842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 784 671 648 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

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treats boils with a special medicine (called *lolotambakau*).[61] 757
The treatment brings the boil to a head. When it breaks it 278
is pressed and washed with fresh hot water and the medicine is applied again. Before and after treatment the doctor washes his hands in cold water, then rubs them with special crushed leaves (*thombona*) and washes them again. Boils are lanced with a shell which has been cleaned with a glowing brand. The shell is not sharpened and is discarded after the operation.

Formerly surgery was practiced more frequently than it is today. An inflated belly was cut open with a bamboo knife 752
sharpened by breaking off the edge. No method of binding together the edges of the incision was known, but medicines were used to aid the healing process.[62]

To induce pregnancy, Wondo, a woman of Undu, puts 842
scrapings of bark of the *sikethi* and *vauvau* (*Hibiscus*) into 278
a medicine bag, soaks the bag in water and squeezes it. 757
The potion is drunk by the patient twice a day. If after two months the woman fails to conceive the doctor takes her into the lagoon and makes a digital examination of the woman's vagina. If displacement of the uterus is indicated the doctor attempts to correct it by manipulation. The woman and her husband are then given medicine (called *wai ni luvea*) to drink. The recipe, made from the bark of a tree, is a secret handed down from mother to daughter.

The native Lauan theory of disease with its emphasis on 753
superhuman causes and cures is directly opposed to that underlying modern medicine. There is probably medicinal value in some of the herbs used, but this problem has not been investigated. The measure of success which the witch doctor attains lies to a great extent in his influence on the mind of the patient. Moreover, the native system of medicine is deeply

[61] The leaves of the *uthi* (*Evodia hortensis*) tree, crushed between the palms of the hands, are placed in a bag made of oiled white barkcloth. This is taken to the patient and the leaves are removed from the bag and rubbed on the affected area. [824]

[62] One of these was the fruit of the *sikethi* (*Aleurites moluccana*) tree. After the skin of the fruit had been removed it was roasted in the fire, cooled, and rubbed on the wound.

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band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 593
a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614
ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 44
and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband 753
cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843
more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine, 753
as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844
birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

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the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

Lolokumete.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *ravowaro;* wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *ennerru*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used.

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches:

First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vativati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *wavula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vativati*, four leaves of *vativati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time.

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*):

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and lemon leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

Possession

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or Tutumatua, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came

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but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke*, the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke*. The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes. 643 574 431

Life Crises Ceremonies[4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. 843 [557] [851]

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant. 842

On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngonè* or *vaka votu*. The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo*. The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held. 843 [386 302]

During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*, and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

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343 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu*, and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

344 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

346 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndravu* or *vakanubongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

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871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the
593 child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month,
843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small
571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

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843 571

Lauans are practically never alone and do almost everything in groups, this is very unusual.

On Mothe the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony. The female members of the woman's clan gather together, and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder made of mangrove root. No men are present. The natives say this is an old custom, but they do not know why it is done. Four days later the women go fishing, and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held, and there is much joking among the old people about the expectant mother.

843 [386] [302]

Pregnancy is known to last nine months. During the first 100 days the woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai*. For the protection of the group she must observe certain tabus. She must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets, and she must not touch or even look upon a turtle net lest no catch be made. To free it from any possible contamination a turtle net is smoked before being used, by means of a fire smothered in green leaves. She may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse, nor may she bathe in the sea. Moreover, she may not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped, for during this time she usually does not feel well. After the first 100 days the woman is no longer a source of danger. She is now in a state called *kunekune*. On Fulanga this change is marked by a feast. Her hair is cut, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing the woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best *lavalava*. These ceremonies are held only for a married woman's first pregnancy, but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

[783] [302]

To protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth, both parents observe certain tabus throughout the period of pregnancy. They abstain from eating all kinds of fish which have been cut into pieces before being cooked, for otherwise

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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as [424] midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

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band will send a whale's tooth for her to return and her relatives will make 543
a feast to send her back with; this feast is called the conveyance (*i kaukau*).

A woman becomes of the clan of her husband. Only women are trans- 614
ferred; men stay. In practice a woman works with her husband's clan, but upon being asked to what clan she belongs, she will name that in which she was born. On her husband's death a woman returns to her original clan. Sometimes a man goes to live in his wife's country. It is then said that "she brought him over."

The wife goes to the home of her parents to give birth to her children, 844
and usually remains with them for a year or longer after a child is born. During this time she may not resume cohabitation with her husband. It is said that a Fijian woman will die if she is pregnant three times, each time before the previous child is strong. A Fijian widow whose wife has died in childbirth is looked upon askance. If a woman contracts the abdominal disease called *ndrami ni tangane*, which is caused by the husband [753]
cohabiting too soon after childbirth, and if she dies in consequence people will dissuade girls from marrying him.

Birth Ceremonial

A first child, called a new child (*ngone vou*) is the occasion for much 843
more ceremony than attends the birth of subsequent children. There is no feast when conception first appears, but the mother stays in the house, for a number of months given variously as three, four, five, six, or eight; she does not cut her hair or bathe. She is taken care of during her pregnancy lest the foetus move and miscarry. This is done for the eldest child only. After eight months her people make an oven on the shore and she goes to fish. A feast called the bathing of the pregnant mother (*i silisili ni mbukete*) is prepared, at which the fish she catches are roasted and served, called *i tatavu*. The people of Levuka called this feast "causing to appear" (*vakavotu*). The prospective mother then cuts her hair and throws it away, after which she may resume hard work.

A pregnant woman may not anoint another person's eyes with medicine [753]
as it causes soreness of the eyes.

Except for the child of the High Chief a man may be present at the 844
birth, but usually only the father is. It is forbidden to announce the approach of travail in the village or the labor will be difficult. The after-birth is buried. The newborn child is bathed. The child is not again bathed until the fourth day.

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844 533 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa[10]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka, mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomoi a,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu; "*mm*';	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born, 853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndravu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[10] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

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For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndravu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The [424] recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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mines by touch whether the unborn child is correctly placed. 844
If not she manipulates it by massage into the proper position at the beginning of labor.

In a normal delivery the woman in labor sits with legs apart and knees slightly bent on a flat stone covered with barkcloth. She supports herself by propping her arms against the mat behind her, and she is held from behind by one of the attendant women. The midwife sits in front of her and slowly rubs her abdomen. If the delivery is difficult the 845
woman lies on her back. In cases of prolonged labor a medicine woman known for her skill and success in midwifery is called in from the village or from a neighboring village. She takes charge of the delivery and administers her own brand of medicine.

A difficult birth or subsequent complications are believed to be the result of broken tabus on the part of the mother or father. It is usually assumed by the men of the husband's clan that his wife has committed adultery. Instead of consolation, therefore, she receives reproaches from her husband's male relatives. The women, on the other hand, are sympathetic for they all agree that adultery does not influence the process of birth.

The midwife catches the infant as he emerges. If he is short 844
of breath she blows water from her mouth into his face, or she gives a cup of water to the mother and massages the umbilical cord gently with thumb and index finger. If the mother is faint the midwife gives her "medicine to restore her breath", made according to her private recipe. When the child is breathing regularly the umbilical cord is cut by the mother's mother or the midwife. This was formerly done with a shell or a bamboo knife. The method, introduced by [177]
the government, of cutting the cord with a pair of scissors and tying it with a piece of string, is used occasionally. An old Fulanga woman thinks that the modern method of tying the cord is injurious because the bad blood cannot flow away. As

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846 After the delivery, while still sitting on the stone, the mother is washed with fresh water. Then she lies down on a new mat. She is rubbed with powdered mangrove root and covered with a sheet of barkcloth. She does not bathe in the sea for four days and remains quiet from five to ten days. She eats the roasted flesh of ripe coconut. The natives say she must not eat the flesh from the pointed end, however, because that flesh will poke into her stomach and cause pain. She drinks much coconut milk, but the pointed end of the nut must first be taken off, otherwise the baby will vomit. Also she must not eat salt.

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The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*.

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony.

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him.

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitehi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two

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take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child [766]
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam'-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

844 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u*, *u*).

[534]

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa.[19]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomoua,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*";	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndravu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[19] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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843 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu,* and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

844 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

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Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa.* 845

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When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa,* is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

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851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the [554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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173 of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of
[516] Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was
[846] very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
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and Tuisala was seated there, spreading the *rerega*[1] on her young baby, as is our custom. And in jest she threw a little of the powder at Rasolo, and some stayed on his cheek. But Ului Lakeba entered the house just then, and saw this, and his anger grew hot within him, for he suspected Rasolo. And he straightway drove Rasolo and his brothers out of Lakeba, letting but one of them, Matawalu, remain—for Matawalu was then still a child.

173 [846]

"And Rasolo journeyed first to Totoya Island, and stayed there for some years, as his father had done before him; and there he took for a wife one Laufita, and they had a son—Malani—who was my grandfather.

"Now, after a time, a great desire to return to Nayau arose within him, so he hewed a tall Vesi tree at Dravuwalu town, and made a big canoe, and with all his people set sail for Nayau; but he was driven by the winds to Moala Island on the way. And after a few weeks there he journeyed on to Nayau, and great was the joy of the people to see him. And not very long after this Matawalu, now a young man, joined him; but he brought with him the report that the hatred of Ului Lakeba for Rasolo still remained.

"Now, at Maumi, the old fighting town on the top of the cliff at Nayau, there grew a

[1] Powdered turmeric.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.
755 *Lolokumete.*—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

Treatment for Pregnancy and Birth [23]

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvea*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [? efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *wareowaro*; wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.[24] The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *evuevu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

[23] For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

[24] The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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843 the body of the new born infant will be covered with sores. They also abstain from eating certain types of sea food lest the foetus be injured. In case of a miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the village cemetery without ceremony.

842 Most of the natives know no contraceptives. The women of Mothe, however, say that if a woman does not want a child she goes to a female doctor who takes her into the lagoon and by manipulating the uterus is able to prevent her from conceiving. When she wishes a child she returns to the medicine woman who, by means of counter-manipulation, replaces the uterus into normal position. Informants say that the withdrawal practise is also known as a means of preventing conception.

847 The natives say that abortion is common among unmarried girls on islands like Mothe where standards of morality are lax. According to informants, it is accomplished between the second and fifth months. Three methods are known: pricking by the insertion of a blade of sharp, stiff grass; hard labor such as carrying heavy loads, jumping, or splitting wood; and drinking an infusion of herbs prescribed by a medicine woman.

844 Childbirth takes place in the sleeping house. No man is present unless the birth is unusually difficult, when the husband occasionally helps. An attempt is made to keep the labor secret in the village and to keep children out of the house. If the labor is prolonged, however, the children of the village gather and watch. As soon as the infant is born they are allowed to enter the house.

When the pains begin the woman in labor bathes in the house. Her mother, mother-in-law, or grandmother acts as midwife and gives her a medicine to facilitate delivery. The [424] recipe for this medicine is an inherited or purchased secret, carefully guarded by the owner. The best midwife on Kambara makes it of beaten hibiscus bark placed in a coconut reticulum bag and steeped in water. A skilled midwife deter-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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"fell after" the High Chief of Mbau he would get a big canoe. Once a nobleman "fell down after" a Yandrana man, in order to get a heap of yams he had seen. He received about a hundred yams, but his action was considered an imposition (*veivakaisini*), because he was a nobleman, and the Yandrana man a commoner. 565 576

Of old, common people passing through Tumbou had to go with folded arms and head inclined. Though this custom is no longer strictly observed, I have seen a man of Tumbou proper walk in this way through the village green. Noise is not allowed even to Tumbou people. Talking loud is considered to be the way of a common person. In fact, the word for impudence, *vosa levu*, means literally "to talk big."

Of old, only the Lord of Naiau and the Ndaulakemba, the chief of Levuka, could wear a turban in the "center of the village" where the nobles live. No one but the Lord of Naiau might use a light when going about the village at night; a woman was once pelted in the Lord of Tumbou's quarter for carrying a lantern. It was also forbidden to smoke or wear a kerchief round the neck. If a man from the country presumed, the chief would say nothing, but the Tumbou people would throw stones at him or strike him. The young men would also wait for a countryman who was flirting with a woman and beat him when he came out in the night. 565

Formerly, certain insignia were reserved for the nobility; for instance, the circular ornament of whale's tooth and pearl shell combined (*thivavonovono*), which hung on the neck, was worn only by aged noblemen. It originated in Tonga, was made in Lakemba, and exported to Mbau. The collar made of ground down whale's teeth called *mbatiniika* was worn only by nobles. The staff and the fly whisk were also "things for nobles." The staff is used by common people, but not in a village that is noble, or in an assembly at which nobles are present. A lowborn man may be seen holding a fly whisk in presence of a superior, but not using it. He folds it back and grasps the tail and handle together. [301 177] [29]

In olden days, nobles in tying up the loin cloth used a long train (*tini yara*). A man whose father and mother were both noble wore a train in front and another behind. [29]

While rank depends largely on seniority, seniority is absolute only among own brothers; among others it is qualified by such considerations as descent. A noble who has no common blood in him is called "a heart of nobility" (*uto ni turanga*).

Illegitimate children, called "children of the way," do not enjoy high rank. Thus Kasa, though son of the late High Chief, was looked down upon because his mother was a kitchen woman from Mbau; there was even some debate before the Lands Commission whether Kasa should be set down in his father's clan. The late High Chief's wife, who was consulted, de- 565 848

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clared that in the old days if a woman came and arranged the nobleman's bed she was reckoned to be his wife; so Kasa was set down in the clan of Vatuwangga; but his children, though their mother came from Tanggalevu, were never quoted as "home nephews." The eldest but illegitimate daughter of Uluilakemba II did not enjoy the prestige or the honors given to her younger sister, the eldest of the legitimate children. Discussing a love-match one said:

> They were not brought together by the chiefs; it was only a love affair, the children of such a marriage are not noble; they are only noble by fluke [*sic*]. According to Fijian custom they are brought together in state (*vakananiuani vakaturanga*); the offspring are then noble. Thus the High Chief was a noble youth before his birth.

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The man who impressed me as coming next to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, in importance is Salesi. Yet in the order of the precedence Tuimereke, the only surviving son of the late Lord of Naiau, was always put next to Ratu Finau, as "the little father of the other nobles." Next came Roko Malani, who is the oldest nobleman and is senior in the generation which comes next to Tuimereke. These two are spoken of as "great nobles" though described as "small nobles" in comparison with the High Chief. On the other hand, Tui Mereke's eldest brother's son's son, Salesi, speaks of Tuimereke as "quite a junior." The High Chief's nephew is positive that Salesi comes next to Finau, and says that as young boys in Mbau they were treated as equals. Only nobles are supposed to eat off wooden dishes in Mbau, and the people of Mbau objected to Salesi following this practice, but the elder sister of Thakombau, "King of Fiji," ordered that Salesi and Finau eat out of the same dish. For Salesi represents the senior branch of the second ruling house in Lakemba; he is the only man in Vatuwangga of his generation whose descent is flawless and in the male line. In short, Salesi being the senior branch is the bigger man, but Tuimereke as his "grandfather" takes precedence. Some of his importance in Lakemba is doubtless due to the fact that he is through women connected with every village in Lakemba except Wathiwathi, Vakano, Waitambu and a good deal of Lau.

Although the High Chief has an elder sister, he as High Chief eats before all others. There was much difference in the respect paid to his elder and to his younger sister; the elder seems to be in a class apart.

Polite Address

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Inferiors use the title Roko before the name of a nobleman: Andi or Yandi, before that of a gentlewoman—as Roko Malani (Sir Malani), Andi Tupou (Lady Tupou). In Moala, Roko instead of Andi is used for women.

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The following are words of abuse: 192

Mbakola. A man killed to be eaten. Formerly it was serious and only used by a nobleman to a commoner, by a man to his very own subjects (nona tamata sara nga), or to his younger brother; now it is merely a jest.
Kaisi. Lowborn, is common in anger and in play.
Kawa ni moku. Descendants of the defeated. This is seldom used, and only, it appears, in earnest, to persons of whom it is true.
Ndomi lairo. Suck crabs. Apparently a Thakaundrove expression.

An oath is *mbumbului* or *vosa mbumbului*. Men formerly swore by the chief of the family (*turanga ni yavusa*), the one who governed them. If a man was accused of anything and protested it was not true he would say: "I swear by Tui Naiau" (*au mbumbului vei Tui Naiau*).

Sexual Relations and Marriage

Morality

Sexual intercourse is called *veithai*, a word forbidden in presence of 195
women, before whom the term *veindauthi* is used. The word *vala* (to do) 834
is also used as a euphemism. The words *uti* and *pia*, which mean penis, are also not used in the presence of women; the polite term is "a man's thing"; or a woman "a woman's thing."

Morality is very lax in Lau. Bastards are very common in the pedi- 834
grees. Lau has a reputation for laxity throughout Fiji, and the men of 848
Viti Levu are mad about Lauan women. This is the answer a Lauan makes to this charge:

Lau has a bad reputation because of Tongan ways: men and women talk to each 834
other, and may walk together in the dark without anything being thought of it. They 186
may go together at night through the village from one house to another; it is only bad if they stop and talk outside. In the West it is forbidden even to talk to a woman, or the owner of the house is silent with jealousy. If a man goes and sits close to a woman and she does not shriek and run away, it means she is ready to accept his advances. Yet there is more fornication in the West; but Lau has a bad reputation because the western people do not understand the freedom. Western men coming to Lau waste a lot of money because they think a girl likes them because she talks to them, and they give her plenty of money, but get nothing for it.

There is a tremendous amount of fornication in the West. There the women are shy and wild. If the man whom a woman likes is in the house, she does not enter, or, if she does, she sits in a dark corner; it is as though she were *sake; sake* means that a woman will not speak to a man whom she likes, or, if she speaks, laughs and is ashamed; in Lau this is the way of immature (*yalowai*) children, not of adults: adults talk together and are not shy. In the West women are like pigs: a man will send for one, or, if he meets her on the way, will lay hold of her: she cannot refuse. A Lau woman will refuse to go with three or four men; she will accept the advances of a man she likes. Women in the West look countrified (*kai lekutu*); here they make kava, roll cigarettes for men and no harm is thought of it.

Formerly young women used to stay in the father's house, and not go about, or 834
if they went about it was in company. Now they go and sleep in the young men's

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dormitories (*mburc*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

An unmarried man is called *thaurevou*, youth; a married man is described as *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone aleua*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teutou*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*uluulu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan.

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndawai*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange.

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people.

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan lands.

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848 membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land. He is, however, given the use of a piece of land belonging to the clan with which he is associated. Actually, the illegitimate child often remains with his mother's people. [554] The greatest prejudice is against half-caste bastards, called *kai loma* (people-in-between). If their fathers are European they are said to have no clan at all and therefore lack membership and rank in the community.

Relationship Terms

601 The principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage regulate the rank of the individual within the clan. Older siblings and their [554 428] descendants outrank young ones. The oldest son and his descendants hold the highest rank and inherit the clan titles. The first-born, male or female, is called the old head (*ulu matua*) and is honored by special pregnancy, birth, and initiation ceremonies.

601 Seniority is expressed in the kinship system by means of terms with age significance. For instance, a line is drawn between the older and the younger 561 brothers of a man's real father (*tama*). His father's older brothers are designated by the term *tama levu* (big father), his younger brothers by the term *tama lailai* (small father). A man's older brothers and the sons of his *tama levu* are designated by the term *tuaka*; his younger brothers and the sons of his *tama lailai*, by the term *tachi*. A corresponding distinction is made in regard to the sisters of a man's mother and their sons. These differentiations reflect social attitudes expressed in behavior patterns, by which younger siblings and their descendants honor older siblings and their descendants.

It should be noted, however, that the terms with age significance are alternates for more comprehensive terms without age significance. For instance, the term *tama* (father) includes the father's brothers and the term *tachi* includes a man's brothers and male parallel cousins. In other words, there is a complete set of kinship terms without those which specify relative age. It is probable, therefore, that the age designating terms and modifiers and the principle of rank they reflect have been incorporated into a system without age and rank significance.

601 The Lauan kinship system is of the classificatory type. It is based on cross-cousin marriage. Kinship terms are not used as they are written in the following list, but are always followed by a possessive suffix which has been indicated by a hyphen. For example, the word *tama* (father) is never used without a possessive suffix as *tamanggu* (my father), or *tamana* (his father). Terms of address, however, are used without a possessive suffix. The same kinship term is used whether the speaker is male or female unless indicated by ms (male speaking) or fs (female speaking).

1. Tama-: Father, father's brother, father's father's brother's son, father's father's sister's son, spouse's mother's brother, and the husbands of all women designated by *tchina-* (2). The term *tama- levu* (big father) is used to specify the

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851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the [554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

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883 becomes rather pleasant. He is accepted as a man in the
581 community, but he avoids the full responsibility of an adult. Although he sleeps in a men's house he is still a member of his father's household, cultivates his father's lands, and contributes to the daily supply and preparation of food for his father's earth oven. He participates in the ceremonies and games of his age group, spears fish, and sails on trading expeditions. He is sought after by the young women of the community among whom, with the exception of the group tabu to him, he is free to make conquests. The more numerous his affairs the greater he is desired by women. If he should have a
[848] bastard or two, the girl's father will care for the child. When he marries, however, he must accept the responsibilities of an adult; found his own household, work his own garden, and support his family.

A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

584 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father
583 and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

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435 (*tambua*) of the sperm whale. The whale's tooth serves as
436 a medium of exchange and as a means by which wealth can be accumulated, condensed, and stored. It cannot, however, serve as a standard of value because its ceremonial significance imparts to it an immeasurably sacred value which cannot be compared with the exchange value of other objects. The
[556] indefinite term "big" (*levu*) is used to express victory in the economic competition of gift exchange. The donor whose gift is "big" wins prestige.

431 The Lauan principle of gift exchange emphasizes communal
556 industry and group prestige rather than individual enterprise.
476 It would completely discourage initiative were it not reciprocal and self-perpetuating. In an exchange of property each party seeks to give more than he receives and thus through a material loss to secure a social gain. But the gain in prestige is not permanent. A man or group must continue to distribute in order to maintain the acquired status. Hence it is really the far-sighted, industrious man or group which wins in the long run. Work is rewarded and laziness loses out.

732 The case of Wai illustrates the point. Wai is a half-caste
158 whose mother was a native from the island of Komo and
554 whose father was a European. He is the most maladjusted individual on Kambara. He is physically handicapped not only because of his small bones and relatively short stature but also because he limps badly. Any physical defect such as lameness, blindness, or elephantiasis is mocked by the natives, and on this account Wai has had his share of ridicule.
[797] Besides, Wai is classed as a bastard which, since the advent of
[848] the missionaries, has been severely censored. Since his father was a European, the natives insist that he has no clan and no land. However, he has been given the use of land in the clan of his wife's mother who came from Tokalau.

158 Wai is known as the laziest man on Kambara. At the
554 time of our visit to Kambara he had a house in Tokalau, but the thatched roof leaked, and he with his wife and bastard

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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. 851
Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in 644
their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.[20] A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

The Cure, the Diagnosis

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to 751
make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that 758
some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over 758
their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise 753
and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete, wanggangga i kete, ngata lua, oso, mbera a mbete, mbati yate, mbondra;* some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

> They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good 753
> for them (*kena yanga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know 757
> the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the 755
> patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

[20] Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

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Kambara

but was done because the chief likes Tongan songs. Between rounds of kava, ceremonial presentations were made to the chief. These were two large pieces of Tongan tapa (called *i vaka mamatha*), two canoes, four turtles, and two large mats. Six kava bowls, to be sent by the chief from the Kambara people to the council of chiefs, were prepared for shipping. Meanwhile a *meke* was danced for the chief's wife by two groups of girls, representing the west and east sides of the island. At the end of the *meke,* the dancers removed their tapa attire and presented it to the chief's wife. This was called the *luvaluva ni meke.* The chief's wife made a return gift of money. Later another whale's tooth was presented by the assistant *mbuli* of Kambara and then a small feast (*i sirovi*) was presented. It consisted of a large fish, fish soup, and sweet potatoes.

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Life Crises Ceremonies [4]

PREGNANCY

Childbearing is an important social function for both parents. Through childbearing a woman can most successfully increase her social prestige, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of their first child. It makes no difference to them whether the child is a boy or a girl. The first-born is the living representative of the ancestor gods and the temporary repository of the clan mana. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him. His conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring.

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[557]
[851]

Conception is known in Lau to be the result of sexual intercourse, but the general opinion is that conception does not occur unless a couple copulates repeatedly. It is believed that a woman who has intercourse with many men will not become pregnant.

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On Mothe, the beginning of a woman's first pregnancy is marked by a ceremony called *i vaka votu ni ngone* or *vaka votu.* The female members of the pregnant woman's clan gather together and her mother paints her entire body with a yellow powder (*rerenga*) made of the mangrove root, which is grated, mixed with water, strained, allowed to settle, drained and dried. This is called *poroporo.* The natives do not know why this is done but say it is an old custom. Four days later the women go fishing in the sea and the yellow powder is washed off. Then a feast for both men and women relatives is held.

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[386
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During the first one hundred days of pregnancy a woman is a source of danger to the community, a state called *taiwaiwai,* and must observe certain tabus. For instance, she must not go fishing lest the fish break the nets; she must not touch or even look at a turtle net lest no catch be made; she may not touch the food of a sick person lest he grow worse; nor may she bathe in the sea. A small communal fishing catch is usually attributed to the presence

[4] For the development of the child and his induction into group life, see 23, pp. 26-59.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of
[184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa,* which is held when the first-born is
852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are
[851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The
431] child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.[9]

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi.* It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother
for three or four nights. It would be harmful to the mother to 845
take it way sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a
sickness characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Still births are buried in the village cemetery above a [766]
previous burial from the same clan. If both mother and child
die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in
one grave. Formerly the natives believed that their souls went
to Nai Thimbathimba, the jumping off place for the souls of [775]
the departed.

As a rule the father does not see the child before it is "on the 846
mat". He usually bathes and puts on a clean *lavalava* before
entering the house. The child is presented to him by his
mother or by his wife's mother. He breathes upon him
through his nose, the only native method of kissing, holds him
for a moment, and returns him without a word.

For several months after the child is born the father sleeps 846
in the men's house of his clan or in his father's house. 834
Formerly he slept in another house until the child was weaned,
and some men observe this custom today. Intercourse with
his wife is tabu until the child is weaned, lest the child get a [753]
sickness called *ndambe* (pronounced en-dam′-bē), or the
mother become pregnant. A man who breaks the tabu is
called "expert at causing *ndambe*". A child with this illness
cannot walk, but crawls on all fours with feet flat on the
ground. If a woman becomes pregnant while she is nursing,
people blame her husband because her milk will become "bad"
and harm the suckling child. The tabu against intercourse is
occasionally broken today, but apparently not often, for
practically all children in any one family are at least 18
months apart. The husband is supposed to be continent
during this period, but he usually has clandestine affairs with [837]
women who do not stand in the tabu relationship to him.

The child is named on the day of birth by the father's 553
mother after a member, usually an ancestor, of the clan. If 851
the parents are very fond of a child they give him several

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the [554] feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

843 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu,* and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

844 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saúmua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

846 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndravu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since
●852 the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*. 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of [184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there [162] are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday. — Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192 854
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old.

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

844 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roaroa[19]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomona,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*';	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndrawu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[19] The word *roaroa* is not Lauan.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

has died. A shallow hole in the sand is dug by hand, with a stick, or with a large shell. Usually nuts are transplanted at sunset. Natives say that if the planter carries someone, preferably a young boy, on his back while planting, the tree will bear more fruit. Trees on the leeward side of the island are sturdier than those on the windward side. The best harvests are gathered from trees between 10 and 60 years of age. 245

Good qualities in a coconut are considered by Lauans to be a thin husk and a thin shell to admit the sun, which sweetens milk and growing meat.

Ono has the reputation for having the best flavored coconuts, Lakemba for the greatest quantity of nuts. The soil of Kambara is a little too sandy for coconuts. The trees growing on Ndelaioloi are said to bring forth the largest number and the best fruit on the island. Mothe has many coconuts. On Fulanga and Ongea the trees are small and do not bear so well as on the other islands. Namuka has large groves, but many trees are unhealthy.

There are several coconut pests. *Mate ni niu* (coconut death) is caused by the purple moth (*Levuana iridescens*) and is greatly feared. The branches of the tree turn rust brown or black, drop, and the tree dies. In recent years the colonial government has sent an insect-eating fly (*Ptychomyia remota*) imported from the Malay States, to the infected islands and the pest is rapidly retreating. Coconut crabs, of which there are many on Wangava, break the nuts on the ground and eat them or leave them to spoil. On Komo, a rat is said to climb the tree and "eat" the young nuts. Some coconut trees are killed by a fern which grows in the branch fork. [136] [654]

Every part of the coconut tree is used. Coconut oil is indispensable. Copra is still used in limited quantities in exchange for western trade goods, especially tobacco, kerosene, and cloth. The meat is an important food for human beings, pigs, and chickens. It is the first food given to a baby. The milk is drunk and used in preparing fish and greens. The husk is used for sennit and kindling, the wood is used for fuel and is split into roof laths, the leaves are used for baskets, and the midribs of the leaflets for brooms. Whole leaves are made into mats for house walls, floor mats, and thatch. The root is used as medicine and the reticulum serves as a medicine bag. The spathes make the best torches. The branches are used in fishing, and the elastic thick middle rib, freed of its foliage, is used as a lash. [439] [853] [272] [278] [373] [284]

The harvest of nuts for copra is picked off the ground by women. Several nuts are carried on one arm pressed against the body and one nut is carried in the free hand of the other arm. They are placed in a row on the path or thrown into an enclosure fenced with vertically placed sticks. The nuts are split by kneeling women, the meat poked out with a stick, shell, or cane knife and put into baskets. It is then placed on boards, usually on the beach outside the grove, to dry.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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844 soon as the child is born the mother is given a second drink of medicine to bring forth the afterbirth. If it does not appear the mother's abdomen is pressed and the cord is pulled.

The newborn infant is held over a bowl of luke warm water and washed by the midwife or the grandmother. He is rubbed with powdered mangrove root. He is wrapped in white barkcloth so that only his face is exposed, and is held by the grandmother until he falls asleep. A child's bed, composed of a pile of baby mats and soft barkcloth, is prepared. Then the infant is placed "on the mat", that is, he is put on the pile.

846 After the delivery, while still sitting on the stone, the mother is washed with fresh water. Then she lies down on a new mat. She is rubbed with powdered mangrove root and covered with a sheet of barkcloth. She does not bathe in the sea for four days and remains quiet from five to ten days. She eats the roasted flesh of ripe coconut. The natives say she must not eat the flesh from the pointed end, however, because that flesh will poke into her stomach and cause pain. She drinks much coconut milk, but the pointed end of the nut must first be taken off, otherwise the baby will vomit. Also she must not eat salt.

853 Until the mother's milk appears the baby is usually fed roasted ripe coconut flesh. The flesh is chewed by the grandmother or the mother and spat into a piece of white barkcloth. The wad is dipped in warm water and given to the infant to suck. Babies are also fed the juice of sugar cane. Warm powdered mangrove root is applied to the breasts of a woman confined for the first time, to facilitate the flow of milk.

844 The afterbirth and cord are wrapped in the piece of barkcloth on which the birth took place, and buried by the husband or the midwife at the threshold of a door of the house. According to an old woman of Kambara, this is to give the child "good breath". A woman of Fulanga said it was so buried to be stepped upon but she did not know why.

000 If the child is born dead the body is kept near the mother

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves 854 462
from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother 854
rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, 853
which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The 862
weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not [157]
observe any child sucking his thumb.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

THE LAUAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There is no word for baby in the Fijian language, only for a small child. 192
The baby sleeps with its mother until eighteen months or two years old. 854

Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a 304
bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually 854
done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. 357
Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival.

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled 853
until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children 145
are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions.

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the 854
other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile.

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they 855
sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, espe- 291
cially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so 855
easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running.

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to 302
grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb 855
from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process. 846 852

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone,* which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa.* 845

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka,* characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony. 766

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him. 846 [834 837]

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa,* is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two 854 [515] 164

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of [184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is 852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are [851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The 431] child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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285 with wefts 3 mm. wide. It had a border of black geometric designs and a
352 wool fringe.

A kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) is slightly larger and coarser than a baby mat. It is unornamented.

An eating mat is long and narrow with coarse weave. One used in the high chief's household in Lakemba was about 28 meters long and 3 meters wide, with wefts 2 cm. wide. The edges were fringed with pandanus.

285 *Yambe volavola* are pandanus mats decorated with black geometric designs
531 in twill or check weave made with wefts dyed black. The designs are placed across the entire surface of the mat in lengthwise or diagonal bands or lines, at the corners of the mat in triangles, or around the edge of the mat as a border (fig. 18). The designs are named. A zigzag line is called *wangga ni vasua* because it resembles the *vasua*, a shellfish. A border composed of short
[386] parallel diagonal lines is called *somovuni*. The black dye (*somo*) is made of *sikethi* (p. 89).

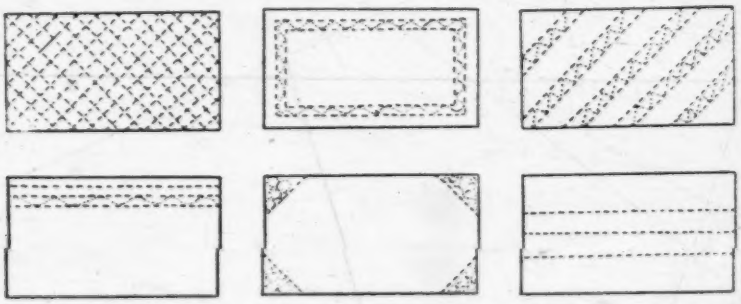

FIGURE 18.—Sketches of mats, showing design placement.

285 According to aged informants, a very soft mat, called *latha*, was formerly
[854] used as a sling to carry infants on the back or the hip. The *latha* was of fine weave and about 2 meters long and 45 cm. wide.

Another fine mat, the *tawala*, was formerly used as a dancing kilt. One
[292] corner of the mat was bent down and the mat was tied around the waist with a piece of barkcloth or sennit. Old mats worn by mourners are also called *tawala*.

[622] A very fine, white mat, called *tawake*, was tied to the mast of a chief's canoe as a flag or emblem of rank.

Natives say that mat fringe, although called *kula* (red parakeet), was
[237] formerly made of rooster feathers or of the inner bark of the *sitchi* in southern Lau. The feathers from the red parakeet were used to fringe mats in the Moala group but not in southern Lau, according to informants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The 852
group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few 854
months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the [753]
basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is [554]
lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one 852
year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this 431
is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, 602
barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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852 431 602 [854] mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives, and the child's parents receive no share. On this day[1] the child is bathed in the sea for the first time.

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If she is a true dove he will sleep-*e*.

Lauan lullaby.

854 593 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 462 During the nursing period the mother has practically nothing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls of her sub-clan. [162] Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

[1] [i.e., the first child's first birthday. — Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not observe any child sucking his thumb.

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Kambara

854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, [857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and 856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the 854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for 603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

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Lakemba

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Women shape the child's head to be round (*vatu vinaka*) by placing a bit of cloth in their hands and pressing the head with it. This is usually done by the grandmother, who plays a large part in caring for the baby. Formerly ladies had nurses who fed the child and carried it about. They were paid by the father and received a share in any festival. 304 854 357

Most Fijian babies appear very helpless and apathetic. They are suckled until a late age, about eighteen months to two years. While some children are strong and grow fast, "the body hurries and disease seizes it." Fijian children sit alone at five months, crawl at six to seven months; at seven months they raise the knee; at eight, begin to stand up. Some toddle at eleven to twelve months, some much later. Their speech develops in proportion with their actions. 853 145

A Lauan baby is never crossed unless it is absolutely necessary; on the other hand, little is done to amuse it. The babies seldom laugh, or even smile. 854

CHILDHOOD

Discipline

Boys sleep with the mother until nine or ten years of age, when they sleep in the young men's quarters (*mbure*). 855 513

Children take to clothing by degrees and at their own discretion, especially the boys; the girls soon take to little gowns because they are not so easily thrown off. Boys even at the age of ten or eleven often discard their cloth when running, but gradually accept it as permanent apparel, though wearing it as short as possible, or as a loin cloth between the legs when running. 291 855

The hair of babies is closely cropped, that of older children is allowed to grow into many curious fashions—a mop on the top of the head, a coxcomb from forehead to poll. About the age of ten, many boys wear a broad tuft called *tombe* on the forehead, the remainder of the head being cropped close. At about the thirteenth or fourteenth year, the hair is allowed to grow uniformly, and becomes the object of increasing care. Little girls sometimes have their hair cropped except for a little tuft on the prominence on each side of the head. 302 855

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
[863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

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One 855 informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told [866] that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional 869 complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867 the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867 cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all 157 the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

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539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

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Au solia mai loaloa;
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This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
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Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of
855 about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading,
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A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swaggering initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and spurning him. The only emo-
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854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, [857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and 856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the 854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for 603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

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When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality 856
is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This 593
step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel 602
cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those 601
cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's 835
own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of [582]
his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle 856
freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
[302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
754 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter
> 644 of Roko San was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> 857 panions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
> 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[facing p. 44]

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539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

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858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

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When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl 857
turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

539 BROWN YOUTHS AND VIRGINS

Memu wai o nggori ka Kula;
Au solia mai loaloa;
Au solia na ndrau ni thevunga:
Memu wai o nggori ka Kula.

This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised;
I give it from the wilderness;
I give the leaf of the *thevunga:*
This is your broth, Sirs the Circumcised.

Chant used when taking food to youths in isolation after circumcision.

858 855 Now comes a difficult period for the boy. From the age of about seven until his initiation between eight and thirteen years, his life is uncomfortable. He is ignored, teased, tormented and overworked. He is called by the degrading, [578] humorous, obscene term *pilo* (pronounced pi′-lo), and a *pilo* he is in the eyes of the whole community.

A *pilo* is neither child nor man. He is no longer allowed to play in mixed gangs, and yet he is still excluded from all the interesting masculine activities of his father and older brothers —the preparation of food for the earth oven, sailing, house and canoe building, adult games, and love affairs. His growing masculinity brings about bars that separate him from girls of all ages. Women are inaccessible to him for they bestow their favors upon the initiated. The idea of an affair with a *pilo* is quite ridiculous to them. Yet he is not a man, and he is definitely separated from circumcised youths and older men. He is thwarted and he suffers from feelings of inferiority, becomes self conscious, awkward, silent, and retiring. His plight is highly amusing to the community, especially to the young women and swagger[illegible] initiated youths who amuse themselves by ridiculing and [illegible]urning him. The only emo- [838] tional outlet for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relationships with other *pilos*. Such relationships are absent among men, according to both male and female informants.

858 857 But a *pilo* is useful. He is no longer a liability to the community, but has become its youngest asset. Chores he learned

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

• 858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

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3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

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882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
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178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

855 264 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 861 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 603 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

867 868 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve, 539
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient jan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands. 000

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had no very formal system of education. Children learned by imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by 871 [861]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves 854 462
from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother 854
rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, 853
which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The 862
weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not [157]
observe any child sucking his thumb.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

593 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His
854 mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult
562 males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau,
603 we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old
593 granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will
● [863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents. 854 603

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor. 854 593

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest. 864 854 [593]

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con- 593 854 562

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk,
is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish
individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are 869
laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867
the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867
cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his 157
relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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604 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared
606 and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's
618 son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutu-lutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of
[177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The
576 same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance
[867 relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or
558] eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No
576 one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed
613 and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes.
198 Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela-
[184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly
[689] etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one
576 except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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867 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and
157 the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have
857 no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out
524 for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to
[776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the
534 rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

855 264 No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

855 Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally allow them liberties. For instance, small children are allowed to sit beside their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

856 861 The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

861 The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

861 603 The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

857 868 On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

152 Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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[171]

This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova,* or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

[868]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

ing to chase the hiding fish into the open water where the net is waiting. When the fish have been put into baskets, the fishing party moves to another rock. The *tutu* method is used quite frequently on Kambara. 226

Nggoli mbongi. For night fishing (*nggoli mbongi*) on Fulanga women take a net about 50 meters wide into the lagoon, open it, and silently approach the beach.

FISHING WITH SPEARS

The men of Fulanga are known in Lau as expert spearmen. The people of Muanaira and Muanaithake admit that the men of Naivindamu are the most skillful. The formation of the lagoon, daily canoeing, and abundance of fish offer them an opportunity to perfect themselves in this sport. A Fulanga man never forgets to take his spear when he crosses the lagoon and there are always spears lying on outrigger canoes. Naivindamu's fishing grounds cover the finest part of the lagoon which lies beside the village. Boys at the age of six or seven learn to spear. They usually start by spearing mullet. [868]

The men of Kambara are also enthusiastic and skillful spearmen.

Tumata. A man, preparing to go *tumata* spearing, blackens his face with ash dust. Usually he carries on his shoulder two spears, one with especially strong prongs. A spear is about 3 to 3.5 fathoms long, and has not less than two and not more than four prongs. He shoves the prongs of his spear several times through the cleansing beach sand to take off the rust, then slowly steps into the water, and follows the retreating waves toward the reef. He stands on the reef where a rock projects from the water and turns his back toward the sea, handles the spears as if they were new to his hands, and hesitates a moment before taking the heavy pronged or light one. He knows which spear to use first because he has been given a sign in a dream. He takes his stand, his arm with the spear ready to thrust, and may stand thus for hours. The spear is not thrown but is used to stab the fish. The *tumata* method is used for heavy fish. Fish under about six pounds are speared only by young boys with small spears. *Tumata* is considered a sport. Several men on Kambara neglect their garden land to spear fish, and the people occasionally whisper about them and call them "no good." On Fulanga this method is called *tutomba* (literally, standing on a rock). [302]

Thothoka. The *thothoka* method is used with spears of from two to six prongs. On a clear day at either low or high tide the spearman walks along the beach and the reef. If a fish is close he thrusts, if far away he throws the spear.

Ndewa. *Ndewa* (reef walking) is done with spears at low tide. The spearman turns his back toward the coast and walks along the outermost edge of the reef, watching the open sea. He hurls the spear at a fish but does not throw farther than 10 meters, for to recover it from a greater distance is to risk encountering sharks. A strong, three-pronged spear is used because only the large fish are speared.

Vaka na sambi (spearing on the reef). While the tide is rising men walk the reef, watch the fish crossing from the ocean into the lagoon, and spear them at the spots where the fish must for a moment slow down in shallow water.

Kakara. Spearing at high tide inside the reef (*kakara*) is considered the greatest fishing sport on Fulanga. Two men pole a canoe to the reef at high tide. At the reef the man standing in the stern poles while the one in the bow looks for and spears fish.

Karathe (mullet). When the moon waxes or wanes, spearmen walk along the beach at low tide. The moonlight blinds the fish but aids the men to see. A smooth sandy region is preferred. The deserted islet of Wangava offers fine stretches for mullet spearing, and the Kambara men go there to fish for them.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

291 rank. Outside a village the natives often wind a piece of cloth about their heads as a protection against the sun. Hats are not worn.

292 For Sunday services in the mission church, and ceremonies in honor of visiting British officials on Kambara, the men tuck a clean white shirt into the *lavalava* and the women don [294] a simple sleeveless blouse. Clothes are sewn on a few sewing machines which found their way to the islands during the prosperous days of the copra trade. Lately the natives have [435] had some difficulty in keeping themselves clothed on account of the low price of copra which they exchange for cloth at the local store in Tokalau. Clothes are usually very ragged, especially those of the old people, and occasionally instead of trade cloth a gunny sack or a fringe of banana leaves is worn while working in the gardens.

296 312 The introduction of cloth brought a laundry problem to Kambara, an island where fresh water has always been scarce. At the present time most of the fresh water collected on Kambara and also the brackish water from the springs is used for washing clothes. Soap, bluing and heavy charcoal irons for pressing must be bought at the store. On Saturday mornings the young girls wash near the water barrels under the eaves. Beating the clothes with a stick against a board, they raise a billowing froth of rainbow-hued suds to make up for lack of water.

515 136 Considering the rough close-to-nature existence, and the lack of fresh water on these islands, I was impressed with the personal cleanliness of the Lauans. Men, women and children bathe daily in the lagoon, usually at sundown before the evening meal. This is done in spite of the danger of sharks which are common in these waters. Children are [868] taught from babyhood to keep a keen lookout for their dark menacing forms, which are occasionally seen darting about in the lagoon right up to the shore line.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl 857
turns to the company of the women and girls of her clan. She 868
begins to take part in their economic activities, which center in and around the kitchen house. One of her first duties is to grate the ripe coconut meat in the preparation of coconut cream in which fish and greens are boiled daily. She also accompanies the older girls to the beach, and learns to kill fish by biting their heads, to clean them, and to extract the shellfish from the shells. Occasionally she accompanies older girls to the bush and learns to recognize and collect tender edible greens. All these activities are done in a spirit of play and curiosity as the girl explores and experiments with her world.

The girl likes to be with women, to sit with them, watch 857
them, listen to their gossip, laugh when they laugh, and do 524
what they do. She plays with stones and fruit, makes whistles out of leaves, and learns from the women to make string figures. I did not see any children playing with dolls, but informants say that little girls do occasionally play with a piece of wood wrapped with barkcloth. A little Lauan's dolls are real, for one of her main occupations is to take care of the babies of her clan, especially her younger brothers and sisters.

When the girl reaches the age of ten or eleven her playful 857
activities take on somewhat the character of work, for girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-five do almost all the daily work which falls to the women. Young girls, working in sub-clan, clan, or occasionally larger groups, gather the daily supply of fish or shellfish from the lagoon, and the greens and firewood for the kitchen from the bush. Frequently one hears from afar the harsh rhythmic chants they sing while walking through the jungle. The girls usually prepare the fires in the kitchen houses and boil the food for the evening meal. At this age some girls learn to make mats, and a few learn from their mothers the first steps in the complicated technic of making barkcloth.

Up to the age of eleven or twelve no special attention is paid 858
to the sex life of children except that the speaking tabu is 864

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

One 855
informant said that children are occasionally burned on the [866]
arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told
that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk,
is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish
individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange. [522]

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are 869
laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of 867
the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, 867
cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his 157
relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

173 Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

173 It is very difficult nowadays to get the people to speak of the old times, for the simple reason that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

[1] Christianity.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, 173
perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about 869
anything at all connected with their old mythology. 797
So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so [123]
strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most 773
fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic 776
people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred [771]
certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not 773
long ago. I was investigating the old snake 177
legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, 123
on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually. 636

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123). 797

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145). 871

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail. 621

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*). 631 618

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER II

HOW A FIJIAN GROWS UP

A FIJIAN IS BORN

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve, 539
E liku so via noi mbà ni vandra,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana . . .

What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
The fruit is falling to the ground . . .

From an ancient Jan dance, Kambara.

HOW DOES an infant born on one of these islands today grow up into a Lauan? What influences condition his development? How is he inducted into the social group? Since one cannot understand an individual without knowing his background, this chapter will be devoted to the birth, growth, and development of a Lauan into adulthood as this process takes place today in the southern islands. 000

Like most pre-literate peoples the Fijians in the past had no very formal system of education. Children learned by imitation, play, experiment, and apprenticeship, to adjust themselves to their particular natural and social environment. There has been little essential change in the process of growing up in Lau today. Children still learn chiefly by imitation and experiment. They are, however, required to attend the village school which was introduced by the missionaries. Here they are taught to read and write the Mbauan language and to do simple arithmetic by a native pastor-teacher trained in a mission school, or by a village teacher trained in a government school. The system of native education introduced by 871 [861]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

871 the missionaries and elaborated by the colonial government in Fiji will be discussed in Chapter VII. From infancy children attend the village mission church on Sundays. The influence of the missionaries in Lau will be discussed in Chapter V.

842 593 The ideal in Lau is to produce many offspring, for in the child lies the future of the clan. He is still regarded as the contemporary link in the long human chain connecting the ancestor gods with the unborn. The first child receives particular attention, especially the first born of the highest ranking family in a clan. Even today he is considered the living representative of the clan ancestor gods, and the temporary repository of the clan "mana" or creative power. The attention of the clan is concentrated on him, and his conception and birth are marked by elaborate ceremonies, only partially repeated for subsequent offspring. Although both parents cooperate in child bearing and rearing, these functions are regarded by the Lauans as a woman's main sphere in life, and women say that the happiest day of their lives is the birthday of the first child.

842 The Lauans know that conception is the result of sexual intercourse but the general opinion is that it does not occur unless a couple have connection repeatedly. Only one informant, an old woman, said that conception might take place as the result of one union. It is believed that if a woman has intercourse with several men she will not become pregnant.

843 When a woman knows she is with child, which she determines by cessation of menstruation and the swelling of the breasts, she tells her husband. He is immediately concerned with the problem of finding her some special food, for pregnant women have a craving (known as *lalau*) for raw fruit, sweets, greens, and shellfish. To satisfy this craving a woman will gather shellfish alone (after the fourth month, 843 since before this time fishing is tabu to her), build a small 571 fire, roast them, and eat them by herself. Inasmuch as the

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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The agricultural demonstration farms are a recent experiment in the development of scientific agriculture among the natives. They aim to become native agricultural centers where methods of growing crops useful to native economy will be demonstrated; the services and advice of native field assistants will be available; seeds, planting material and small livestock will be distributed; and native produce will be collected for organized marketing when necessary. They also aim to serve as training centers where native farmers may settle. During 1936 five such centers were established in various parts of Fiji, and negotiations were made to start four more. The project will take some years to attain full development.[76]

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In an earlier chapter we followed the development of the Kambaran child from birth through childhood, initiation, and marriage into full-fledged adulthood. We saw how through imitation and experiment he learned to take his place in the community. He learned to live by actual participation in the life of the group. Through a long circular route western educators have finally arrived at the conclusion that the ideal type of education is that which enables the child to learn to live by these very methods. Hence it is clear that the most effective and efficient educational system for the natives is one which recognizes and utilizes the methods of inducting the child into group life already functioning in village life. According to modern standards, the ideal type of education for the Fijian would be controlled acceleration, extension, and elaboration of the learning process as it takes place in native village life today.

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But what are to be the aims of this process? Granted that no matter what methods are used education should prepare a child for life, let us look at the type of life that can be reasonably expected for a Fijian child growing up today. We have seen in previous chapters that most natives, though they frequently leave their homes in youth to work on plantations,

[76] *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, Fiji, 1936, p. 15.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes
[491] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Bukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
199 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
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Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
797 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p. 43]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

744 The expansion of the European medical staff in Fiji began in the late nineties, and today the Fiji medical service consists 874 of sixteen medical officers under the control of the director 759 of medical service. Their work in native health and sanitation control is assisted and supplemented in the country districts by sanitary inspectors, nurses, and by native medical practitioners trained at the central medical school in Suva. The former Fiji medical school founded in 1883 was replaced in 1928 by the central medical school which receives native medical students from Fiji as well as various island groups in the South Pacific. After successfully completing a four-year course[66] the students receive diplomas as native medical practitioners. These modern native doctors are attached to provincial hospitals and receiving stations. They have a high social prestige among the natives, and by interpreting modern hygiene and medical practices to their own people they bridge the wide gap between native custom and western science.

742 Medical work in Fiji has been greatly aided by the work of the Rockefeller Foundation, which has contributed funds both for the erection of hospitals and a training school and for experimental research in the control of infectious diseases.

744 Administrative health and medical work among the natives may be divided into three main phases: the control of infectious diseases, sanitation and housing, and child welfare.

The natives have developed some immunity against measles, whooping cough, and chicken pox which, however, still raise the infant mortality rate. Since 1911, lepers have been segre- [743] gated on the island of Makongai which receives patients also from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, and the Cook, Gilbert and Ellice islands. A systematic campaign against yaws, especially during 1929-31, and hookworm, especially since 1922, control of epidemic dysentery and the treatment of ankylostomiasis have had marked results. Today, of infectious

[66] The curriculum includes chemistry, physics, biology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, surgery, midwifery, and child care.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

cried on the slightest provocation because they are proud (*yalo levu*). A Tumbou boy announced that if the cook, a lowborn fellow from Waitambu, gave him cheek he would return it; when the cook scolded him for helping himself to salt without leave he cried. One boy of thirteen being slapped by the cook cried, not, as he afterwards explained, because it hurt, but from defiance (*yalokaukaua*). A boy when insulted would not strike, but sit down and vent his grief.

Puberty

I examined a number of boys for signs of puberty and took their ages from the provincial register. Out of ten boys ranging from fourteen years and three months to seventeen and two months, four, averaging sixteen and eleven months had well developed pubic hairs; two, averaging sixteen, had a beginning; four, averaging fourteen and seven months, none. At about the age of thirteen boys become particular about exposing themselves.

I do not know at what age menses begin. There is no observance when they start, except that girls begin to use the *tama* salutation; if a girl sings out *"ninggo,"* it is known her periods have commenced. Boys begin the *tama* quite young, at no specified age.

Circumcision

I use the word circumcision regardless of its etymology, because whatever may be the differences of technique in exposing the *glans penis*, it is all one custom and a general term is needed for that custom.

It is called in Lauan *teve*, but the word is not used before women; in their presence, and in polite conversation, the word *sili* (to bathe) is used. Women have no scruples about discussing it under that name, though I have not heard them allude to details. Another term is *vala*, to do, act upon. Women may not be present at circumcision.

In the olden days a boy was grown (*thauravou ndina*) before getting circumcized; some had already slept with women. Now they are circumcized at about the fifteenth or sixteenth year. In the school, boys about ten or twelve started a craze for circumcision. The reason was that being alone in the school they were not bashful as they would have been in the village. Normally the date is fixed not by the boy but by the parents' ability to provide a feast. A noble youth is not circumcized till he is big because a feast has to be made. A noble youth also has other boys circumcized with him, who are called *i loloku*, a word also applied to persons killed at a nobleman's death. One of my boys, Longanimothe, had two *i loloku*, one a bastard of Vatuwangga, his clan; another an Ono boy who stood in the relation of son to his adoptive mother, whose grandmother was of Ono.

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The circumcision is carried out in the bush. The operation can be performed by anyone who has the nerve to do it.

First the dirt inside the foreskin is cleaned out. The operator then takes a flat stick, like a chisel sharpened at the end and winds round it a piece of bark cloth. He takes a razor and wraps all but the end of the blade with bark cloth so that it may not slip. The stick is pushed in between the foreskin and the upper surface of the glans; the foreskin is pulled forward over the stick, the glans pushed back, and an incision is made right through the foreskin; a second incision has then to be made in the interior skin as the first incision has not slit it as far back as the outer skin. This Lauan method is called *tavo sei*, slitting, in opposition to the cross-cut (*thembe koso*) formerly used in Viti Levu. When a boy is small it is well to cut just the tip or when he grows up the scar will reach right up to the root, a condition called *ranggavula*. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni*, in no fixed number, are chewed and the juice is applied to the wound, as a lotion (*indangi*). After the foreskin has been allowed to bleed a little, a few drops of coconut oil are poured onto the wound. Then the glans is pulled out and a leaf of *yanggoyanggona* is wrapped round the base of the glans, which being slippery prevents the bandage from sticking. The bandage is a piece of bark cloth wound round so as to keep the lips of the wound apart and expose the glans. A loin cloth is then passed between the legs and round the waist to keep the penis pointing up. When passing water they are obliged to turn the penis upside down to prevent urine from touching the wound and causing inflammation.

There is a feast on the same day as the operation; it is eaten before the return from the bush. Gifts are also made to the operator on that day. The newly circumcized are confined to the house for four days; they may not go out, except to satisfy nature, lest they have a relapse (*tandoka*). They do not bathe, but may splash their bodies with water. No food is forbidden. Grown men look after the circumcized; they are known as the boys' grandmothers (*tumbundra*). They and the circumcized eat the feasts which are prepared daily by the father and the relatives of the boys.

On the fourth day the boys go to bathe in the sea, throw away the old bandage, and clean the penis. They cut a bit from the stump of a coconut leaf, warm it over the fire, and stroke the wound to make the inflammation subside. Leaves of *kalakalaisoni* are again used as a lotion. Then a feast, *i mburua*, is prepared on the shore.

The following ancient custom probably belonged to Matuku:

People would form two parallel lines extending about half a mile from the oven; old men and the circumcized sat by the oven armed with candlenuts or coconuts; young men came running between the two files and were pelted until one of them managed to set foot on the oven.

One of my boys on the fourth day went with his two fellows in circumcision (*i loloku*) to Tumbou for the feast. They were dressed in well oiled bark cloth and necklaces (*i salusalu*) of scented flowers and seeds. Part of the feast was taken to the chief [? nobles] in Tumbou, part of it was brought up to me; there were also mats as gifts, which in this case are called "the seat of the circumcized" (*i tikotiko ni sili*). The feast was offered up in the usual way, after which the boys took off their bark cloth and necklaces and put them on the mats. The bark cloth being oiled was of no use.

When the present High Chief's eldest son was circumcized, he and his companions dressed up and accompanied a big feast. One bundle of mats

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881 was provided by Nasangalau, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*),
834 but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining
[302] indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating
[754] she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls.
> [644] This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her com-
> [85] panions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or
> 797 cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

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281 country-folk (Lauandoko) would be informed and prepare a feast with turtle, fish, and pig. If an outside nobleman came to Lakemba while a girl was forbidden the sunshine, the Lakembans would hold a dance in which she appeared and which ended the confinement. This was called bathing. Thus when Thakombau came, Lathiawa, the daughter of the elder Malani, danced before him, her first dance since her seclusion, Thakombau liked her and sent a messenger to Malini asking for her. This confinement is a noble 565 custom (*ka vakaturanga*). It has no connection with the beginning of menstruation; merely a way of cherishing the children of nobles.

304 In olden times women were tattooed about the mouth. There are no extant examples. I do not know at what age this was done.

Names

551 At present every Lauan man has one Christian name and one or more 177 Fijian names. Under European influence the Christian name is put first, and the Fijian name is placed second on the analogy of our surname.

There is a tendency to call people by their Christian names, especially when speaking to Europeans; but many are known by their Fijian names. Sometimes a man is called one name by some people and another by the others. Thus Ratu Salesi was called Misi Wutu by his people, and Kinikinilau by acquaintances.

The Christian name is simply an English name, chiefly Biblical, Fijianized. Those that change *r* into *l* are Tongan forms. Here are a few examples: Aisake or Waisake, Isaac; Eparame or Para, Abraham; Keiera, Clara; Keni, Cain; Melaia, Maria; Mele, Mary; Mere, Mary; Panipasa, Barnabas; Salesi, Charles; Sateki or Tiosateki, Jehoshedek; Sesepeli, Jezebel; Sikeli or Isikeli, Ezekiel; Yatha, Arthur.

The few Roman Catholic names used in Lakemba are modelled on the Latin and end in *o*, as Aminio. Some Christian names are European surnames, as: Semiti, Smith; Watisoni, Watson.

551 The Fijian name is distinguished as the old name or the name of the land. They all have meanings. Compound names are frequently shortened by dropping the second part of the compound: Mbale, fallen, died; Mbiu, abandoned; Ndausinga, famine; Funilangi, a Tongan form of Vunilangi, horizon; Kasa, stranded; Matawalu, eight eyes; Niumataiwalu, or short Niu, coconut with eight eyes; Ratu, Lord; Sokotukivei, Whither-a-sailing; Songolati, or short Songo, to bar the way; Tangi, to weep; Tangithi, wept for; Vakaloloma, unfortunate, a very common name given because some one was unfortunate at the time.

These names are not given indifferently to either sex. Names beginning

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854 or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of
[184] *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is
852 one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are
[851 prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The
431] child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

[851] A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

● 881 During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

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Boys' puberty ceremonies in Lau center around the rite of circumcision (*tevi*), or more accurately, supercision. The word *tevi* is not used in the presence of women, but the polite word, *sili* (bath), is used. The rites are not performed every year, but when the fathers of a group of four or more adolescent boys in the village are prepared to furnish the property and food required. A father judges by the growth of pubic hair of his offspring whether or not he ought to be circumcised. The age for circumcision varies among the islands, but boys are usually circumcised when they are between seven and twelve years of age. The rite takes place in harvest season when the food for the feast is ripening in the gardens. It is believed that at this time of year, when everything in nature is dying, inflammation is less likely to result. Though the operation may be performed by any man, one who has served once is likely to do so for a number of years. Each village thus has its circumciser (*matai ni veitevi* or *matai ni veisili*). The art is learned by observation and practice. In Tokalau the rite is performed in the coconut grove about 200 meters north of the village at a spot called Vanua ni Tevi (Land of Circumcision). The group of initiates is called *laualaua tevi*. Only the circumciser, the boys, and the fathers know the date. Usually only the boys and circumciser are present.

A boy is seated on a log or rock conveniently placed so that his knees are level with the hips of the circumciser, who stands in front of the boy. One of the initiates stands behind the patient and puts his arms around the boy's chest to hold him if he should faint. The circumciser then cleans the penis with tapa wrapped around a stick. Then another stick called *vekaveka* of *veka* wood wrapped with white tapa, is shoved lengthwise between the foreskin and the glans penis. The circumciser cuts lengthwise through the skin until he strikes the tapa wrapped around the *vekaveka*. Formerly a bamboo knife or a sharp shell was used, but today a razor blade is the usual cutting instrument. Lakai, the circumciser of Tokalau, says that a bamboo knife is best because the cut bleeds just enough to clean the wound and that a cut caused by a shell often heals too slowly.

Immediately after the operation, chewed hibiscus leaves (*kalakalaisoni*) are applied to the wound. The penis is then wrapped in *vevendu (Scaevola)* leaves, which have been softened by beating and scorching, then bandaged with fresh white tapa and bound, head up, to the abdomen, by means of a T-bandage of tapa (*masi loti*). When all the initiates have been circumcised, they go to one of the village men's houses, which becomes the house of circumcision (*mbure ni tevi*). They are confined there for four days, under the care of the circumciser, and their fathers provide their food. They are instructed to be quiet, to have no fear of the dark, and not to think about girls. If a boy has an erection, which under the circumstances is painful, he hangs by

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his arms from the rafters of the house and the erection subsides. So far as is known, the period of confinement is not used for formal instruction in communal lore.

When the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a feast called *i mburua ni tevi* on the first day after circumcision, the village knows that an initiation is being held. The feast is presented to the circumciser outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to the initiates.

On the fourth day a large feast called the bathing (*i silisili*) is held. The initiates leave their house for the first time after the operation to return to the place where the operation was performed. They wet and remove the tapa bandages and bathe in the sea. Then they take a piece of green coconut midrib or a stick of *yale* vine (*tabu mbombo*), heat it in the fire, and gently rub the penis to reduce inflammation. The wounds are dressed with chewed hibiscus leaves or chewed *yale* and are again bandaged with tapa. The boys oil their bodies and wrap new white oiled tapa, provided by their mothers, around the waist twice, draw it over one shoulder and down to the opposite hip, where it is tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by the initiates' relatives. The feast and property such as tapa and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the circumciser's house and presented to him. The food is distributed outside his house, where it is eaten by the whole village. The boys may leave their house after the fourth day, but they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

Initiation rites for the son of a chief are more elaborate than those for other boys but do not differ essentially from them.

GIRLS' PUBERTY

There are no ceremonies in Lau to mark a girl's first menstruation. Formerly a feast, called *sili ki wai levu*, was held to mark a girl's first fishing at about the age of ten years.

Some girls at the age of ten or eleven begin to twist a lock of short hair over one ear into twenty or more two-strand cords (*tombe*, pl. 3, *A*). These are not cut until the *kotchi ni tombe* ceremony after her wedding night or until it is proved that she is no longer a virgin. These "virgin locks" usually fall to the shoulder but occasionally almost reach the waist. Informants say that now these locks are not much more than a coiffure for unmarried girls without offspring. Only about 50 percent of the girls wear the *tombe*. It is said that the custom of wearing "virgin locks" has appeared recently in Lau. It probably came from Tonga where such locks are called *fangafanga* (Gifford, 9, p. 186).

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The custom of confining a chief's daughter for several months in order to bleach and fatten her (*tambu singa*) is not found in southern Lau. Informants say it existed formerly in Tumbou, Lakemba (Hocart, 15, p. 149), but that it is the "way of the devil" (*vakatevoro*), that is pre-Christian. When I visited the village of Tavuki, Kandavu, the chief's daughter was being thus confined. Natives of Namuka said that the custom was also practiced in the village of Nakasale, Kandavu. 881

Formerly adolescent girls in Lau were tattooed on the thighs, the corners of the mouth, and the fingers. The custom of tattooing (*nggai*) was forbidden by the missionaries, and there are no longer any tattooed women in Lau. 881 304 [797]

Tchosaia of Kambara said that all girls in Lau were formerly tattooed, but Kalo of Fulanga said that only some were tattooed and that of these a number did not finish the whole process because of the pain. Tattooing, according to informants, made the girls grow strong and develop fully. Joana of Kambara said that tattooed women looked better, that their bodies grew stronger, and remained firm longer, and that the wrinkles of age were concealed by the design.

The following description of the tattooing process was obtained on the islands of Kambara, Fulanga, and Mothe from aged informants who had not actually witnessed the process but had obtained the description from women who had been tattooed.

The tattooing was begun shortly after a girl's first menstruation by a female specialist (*ndau veinggia, ndau veisau*, or *ndau ni mbatchi*), who had learned the art of tattooing from her mother. She felt the patient's thighs to determine whether or not the girl was ready for the operation. It was initiated by a feast and was performed in three or four installments with a lapse of several months between them. The entire process covered a period of a year or more. If a girl had sexual intercourse either before or during this period the operation would be more painful and the wounds would require more time to heal than otherwise. Two or three girls were usually tattooed in succession.

The operation was performed in a special tattoo hut (*vale ni veinggia* or *vale ni veisau*) located on the edge of the village. This consisted of a lean-to thatched with plaited coconut leaves or an unoccupied sleeping house appropriated for the occasion. The tattoo hut was tabu to men, who jokingly referred to it as the "Black Bottom" (*Sotho Loaloa*). A pointed instrument (*kau ni veinggia*) was used. One to three points consisting of barracuda or shark's teeth, bones of a fish (*sokisoki* or *wai*), or thorns of the lemon tree were attached to a short haft, adz fashion. The pointed end of the instrument was dipped into a black dye made of *sikethi* nut or the pitch of the *yangai* tree. It was then placed on the patient's skin, and struck with a mallet (*tchitolo*) of hibiscus wood. When not in use the instrument was hung in the smoke above the fireplace. After the blood had been wiped away, the wounds were covered with barkcloth. [343] [522]

Dye from the *sikethi* nut was made by the process used today to obtain dye for barkcloth designs. After removing the shells, twenty or thirty nuts were strung on the midrib of a coconut leaflet (*sasa*) and burned over a fire under an earthen pot, on which the black soot collected. On islands like Fulanga where *sikethi* is scarce, it was imported from Mothe, Namuka, Oneata, or Vatoa. To make black powder from *yangai* pitch, lumps of pitch were placed in a fire and the soot from the smoke was caught on a pot above. 881 304 386

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The patients were confined for about a week in either the tattoo house or their parents' homes under the care of the tattoo specialist. Food was provided for them by their parents. They were not allowed to bathe in the sea, to leave their houses except in case of necessity, or to be seen by men.

When the design (*nggia* or *sothondra*) which covered the girl's thighs was completed, it resembled a pair of black shorts. It was hidden by the girl's skirt of hibiscus bark (*liku*). After the thighs had been tattooed a design (*samunggawe*) was tattooed on the back of the fingers between the knuckle and the first joint. Then a design (*tāwelu*) consisting of a half-moon filled in solidly with black was tattooed on each corner of the mouth. The designs on the fingers and the mouth showed that the girl was nubile.

Each specialist had her own designs, which resembled designs seen today on barkcloth. The designs for a chief's daughter and those for other girls differed, but no one knew what the difference was.

When the entire process was finished a feast (*kanakana vatu ni nggia*) was held. The girls bathed in the sea for the first time after the final operation and their bodies were oiled and clothed in barkcloth. They were usually married soon after this ceremony.

Informants believed that tattooing was introduced into Lau by immigrants who came from Viti Levu and founded the chiefs' phratry in Lau. This would identify the tattooing complex with the high Fijian culture of eastern Fiji (p. 215). According to Roth (20), tattooing is still practiced surreptitiously in the provinces of Ra on Viti Levu and Mathuata on Vanua Levu. Its survival in these provinces, which are strongholds of the high Fijian culture, substantiates the above hypothesis. (See also Brewster, 1, pp. 185-186.)

Today, some boys and girls have their names tattooed on their arms by anyone who has learned to write. This is done with a needle and any dye. Names are often misspelled and letters inverted.

BETROTHAL

Child betrothal (*watchi ni suthu*) is common in Lau. The boy's father arranges his betrothal to his female cross cousin, the preferred mate, some time before he reaches the age of seven or eight. Having chosen a mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with the elders of his clan. If the match is approved, he collects a whale's tooth, mats, tapa, and other property from his relatives. Several male members of the clan present the formal proposal (*lakovakina*) accompanied by the property (*i lakovaki ni tchikina*). After considering the matter the girl's clan sends a representative with the answer to the boy's clan. In recent times the proposal and the answer are occasionally written in pencil on imported paper. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called *watchi* (spouse) and gifts of food and property are made at intervals by the boy's father to the girl's father. When the children reach the age of seven or eight they are informed of the arrangement.

Child betrothal is not binding, but natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. If either the boy or the girl does not care to

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858 to do at an early age now become duties. Work is heaped
857 upon him. He must accompany the men to the gardens, help them with their work, and carry heavy loads of food, firewood, and green leaves back to the village. He is kept busy running errands for his older brothers and cousins. A *pilo,* however, no longer sees the boys of his own age group frequently. He still plays occasionally with his friends in the village or on the beach. He plays the games of childhood—with toy canoes and spears.

Thus the *pilo,* denied association with the youths and men of the village, spurned by the girls, and cut off from boys of his own age, hovers on the margin of social life. His attention is turned upon his growing masculinity, which has gained high value in his eyes, and he longs for the time when he will be initiated into manhood.

881 In Lau the initiation of boys into adulthood centers in the
304 rite of circumcision. According to the natives, the harvest season is best for the ordeal, for inflammation is less likely to occur when everything in nature is dying. Occasionally, however, a youth dies as a result of the operation. The group of initiates gather secretly at the appointed place, usually some distance from the village, and the operation is performed by the village circumciser, a medicine man who has learned the art of circumcising by observation and practise.

881 After all the initiates have been circumcised, they walk to one of the men's houses in the village. They are confined there for four days, under the doctor's care. The doctor instructs them to be quiet, not to fear the dark, and not to think about girls.

On the first day after circumcision the fathers and paternal uncles of the boys prepare a small feast for the doctor. Then the initiation becomes known in the village. The feast is presented to the doctor outside his house and eaten there by him and by the boys' relatives—their fathers, paternal uncles, brothers, mothers, and sisters. A share of the feast is taken to

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881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- [881] monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

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858 enforced between brothers and sisters and parallel cousins of
864 opposite sex. Apparently many girls as well as boys masturbate, and young mothers who are nursing babies—and hence
[838] forbidden sexual intercourse—occasionally do so also. According to the girls themselves, homosexual relationships among girls are not rare. These relationships usually begin by imitation of other girls before a girl's first menstruation. Practically all married women on Kambara say they have had such relationships before marriage, but afterwards they discontinued them without difficulty.

882 From the age of eleven, however, girls are usually more or
[585] less guarded by their parents, for virginity at marriage is prized. A girl's virginity is usually tested on her wedding night by her husband's female relatives, and the next morning the results of the test are made public. Fear of ridicule and the anger of her husband's relatives when she marries prevent some girls from accepting lovers before marriage, which usually does not take place until a girl is at least eighteen years old. Moreover, virgins are afraid of being deflorated. They are not sure just how the act is accomplished although they have witnessed sexual intercourse.

836 There is considerable difference in the degree of pre-marital
178 freedom found on the various islands in southern Lau. The most powerful force acting against pre-marital freedom is the virginity test. Although this custom is not observed at every wedding in Lau it is the rule on conservative islands like Fulanga, where standards of morality are relatively strict. The Lauans, however, try to keep the custom secret from western visitors because of fear of disapproval and ridicule. In general, the native emphasis on chastity has tended to break down in relation to the degree of Tongan and western influence. Among the islands visited, the greatest freedom was found on Mothe, which lies at the trade cross-roads for canoe traffic in southern Lau, and which was formerly the point of departure of sailing canoes to Tonga.

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881 the initiates. Food is provided daily for the boys by their fathers.

On the fourth day the initiates leave the men's house for the first time since the operation. After bathing in the sea they oil their bodies and dress in new white barkcloth provided by their mothers. It is wrapped around the waist twice, drawn over one shoulder down to the opposite hip, and tied. Meanwhile a large feast has been prepared by their relatives. The feast and a gift of barkcloth and mats, also provided by the relatives, are taken to the doctor's house and presented to him. Then the food is divided and eaten by the whole village. Although the boys may leave the men's house after the fourth day they continue to sleep in it for a month or two.

883 A youth's life changes radically after his initiation. He is accepted immediately as an adult male in the community and as such has all the privileges of a full grown man. He now begins to prepare food for the earth oven, sail on trading expeditions, learn a craft if he is a member of a hereditary carpenter clan, and participate in ceremonies and adult games. Women and girls defer to him and he begins to have secret love affairs with those who are not tabu to him. From a self-conscious inverted *pilo* he rapidly grows into a loud swaggering and aggressive youth, arrogant and condescending to women, and with great interest in the figure he cuts in the village.

858 The little Kambaran girl passes through no such difficult adolescent period as her brother. Her childhood is a slow growth toward marriage and child bearing. There is no stage [852] in her development corresponding to that of the *pilo*. For- [304] merly a feast was held to mark her first fishing, at about the age of ten, and she was tattooed at adolescence, but today she grows up gradually and her life is not punctuated by cere- monies or changes of status. Even her first menstruation [881] receives no formal recognition.

000 When the mixed gang gradually breaks up, the little girl

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The betrothal proceeds as follows. Having picked a suitable 584
mate for his son, the father discusses the matter with his clan. If the match is approved he collects whales' teeth, mats, bark-cloth, and other property from his relatives. Several men of the clan present a formal proposal, accompanied by the property, to the girl's relatives. The proposal is considered by the girl's clan, which sends a formal answer on the following day. Both the proposal and the answer are frequently in written form today, since many Lauans can read and write the [212]
Mbauan dialect. A piece of paper and pencil are used. If the proposal is refused the property is returned. If it is accepted the two children are called by a term which means spouse (*watchi*). Further gifts of property and food are made at intervals to the girl's father by the boy's father.

The natives say that most child betrothals are consummated in marriage. However, if the young people do not care to marry, either one may break the engagement. In such a case the original gift of whales' teeth and property presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan, or its equivalent, is returned. However, the food and property, amounting to considerable value, which her relatives from time to time have received from him, are not returned with the original gift.

Frequently the boy would like to free himself of the obligation to marry his betrothed. Just as the tabu on a man's sisters and female parallel cousins stimulates his sexual interest in them, so the accessibility of his cross cousins, especially his betrothed, renders them less desirable. However, he is loath to break his engagement, for if he does so his father and his father's brothers will be very angry because they will lose so much property.

On account of the surplus of women in southern Lau a 581
man can easily secure a wife. If he does not marry his cross 883
cousin he chooses a mate from the many eligible girls on his island or on another. However, a young man is usually reluctant to marry and settle down. After his initiation, life

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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883 581 becomes rather pleasant. He is accepted as a man in the community, but he avoids the full responsibility of an adult. Although he sleeps in a men's house he is still a member of his father's household, cultivates his father's lands, and contributes to the daily supply and preparation of food for his father's earth oven. He participates in the ceremonies and games of his age group, spears fish, and sails on trading expeditions. He is sought after by the young women of the community among whom, with the exception of the group tabu to him, he is free to make conquests. The more numerous his affairs the greater he is desired by women. If he should have a [848] bastard or two, the girl's father will care for the child. When he marries, however, he must accept the responsibilities of an adult; found his own household, work his own garden, and support his family.

A girl, on the other hand, is eager to marry. She is interested in securing a good husband—one who is a dependable provider and a strong man, physically and mentally—for her well-being and her position in the community will depend on her husband. Moreover, she anticipates a more satisfactory sex life after marriage. Once betrothed, a girl rarely breaks an engagement, but waits until the young man is ready to marry.

584 583 By the time a young man is about 25 years old his father and his clan, whose interests still lie in the preservation of the sacred clan "mana", exert pressure, forcing him to take decisive steps toward marriage. He either marries his childhood betrothed, who is between 18 and 25 years old, or he breaks with her and becomes engaged to another girl. After he has secured her consent he informs his father, and the matter is discussed by the elders of his clan. If they approve of the match a formal proposal is made. If the betrothal is sanctioned by the girl's clan an engagement feast is prepared and presented by the young man's clan to the girl's clan. On the other hand, if the match is not sanctioned, the couple

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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881 was provided by Nasangalan, and one sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) provided by the ladies of Tumbou, all of which were taken to the native medical practitioner who performed the operation.

573 834 After circumcision a boy ceases to sleep in the family house (*vale soso*), but lives in a men's house (*mbure*). He must not henceforth let women see his penis. In old times young men did not put on a loin cloth or have intercourse with women till they had pubic hairs and beards. Circumcision was the occasion of their putting on clothes.

884 After circumcision a boy is called a man (*tangane*) and must be grown up in his ways; he must not cry, but endure and work.

Confinement of Girls

881 Formerly when the daughter of a nobleman was about fifteen to seventeen she was "forbidden the sunshine" (*tambu singa*), while remaining 882 indoors she was anointed with oil and turmeric (*rerenge*) to make her light in hue and plump, to make her into a lady (*vakamaramataki*). She ate feasts, meat, or fish (*kana vaka i lava*) every day. She remained in the upper end of the house and might not come out into the center. Food was brought and left in the house; if anyone appeared while she was eating 884 she retreated into a corner so as not to be seen, lest a person with "raw eyes" should see her and make her of a bad color. She hid only if a new person came into the house; those who stayed in the house remained continuously and did not go home. She might bathe while forbidden the sunshine, but in doing so wrapped herself up (*pupulou*) that the sun might not spoil her body; if she met anyone she hid in the bush. At night she might not go out except for a call of nature.

The following account has been given:

> Melaia was thus confined along with Andimaitonga, her father's elder brother's daughter. She was very young then and had her hair cut. The object of the confinement was that she should fill out quickly. Samisone Feoko, her father's younger brother's son was born then so Melaia went to stay with the mother of the child and all four were anointed together with turmeric, the mother, the child, and the girls. This was a common practice, and the girls came out at the baptism. If the daughter of Roko Sau was forbidden the sunshine a daughter of Tui Tumbou or the herald would be confined with her. Roko Sau's daughter would order them about. The various families of the girls would bring food.
>
> Some confinements lasted a year. Melaia did not find it dull; she and her companions played with dolls (*vakataluluve*), which consisted of a whale's tooth, or cowry, or stick, and were laid down like a baby; but the early missionaries forbade dolls so they are not used now. Some children did not like to stop in the house all day, and so ran away. The old people would be angry, but the girl would not be forbidden the sunshine again.

When their period was over the girls would go to bathe in the sea, were dressed in the best bark cloth, and people might come and see them. The

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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[B34] dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they
548 like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni vakolo*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*katu*).

885 An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as
302 *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head; the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

582 Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives
587 in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

584 Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

584 A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as
[17] *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

584 If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place.
585 If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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585 feast which is provided and prepared by the groom's clan on the same day and is eaten by the whole village. This ends the [885] wedding rites. They mark the acceptance of both the young man and the young woman as full adult members of the community.

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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

● 888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vukathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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764 in many caves today. Informants said that the weapons of warriors were buried with them and that bodies were occasionally placed in canoes in the caves. Moto of Undu said that when his grandfather died the family was living in a small cave. The body was laid in the cave and the family remained.

Moto said he heard from his father that in olden days some of the land people were exposed on frames in the bush. No other informant had heard of this custom.

Some informants said that there were no cemeteries in pre-Christian times, others that each hamlet had its own cemetery (*mbulumbulu*) where some of its members were buried. The chief of Kambara said that the nobles were interred in the ground, whereas the common people were placed in caves. Archaeological excavation is necessary to check these statements. After the introduction of Christianity each village had a cemetery in which all bodies were buried.

A child was often buried in the mound (*yavu*) of his parents' sleeping house, which continued to be used. Moreover, the Mothe people said that Ului Lakemba II was buried in his house mound on Ndelaimakotu. The first-born of Valakevoro, two generations ago, was buried in his house. House burial for adults, however, seems to have been less prevalent in Lau than it was in Viti Levu. A well-informed chief stated that house burial was formerly the rule in Viti Levu, and suggested that the importance of the old house sites in Fiji may be attributed to their being also ancestral burial places.

No evidence was found of cremation, urn burial, or sea burial.

767 Formerly the ghosts of men who were buried alive haunted the villages for four nights and then went to Sai Thimbathimba (pp. 114-115).

388 Informants on Fulanga said that when the *tui naro* (headman) of Vandravandra clan became old and feeble he was taken to Taluma Islet (fig. 2, 41)
737 in the lagoon and abandoned (*seso*). Mosesi told me that on Lakemba there is a cave filled with skeletal remains of old people who died there after having left the community.

Food for the dead

764 Once only while I was in Lau I saw a package rolled in a somewhat dry leaf placed by relatives on a grave a few days after a burial. The grave was that of a young woman who had died in Tokalau. Natives said the package contained boiled flour and water left uneaten by the deceased and that it was placed on the grave so that her soul would have food. Tchosaia of Kambara said this was never done in olden days.

Memorials

Stones are occasionally erected as memorials to the dead (*lawa ni mate*). A meter high, upright limestone marks the spot on the beach between Lomatchi